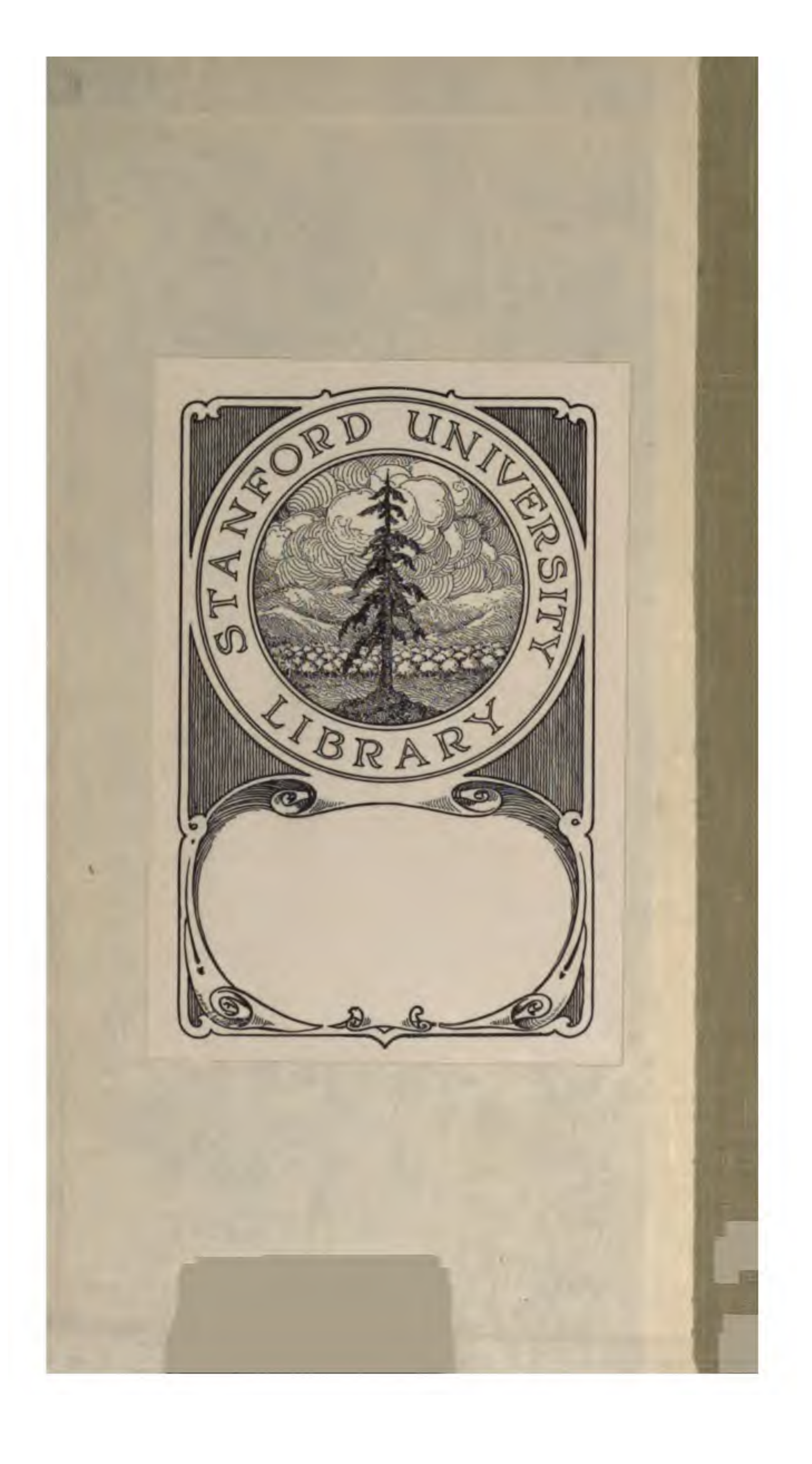

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 025 688 438


STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Presented to
Soule University
by the Author

AN

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

SACERDOTAL CELIBACY

IN THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

HENRY C. LEA.

Οὐ γαρ Θεου ἐστι κινειν ἐπι τα παρα φυσιν.

ATHENAGORÆ *pro Christianis Legatio.*

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1867.

PHILADELPHIA:
COLLINS, PRINTER, 705 JAYNE STREET.

PREFACE.

THE following work was written several years since, simply as an historical study, and with little expectation of its publication. Recent movements in several portions of the great Christian Church seem to indicate, however, that a record of ascetic celibacy, as developed in the past, may not be without interest to those who are watching the tendencies of the present.

So far as I am aware, no work of the kind exists in English literature, and those which have appeared in the Continental languages are exclusively of a controversial character. It has been my aim to avoid polemics, and I have therefore sought merely to state facts as I found them, without regard to their bearing on either side of the questions involved. As those questions have long been the subject of ardent disputation, it has seemed proper to substantiate every statement with a reference to its authority, and frequently to give extracts by which the accuracy of the text may be verified. Much illustrative matter has also been placed in the foot-notes, in order not to interrupt the continuity of the narrative.

The scope of the work is designedly confined to the enforced celibacy of the sacerdotal class. The vast history of monachism has therefore only been touched upon incidentally when it served to throw light upon the rise and progress of religious asceticism. The various celibate communities which have arisen in this country, such as the

Dunkers and Shakers, are likewise excluded from the plan of the volume. These limitations occasion me less regret since the appearance of M. de Montalembert's "Monks of the West" and Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon's "New America," in which the student will probably find all that he may require on these subjects.

Besides the controversial importance of the questions connected with Christian asceticism, it has seemed to me that a brief history like the present might perhaps possess interest for the general reader, not only on account of the influence which ecclesiastical celibacy has exerted, directly and indirectly, on the progress of civilization, but also from the occasional glimpse into the interior life of past ages afforded in reviewing this portion of the discipline of the church. The more ambitious historian, in detailing the intrigues of the court and the vicissitudes of the field, must of necessity neglect the minuter incidents which illustrate the habits, the morals, and the modes of thought of bygone generations. From such materials a monograph like this is constructed, and it may not be unworthy the attention of those who deem that the life of nations does not consist exclusively of political revolutions and military achievements.

PHILADELPHIA, May, 1867.

CONTENTS.

III.—THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

IV.—LEGISLATION.

V.—ENFORCEMENT OF CELIBACY.

VIII.—THE BARBARIANS.

IX.—THE CARLOVINGIANS.

X.—THE TENTH CENTURY.

XI.—SAXON ENGLAND.

XII.—PETER DAMIANI.

XIV.—HILDEBRAND.

XV.—CENTRAL EUROPE.

XVI.—FRANCE.

XVII.—NORMAN ENGLAND.

XXV.—THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

XXVI.—THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

XXVII.—THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

XXVIII.—THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

XXIX.—THE POST-TRIDENTINE CHURCH.

XXX.—THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY.

SACERDOTAL CELIBACY.

The Latin church is the great fact which dominates the history of modern civilization. All other agencies which moulded the destinies of Europe were comparatively isolated or sporadic in their manifestations. Thus in one place we may trace the beneficent influence of commerce at work; in another the turbulent energy of the rising Third Estate; the mortal contests of the feudal powers with each other and with progress are waged in detached and convulsive struggles; chivalry casts only occasional and evanescent flashes of light amid the darkness of military barbarism; literature attaches itself to whatever support will condescend to lend transitory aid to the plaything of the moment. Nowhere do we see combined effort, nowhere can we detect a pervading impulse, irrespective of locality or of circumstance, save in the imposing machinery of the church establishment. This meets us at every point, and in every age, and in every sphere of action. In the dim solitude of the cloister, the monk is training the minds which are to mould the destinies of the period, while his roof is the refuge of the desolate and the home of the stranger. In the tribunal, the priest is wrestling with the baron, and is extending his more humane and equitable code over a jurisdiction subjected to the caprices of feudal or customary law, as applied by a race of ignorant and arbitrary tyrants. In the royal palace, the hand of the ecclesiastic, visible or invisible, is guiding the helm of state, regulating the policy of nations, and converting the brute force of chivalry into the supple instrument of his will. In Central

Europe, lordly prelates, with the temporal power and possessions of the highest princes, joined to the exclusive pretensions of the church, make war and peace, and are sovereign in all but name, owing no allegiance save to Emperors whom they elect and Popes whose cause they share. Far above all, the successor of St. Peter from his pontifical throne claims all Europe as his empire, and dictates terms to kings who crouch under his reproof, or are crushed in the vain effort of rebellion. At the other extremity of society, the humble minister of the altar, with his delegated power over heaven and hell, wields in cottage as in castle an authority hardly less potent, and sways the minds of the faithful with his right to implicit obedience. Even art offers a willing submission to the universal mistress, and seeks the embodiment of its noblest aspirations in the lofty poise of the cathedral spire, the rainbow glories of the painted window, and the stately rhythm of the solemn chant.

Human institutions are more or less transitory in proportion as they are well or ill adapted to the moral and physical needs of the age and race. In considering the church in its merely human aspect, its twelve centuries of supremacy manifestly indicate that it constituted the best system of ecclesiastical polity possible under the circumstances. Unreasoning veneration may be blind to its errors, and may dignify its crimes as necessary services to God: philosophical skepticism may sneer at the energy of its faith, and may wilfully overlook its immense contributions to the real progress of mankind: but the impartial historian must ever regard it as a mighty power intrusted by Providence to the guidance of man for the most momentous purposes. Swayed by human passion, degraded by low ambitions, it may at times have shown little trace of its origin, and have given slender assurance of its predestined effects, yet the good has far outweighed the evil, and the results are in our present and our future.

This vast fabric of ecclesiastical supremacy presents one of the most curious problems which the world's history affords. So wide and so absolute a rule, deriving its force from moral power alone, marshalling no legions of its own in battle

array, but permeating everything with its influence, walking unarmed through deadly strife, rising with renewed strength from every prostration, triumphing alike over the savage nature of the barbarian and the enervated apathy of the Roman tributary, blending discordant races and jarring nations into one great brotherhood of subjection—such was the Papal hierarchy, a marvel and a mystery. Well is it personified in Gregory VII., a fugitive from Rome without a rood of ground to call him master, a rival Pope lording it in the Vatican, a triumphant Emperor vowed to internecine strife, yet issuing his commands as sternly and as proudly to prince and potentate as though he were the unquestioned suzerain of Europe, and listened to as humbly by three-fourths of Christendom. The man wasted away in the struggle; his death was but the accident of time: the church lived on, and marched to inevitable victory.

The investigations of the curious can hardly be deemed misapplied in analyzing the elements of this impalpable but irresistible power, and in examining the causes which have enabled it to preserve such unity of action amid such diversity of surroundings, presenting everywhere by turns a solid and united front to the opposing influences of barbarism and civilization. In detaching one of these elements from the group, and tracing out its successive vicissitudes, I may therefore be pardoned for thinking the subject of sufficient interest to warrant a minuteness of detail that would otherwise perhaps appear disproportionate.

The Janizaries of the Porte were Christian children, recruited by the most degrading tribute which tyrannical ingenuity has invented. Torn from their homes in infancy, every tie severed that bound them to the world around them; the past a blank, the future dependent solely upon the master above them; existence limited to the circle of their comrades, among whom they could rise, but whom they could never leave; such was the corps which bore down the bravest of the Christian chivalry and carried the standard of the Prophet in triumph to the walls of Vienna. Mastering at length their master, they wrung from him the privilege of marriage; and the class in becoming hereditary, with human

hopes and fears disconnected with the one idea of their service, no longer presented the same invincible phalanx, and at last became terrible only to the effeminate denizens of the seraglio. The example is instructive, and affords grounds for the assumption that the canon which bound all the active ministers of the church to perpetual celibacy, and thus created an impassable barrier between them and the outer world, was one of the efficient instruments in creating and consolidating both the temporal and spiritual power of the Roman hierarchy.

I.

THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

THE most striking contrast between the Mosaic Dispensation and the Law of Christ is the materialism of the one, and the pure spiritualism of the other. The Hebrew prophet threatens worldly punishments, and promises fleshly rewards: the Son of Man teaches us to contemn the treasures of this life, save the inward peace derived from the approbation of the Father, and directs all our fears and aspirations towards eternity. The change is abrupt, the distinction sudden, and though the immediate followers of Christ might imitate him in moderate and cheerful use of the natural enjoyments bestowed on man by a beneficent Creator, it is not to be wondered at if fiery and self-denying zeal should ere long lead ardent disciples to render the straight and narrow way yet straighter and narrower. The highest expression of Christian philosophy, that this life is but a preparation for the life to come, in such minds produced the conviction that the surest mode of securing the eternal joys of heaven was to sternly turn away from the transitory joys of earth; and the corollary soon followed, that only by conquering and mortifying the flesh could the soul be rendered a worthy participant in the sacrifice of the Redeemer. This would be the theory and practice of those especially whose strength of will, resolute character, and singleness of purpose would mark them as the leaders of their fellows; and the admiration of the multitude for their superior virtue and fortitude would soon invest them with a reputation for holiness which would render them doubly influential. In this way we can readily account for the early introduction in the Christian church of a principle of asceticism totally foreign to the teachings of a benignant Saviour.

It was natural that this asceticism should lay restrictions on the intercourse of the sexes, for traces of such a principle are to be found in the religious observances of many nations. That the Jews, notwithstanding their anxiety for numerous offspring, entertained ideas of peculiar sanctity as attaching to the restraint of the animal passions, is shown by the occasional practices of the Dositheans, by the pomegranate ornaments of the Scribes, and by the vows of continence of the Pharisees;[1] nor are the Christian hermits without their prototypes in the ascetic lives of the Essenes.[2] How fierce was sometimes the struggle requisite to conquer the fiery Israelitish blood, we learn from the remarkable text which chronicles the occasional practice of self-mutilation.[3] These various observances were not improbably derived from the remoter East, where many analogous practices were in common use. According to the tract which passes under the name of the "Confession of St. Cyprian," the Chaldee sages were accustomed to train their neophytes in habits of the austerest asceticism.[4] The Brahminical doctrines attach the greatest importance to the possession of male descendants;[5] but after this was assured by the birth of a grandson, the Dwidja[6] was directed to abandon home and family to betake himself to the forests and lead the life of a Vanaprastha. He might be ac-

[1] Epiphanii Panar. Hæres. XIII. XV. XVI.

[2] Philastrii Lib. de Hæres. P. I. No. 8.

[3] Et sunt eunuchi qui castraverunt seipsos propter regnum cœlorum (Matt. XIX. 12). Notwithstanding the figurative interpretation generally bestowed on this passage, its literal sense would appear to me more probable.

[4] Hi mihi ostenderunt singulorum spirituum aëris virtutem, facientes me abstinere ab esca animalium et a vino et a concubitu.—Confess. S. Cyprian. (Opp. Oxon. 1682, Mantiss. p. 54.)

Among the Turks, the order of Calenders is bound to perpetual virginity. Mænavinus, who during his captivity in Constantinople acquired considerable familiarity with Turkish literature, asserts that the writings of the principal saint of the Order, Nerzim, are rather Christian than Moslem in doctrine.—Loniceri Chron. Turcic. Lib. II. P. ii. cap. 11.

[5] The Sraddha, or periodical oblation to the dead, could only be performed by male posterity, and its omission plunged the whole line of ancestors from heaven into hell. (Laws of Manu, B. IV. st. 257.) Various expedients were therefore resorted to in default of nature. (Ibid. B. IX.) Even members of the sacerdotal caste were not exempt from this necessity, nor were they subject to any special restrictions on marital intercourse, whether householders or anchorites. (Ibid. B. III. st. 50.)

[6] The Dwidja was a member of either of the three higher castes, Brahmin, Kchatriya, or Vaisya, who was regenerated by the study of the Vedas.

companied by his wife, but the severest austerities were enjoined upon him to conquer the passions and the organs of the senses. If he died in consequence, his spirit was received by Brahma with peculiar honor.[1] After passing through this course of probation, he was then fitted for admission to the higher order of ascetics, the Yatis or Sannyasis, who might wander through the towns and villages, subsisting on charity, and passing their lives abstracted from the world in ascetic revery, which led them to the supreme good of absorption in Brahma.[2] The practical common sense of the Aryan legislator, however, which so strangely diversifies the extravagances of his code, induced him to forbid these practices until after all the duties which man owes to society had been thoroughly fulfilled.[3]

A still nearer approach to the discipline of Latin Chris-

[1] Laws of Manu, Bk. VI. st. 1–32. Among the austerities prescribed were standing for a whole day a-tip-toe; exposure to the sun in summer; wearing wet garments in winter, or braving the rain naked, &c.

[2] This mode of life bears so strong a resemblance to the ideal for which the Christian anchorites so strenuously strove, that some of the directions of Manu may not be without interest.

St. 43. "Let him have neither fire nor house; when pressed by hunger he may seek his food in the village; let him be resigned with firm resolution; let him meditate in silence, and fix his soul upon the Divine being.

44. "An earthen bowl, a vile garment, the roots of trees for a house, unbroken solitude, a bearing which changes for none, these are the signs which mark the Brahmin who nears his final deliverance.

45. "Let him not wish for death, let him not wish for life; let him await the destined moment, as a servant awaits his wages.

80. "When by a perfect knowledge of evil he becomes insensible to all the pleasures of sense, he attains happiness in this world, and eternal beatitude in the next.

81. "Being thus gradually relieved from all worldly affections, rendered insensible to all conflicting conditions, as of honor and dishonor, he is absorbed forever in Brahma."

[3] St. 35. "After having paid the three debts, to the Saints, to the Manes, and to the Gods, let him direct his soul to the final deliverance; but he who, before paying these debts, strives for beatitude, plunges himself into the infernal gulf.

36. "After he has studied the Vedas in the manner ordained by the law; after he has legally begotten sons, and offered as many sacrifices as he is able, his three debts are paid, and he can then think only of the final deliverance.

37. "But the Brahmin who, without having studied the Holy Books, without having begotten sons and made the sacrifices, strives for beatitude, is destined to Hell."

These injunctions are so formal and precise that it is difficult to understand the description of the Gymnosophists of India, as given by Strabo, who states (Lib. XV.) that they passed thirty-seven years in ascetic practices, after which they were at liberty to marry, when unlimited polygamy was permitted. See also Clement. Alexand. Stromat. Lib. III.

tianity may be found in the rule adopted by Gotama Budha, who, six centuries before Christ, founded a religion which to this day numbers more votaries than any other among men—a rule which enjoins the strictest celibacy on his sacerdotal class, under penalty of expulsion.[1] If, as has been supposed, similar abstinence was inculcated by Pythagoras, it is doubtless attributable to the influence of his Indian studies.[2] The religious observances of other races show slighter and yet distinctive traces of a similar principle. The Egyptian priests were allowed but one wife, while unlimited polygamy was permitted to the people.[3] The priestesses of the Delphic Apollo, the Achaian Juno, and the Scythian Diana, were virgins. In Africa, those of Ceres were separated from their husbands with a rigor of asceticism that forbade even a kiss to their orphaned children; while in Rome, the name of Vestal has passed into a proverb.[4]

Yet this spirit is not to be found in the doctrines taught by Christ and his chosen disciples, if we read their words as plain practical precepts addressed to the reason of mankind at large, however ingenious may be the fanciful interpretations by

---

[1] "Any bhikkhu (priest) who has engaged to live according to the laws given to the priesthood, if he shall, without having made confession of his weakness, and become a laic, hold intercourse with a female of whatever kind soever, is overcome and excluded." (Hardy, Eastern Monachism, p. 8.) The strong tendency of Buddhism to monastic asceticism may be estimated from the fact that in the fourteenth century, the city of Ilchi, in Chinese Tartary, the headquarters of that religion in Central Asia, possessed fourteen monasteries, averaging three thousand devotees to each. (See Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society in the London "Reader" of Nov. 17, 1866.)

[2] Clement. Alexandrin. Stromat. Lib. III.

[3] Diod. Siculi Lib. I. c. 80. This may perhaps have arisen from the vow of continence made by Isis after the death of her husband-brother Osiris (Ibid. Lib. I. c. 27). Tertullian sorrowfully exclaims (De Monogam. c. xvii.) "Etiam bovis illius Ægyptii antistites de continentia infirmitatem Christianorum judicabunt."

[4] Pontifex Maximus et Flaminica nubunt semel. Cereris sacerdotes, viventibus etiam viris et consentientibus amica separatione viduantur. Sunt et quæ de tota continentia judicent nos, virgines Vestæ et Junonis Achaicæ, et Dianæ Scythicæ, et Apollinis Pythii. (Tertullian. ubi sup.)

And again, "Achææ Junoni apud Ægium oppidum virgo sortitur: et quæ Delphis insaniunt nubere nesciunt. Ceterum, viduas Africanæ Cereri assistere scimus, durissima quidem oblivione a matrimonio allectas. Nam manentibus in vita viris, non modo thoro decedunt, sed et alias eis utique ridentibus loco suo insinuant, adempto omni contactu, usque ad osculum filiorum: et tamen durante usu perseverant in tali viduitatis disciplina, quæ pietatis etiam sanctæ solatia excludit." (Tertull. ad Uxorem Lib. I. c. 6.) Cf. Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. I. c. 26.

which acute intellects have endeavored to support foregone conclusions. It seems scarce worth while to attempt an elaborate commentary on texts which appear so difficult to mistake as those which recommend marriage without restriction, implied or expressed, or on those which stigmatize ascetic practices as heretical.[1] Though the text "Defraud ye not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer" might seem unanswerable after a complicated system of sacerdotalism had grown up, with its ceaseless observances, it had, as the expression "ex consensu" shows, no such meaning as applied to the simple worship directed by the Apostle. Dialectic subtlety may triumphantly point out that St. Paul's model bishop was described as "filios habentem," and not "facientem," but the refinement of the argument can prove nothing but the weakness of the cause which requires for its defence ingenuity so perverse.

The question as to the presumable marriage of the Apostles themselves has occupied a space far transcending its importance, in the controversy respecting this portion of ecclesiastical discipline. On the evidence of his mother-in-law and of his daughter St. Petronilla, Peter is admitted on all hands to have been married, while St. John's celibacy is agreed to with similar unanimity. All the others, however, are debatable, and the proofs on either side have sufficed to convince those whose opinions were previously made up. I do not find it easy to attribute any sense other than that of marriage to the well-known text in which St. Paul assumes for himself and his colleagues the right to be accompanied by a woman;[2] while a passage in St. Ignatius may be held to prove the same point, or to prove nothing, according to the reading adopted.[3] Ter-

[1] Act. xv. 28–29; Hebr. xiii. 4; I. Cor. vii. 2–11, 28; I. Tim. iii. 2, 4, 12, iv. 3, v. 14; Tit. i. 5, 6, &c.

[2] Μη οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσιαν ἀδελφην γυναικα περιαγειν ὡς και οἱ λοιποι ἀποστολοι, και οἱ ἀδελφοι του κυριου και κηφας (I. Cor. ix. 5). The exact sense of the passage was a subject of controversy as early as the time of Tertullian, who stoutly maintains that γυναικα is to be rendered *mulierem* and not *uxorem* (De Monog. c. 8), while his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, who is even better authority, does not even question the other interpretation (Stromat. Lib. iii.).

[3] Ὡς Πετρου και Παυλου, και των ἀλλων Ἀποστολων των γαμοις προσομιλησαντων (Ignat. Epist. ix.). Baronius (Ann. 57, No. 64) asserts that the allusion to Paul is not to be found in the best MSS.

tullian admits the right of the Apostles to marry, although he argues that all except Peter set the example to the faithful of remaining single;[1] while Clement of Alexandria enumerates Peter, Paul, and Philip as certainly married, speaks of the latter as giving his daughters in marriage, and, notwithstanding his own asceticism, evidently considers that married life did not detract from the holiness of apostleship.[2]

There would appear to me no room for a reasonable doubt that the Apostles and their immediate disciples felt no misgivings as to the compatibility of marriage with the functions of the Christian ministry. It can hardly be questioned that, had it entered into the plan of the new dispensation to introduce a custom so much at variance with the practices of the popular masses from among which converts were to be drawn, the rule would have been enunciated in a rigid and unmistakable form. So far was this from being the case, that the Synod of Jerusalem gave positive assurance to the doubting and weaker brethren that their zeal was not to be taxed by observances difficult of obedience.[3] If further proof be wanted, it may be found in the story of Nicholas the Deacon, who offered to his fellow-disciples the wife whom he was accused of loving with a too engrossing affection[4]—although the incident, magnified and distorted by subsequent writers, attributed to him the paternity of the obscene sect which under the name of Nicolites merited the reproof of St. John,[5] and which afforded to the sacerdotalists of the eleventh century the inestimable advantage of stigmatizing their adversaries with an opprobrious epithet of the most damaging character.[6] In addition to this we find St. Ignatius, in one of

---

[1] Licebat et Apostolis nubere et uxores circumducere (De Exhort. Castitat. c. 8). Petrum solum invenio maritum, per socrum, monogamum præsumo . . . ceteros cum maritos non invenio, aut spadones intelligam necesse est, aut continentes (De Monogam. c. 8).

[2] Stromat. Lib. III.

[3] Visum enim est Sancto Spiritui et nobis nihil ultra imponere vobis oneris quam hæc necessaria : Ut abstineatis vos ab immolatis simulachrorum et sanguine et suffocato et fornicatione : a quibus custodientes vos, bene agetis. Valete.—Act. xv. 28, 29.

[4] Clement. Alexand. Stromat. Lib. III.

[5] Apocalyps. II. 6, 14, 15, 20.

[6] All who defended clerical marriage against the asceticism which became dominant in the eleventh century were branded with the name of this disgusting heresy, and the authority of St. John was freely invoked

his epistles which is authenticated by Eusebius, making use of expressions which show that marriage or celibacy was optional among his contemporaries, and that the former was not considered to detract in any way from the holiness of the office to which their lives were devoted.[1] These negative and positive proofs combined, seem to me to form as perfect a chain of argument as can be obtained concerning any question which is nearly two thousand years old, and which did not form a subject of controversy in its own time.[2]

During the first three centuries, the scanty records of the church which remain to us show no traces of the adoption of celibacy as a compulsory rule for its ministers. Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, expresses his grief at the misfortunes of a priest named Valens and his wife.[3] About the same time Irenæus, in relating the career of Marcus the magician, chief of the Marcosians, alludes to a deacon in Asia who received the heresiarch into his house, and whose misplaced hospitality was rewarded with the seduction of his pretty wife, showing that holy orders at that period were not considered incompatible with marriage.[4] There can be no

---

as justifying their destruction. How degrading was the comparison a reference to Epiphanius (Panar. Hæres. xxv.) will show. The injustice thus inflicted on the memory of the worthy Nicholas was early recognized, for St. Ignatius speaks of the sect as ψευδωνύμους, and the Constitutiones Apostolicæ allude to it in similar terms—"alii inverecunde fornicantur, quod nunc faciunt falsi nominis Nicolaitæ" (Lib. vi. c. 8). No doubt the story of Nicholas induced the libertines of the church to shield their excesses under his honored name, little imagining the opprobrium with which they would cover it for fifteen centuries. In 1679, E. P. Rothius published a dissertation (*De Nicholaitis*) in which a vast mass of curious learning is brought to the vindication of the Apostolic deacon.

[1] After alluding to Timothy, John the Baptist, Titus, Evodius, and Clement "qui in puritate exegerunt hanc vitam," he adds, "non quod vituperem reliquos divos quod rei uxoriæ se dederint, horum tantummodo memini (opto enim ut dignus sim in regno cœlorum ad horum pedes locum mihi dari)"—Epist. ix.—I quote the translation of the Mag. Biblioth. Patrum, edition of 1618 (T. I. p. 85).

[2] The fact that no original authority could be adduced is partly confessed by the fabrication in the ninth century of the command of celibacy in the epistle attributed by the False Decretals to St. Clement of Rome—"Si vero post ordinationem suam ministro contigerit proprium invadere cubile uxoris, sacrarii non intret limina, neque sacrificii portator fiat, neque altare contingat," &c.—Pseudo-Clement. Epist. ii.

[3] Nimis contristatus sum pro Valente, qui presbyter factus est aliquando apud vos. . . Valde ergo fratres, contristor pro illo et conjuge ejus, quibus det Dominus pœnitentiam vestram.—Polycarpi Epist. ad Philippens.

[4] Epiphanii Panar. Hæres. xxxiv.

reasonable doubt that Tertullian was a priest at the time when he addressed to his wife the earnest exhortation that after his death she should refrain from a second marriage, and thus preserve the ascetic purity which they found impossible to maintain during their married life.[1] Even if he were not, the example which he adduces of the chastity enforced on certain Pagan priestesses, when that of Christian ministers would have been so much more convincing, and his care to defend himself from the imputation of suggesting that Christ had commanded the separation of husband and wife,[2] show that no warrant exists for supposing that in the Latin church of the second century there was any restriction placed on the marital intercourse of ecclesiastics. The same conclusion is traceable from the whole tenor of his treatise "De Monogamia," in which there is no allusion to any difference existing between the priesthood and the laity as regards their connubial relations, although his treatment of the subject would have rendered some reference necessary to such a custom. The testimony thus derived from the writings of Tertullian is the more convincing, since the Montanist heresy which he embraced consisted of asceticism exaggerated beyond that admitted as orthodox by the church of his time.

Similar conclusions are deducible from the apologies written about the year 150 by Justin Martyr, about 180 by Athenagoras, and about 200 by Minucius Felix. All of these Fathers, in defending the Christians from the accusations popularly brought against them of indiscriminate licentiousness, of incest, and of other kindred disorders, speak of the chastity and sobriety which characterize the sect, the celibacy practised by some members, and the single marriage of others, of which the sole object was the securing of offspring and not the gratification of the passions.[3] If the spiritual guides

---

[1] Quam facultatem continentiæ quantum possumus diligamus: quamprimum obvenerit, imbibamus; ut quod in matrimonio non valuimus, in viduitate sectemur. Amplectenda occasio est quæ adimit quod necessitas imperabat.—Ad Uxorem, Lib. I. c. 7.

[2] After alluding to the greater strictness of the new law, he adds: "Sed non ideo præmiserim de libertate vetustatis et posteritatis castigatione, ut præstruam Christum separandis matrimoniis, abolendis conjunctionibus advenisse, quasi jam hinc finem nubendi præscribam." (Ibid. c. 3.)

[3] Aut principio uxores non ducebamus nisi liberorum educandorum causa, aut repudiato spretoque con-

of the Christians had been vowed to celibacy, neither of these writers could well have omitted an appeal to so triumphant a refutation of the very slanders which they were endeavoring to rebut: their silence is therefore as strong a proof as negative evidence well can be, while they further afford the same testimony as Tertullian of the absence of any distinction as regards marriage between the pastors and the people. Athenagoras, indeed, in another passage, shows us how completely the asceticism which already had commenced was voluntary and not a portion of church discipline, and also how strong was the disposition to restrain it within the bounds of reason. He argues that the heathen gods must be demons because their priests and worshippers are inspired to commit such atrocities upon themselves, as the priests of Rhea who submit to self-mutilation, those of Diana who scar themselves with wounds, and many others who willingly undergo the severest flagellation. That self-inflicted suffering could propitiate a beneficent God was to the Christians of those days the most absurd of paradoxes, for Athenagoras reasons that God certainly urges no one to those things which are not consonant with his nature; but the demon, when preparing evil for any one, commences by perverting his mind; and he concludes that as God is absolutely good, he must ever be beneficent.[1]

---

jugio, omnino cœlibes vivimus. (Justin. Martyr. Apol. II.)—Itaque uxorem quam secundum approbatas nobis leges sibi quisque duxerit, reputat non in aliam quam in procreandæ sobolis finem. . . . Invenias autem multos ex nostris in utroque sexu qui in cœlibatu consenescant, quod in hoc statu Deo conjunctiores se futuros sperent . . . quare vel ut natus est unusquisque nostrum manet, vel nuptiis copulatur unicis, secundæ enim decorum quoddam adulterium sunt . . . Nam qui prima uxore, licet defuncta, seipsum privat, adulter est, quanquam dissimulanter. (Athenag. pro Christianis Legat.)—Unius matrimonii vinculo libenter inhæremus, cupiditate procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam . . . plerique inviolati corporis virginitate perpetua fruuntur potius quam gloriantur. (M. Minuc. Felicis Octavius.) As this passage of Minucius Felix follows a fierce onslaught on the frightful scandals of the Pagan priesthood, his silence with regard to the clerical order of the Christians is conclusive evidence that the latter were not bound by rules or customs differing from the laity.—Justin Martyr, in his *Explicationes* (Quæst. 21), alludes to monks as rejecting the marriage tie, in a passage wherein he could scarcely have avoided including ecclesiastics in general, had they been bound by any rules of abstinence.

[1] Deus certe ad ea quæ præter naturam sunt neminem movet.

At dæmon, homini quum struit aliquod malum
Pervertit illi primitus mentem suam.

Deus vero quum absolute bonus sit, perpetuo beneficus est.—Athenag. pro Christian. Legat.

It required less than two centuries to see the oblation of enthusiastic suffering transferred from Rhea and Diana to Christ and the Father.

A circumstance recorded as occurring about the middle of the third century shows that the custom of the church remained unaltered. An African priest named Novatus produced a miscarriage in his wife by brutally kicking her during pregnancy, and was arraigned for the murder of his unborn child, not for violation of discipline.[1] Towards the close of the same century are to be placed the two oldest collections of ecclesiastical regulations—the "Canones Apostolorum" and the "Constitutiones Apostolorum." Although not entitled to the honor of emanating from their assumed author, St. Clement of Rome, the disciple of St. Peter, these collections unquestionably reflect the laws and customs of the church as they existed about the year 300, and their allusions to our subject are therefore decisive as respects this period.[2]

The Apostolic Constitutions contain full details as to the qualifications of all grades of the clergy, from ostiarius to bishop, with precise directions concerning their duties and functions, as well as the ritual of the church. Throughout these injunctions there is no indication that celibacy was in any way a necessity of the clerical character. One passage

[1] Uterus uxoris calce percussus, et abortione properante, in parricidium partus expressus. Et damnare nunc audet sacrificantium manus, cum sit ipse nocentior pedibus, quibus filius qui nascebatur occisus est.—Cypriani Epist. 52 (Ed. Amstelod. 1700).

[2] The Apostolic Constitutions are probably somewhat earlier in date—not far from A. D. 275, for Eusebius writing in the early part of the fourth century (Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 25) classes them with the doubtful Gospels, and the Apocalypse, as not included in the canon of the Scriptures, but nevertheless admitted by the church—showing that their origin had already been lost sight of, and that their authority was great. Athanasius, likewise, about the middle of the fourth century, enumerates them among those works which though not included in the canon are yet recommended by the church. Epiphanius not long afterwards refers to them in terms showing the high estimation in which they were held (See Preface to the translation of Bishop Bovius).

The Apostolic canons are somewhat later in date, and have been very variously estimated. In 493 Pope Gelasius placed them among the Apocrypha (Dist. xv. can. 3, § 64), but did not consider them as heretical. Dionysius Exiguus gives fifty of them, but most of the remainder have also been received by the church as authoritative, the 45th, 46th, 67th, and 84th being the only ones definitely rejected. At the same time Catholic writers complain that they have been altered and corrupted by heretics to suit peculiar doctrines.

commands that the bishop, priest, and deacon shall be men of but one wife, whether that wife be alive or dead; if single when admitted to orders, then no subsequent marriage was permitted; if married, they were not to seek other wives, but to be content with those whom they had before ordination. The members of the lower grades, the subdeacon, cantor, lector, and ostiarius, were likewise to be men of one wife, but if single before accepting clericature, to them marriage was permitted, and even recommended as a precaution. No ecclesiastic was allowed to marry a concubine, a slave, a widow, or a divorced woman.[1] In short, the rules which still govern the Greek church are correctly and succinctly set forth as the received practice of the third century, and it is evident that there was no thought of enforcing separation on those who were married previous to ordination.

The Apostolic Canons present a system of discipline identical in spirit with that of the Constitutions. The bishop or priest who should separate from his wife under plea of religion was threatened with excommunication, and was deposed for persistence. The husband of a second wife, of a widow, a courtesan, an actress, or a slave, was ineligible. No one above the grade of cantor was allowed to marry after entering the church.[2]

---

[1] Episcopum et presbyterum ac diaconum dicimus unius uxoris debere constitui, sive vivant eorum uxores, sive decesserint; non licere autem eis, si post ordinationem sine uxore fuerint, ad nuptias transire; vel si uxores habeant, cum aliis conjungi, sed contentos esse ea quam habentes ad ordinationem venerunt: ministros quoque, cantores, lectores, ostiarios unius uxoris viros esse jubemus. Si ante nuptias ad clerum venerunt, concedimus eis ut uxores ducere possint, siquidem hoc expetent, ne si peccaverint, pœna afficiantur. Statuimus autem nemini licere ex clero amicam, vel ancillam, vel viduam, vel repudiatam ducere, ut etiam lex vetat.—Constit. Apostol. Lib. VI. c. 17.

It would seem from the expression *concedimus* that already there were doubts as to the propriety of marriage on the part of those in the lower grades.

[2] CAN. VI. Episcopus aut presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciat; si vere rejecerit, excommunicetur, sed et si perseveraverit, dejiciatur.

CAN. XVII. Si quis post baptisma secundis fuerit nuptiis copulatus, aut concubinam habuerit, non potest esse episcopus, non presbyter aut diaconus, aut prorsus ex numeris eorum qui ministerio sacro deserviunt.

CAN. XVIII. Si quis viduam et ejectam acceperit, aut meretricem aut ancillam, vel aliquam de his quæ publicis spectaculis mancipantur, non potest esse episcopus aut presbyter, aut diaconus, aut ex eo numero qui ministerio sacro deserviunt.

CAN. XIX. Qui duas in conjugium

Up to this time—the close of the third century after Christ—it is therefore clear to a demonstration that the exercise of the sacred functions of a minister of the church was not considered to require the fanciful purity of celibacy. Indeed, this was generally admitted throughout the medieval period by the most respected authorities of the church, and it was not until the Reformers of the sixteenth century ventured to demand sacerdotal marriage as a right that the defenders of Catholic observances deemed it essential to assert for the rule a persistent existence coeval with the church itself. Thus, in the middle of the twelfth century, Gratian, the most learned canonist of his time, in the "Decretum" undertaken at the request of the Pope, which has ever since maintained its position as the standard of the canon law, had no scruple in admitting that the rule of the Greek church was at first universal, and that the prohibition of clerical marriage was the result of a subsequent enactment.[1] The reputation of St. Thomas Aquinas as a theologian was as unquestioned as that of Gratian as a canonist, and the Angelic Doctor admitted as freely as the canon lawyer that compulsory celibacy was an innovation on the rules of the primitive church, which he endeavors to explain by the superior sanctity of the early Christians rendering them superior to the asceticism requisite to the purity of a degenerate age, even as no modern warrior could emulate the exploit of Samson in throwing himself amid a hostile army with no weapon but a jaw-bone. He even admits that Christ required no separation between St. Peter and his wife.[2] Giraldus Cambrensis was one of the most learned

---

sorores acceperit, vel filiam fratris, clericus esse non poterit.

CAN. XXVII. Innuptis autem qui ad clerum profecti sunt, præcipimus, ut si voluerint, uxores accipiant; sed lectores cantoresque tantummodo.

I give the translation of Dionysius Exiguus as the most authoritative. He evidently considers the collection as genuine, though in his preface he admits that it was not universally received.

[1] Quæ (conjugia) sacerdotibus ante prohibitionem ubique licita erant, et in Orientali ecclesia usque hodie eis licere probatur.—Gratian. Comment. in can. 13 Dist. LVI. See also Comment. in Dist. XXXI.

[2] Et ideo Petrum quem invenit matrimonio junctum, non separavit ab uxore; Joannem tamen volentem nubere a nuptiis revocavit. . . Nec tamen quia antiqui patres perfectionem animi simul cum divitiis et matrimonio habuerunt, quod ad magnitudinem virtutis pertinebat, propter hoc infirmiores quique debent præsumere se tantæ esse virtutis ut cum divitiis et matrimonio possint ad perfectionem pervenire; sicut nec aliquis præsumit

men of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His orthodoxy was unquestioned, and as Archdeacon of St. David's he vigorously endeavored to enforce the rule on his recalcitrant clergy. Yet in a strenuous exhortation to them to amend the error of their ways in this respect, he admits that clerical celibacy has no Scriptural or Apostolic warrant.[1] How generally this was understood, indeed, is manifest when we see Alphonso the Wise of Castile, about the middle of the thirteenth century, asserting the fact in the most positive manner, while forbidding marriage to the priests of his dominions, in the code which is known as "Las Siete Partidas."[2]

Though the assertion that celibacy was enjoined on the ecclesiastics of the primitive church is therefore a comparatively modern error, yet the precepts quoted above from the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons show that already in the third century certain restrictions were recognized as to the marriage of those who sought to enter holy orders. To develop these will require a brief retrospect of the period already considered.

---

hostes inermis invadere, quia Samson cum mandibula asini multos hostium peremit. Nam illi patres si tempus fuisset continentiæ et paupertatis servandæ studiosius hoc implêssent.—S. Thomæ Aquinat. Summ. Theol. II. ii. Quæst. 186 Art. 4 § 3.

[1] Non enim in Veteri, non in novo Testamento, vel evangelicis vel apostolorum scriptis, prohibitam invenietis sacerdotibus copulam conjugalem, sed tantum a patribus sanctis et apostolicis viris in primitiva ecclesia, majoris honestatis et munditiæ causa, generalibus conciliis persuasum clero occidentalis ecclesiæ fuit, non autem orientalis.—Gemm. Eccles. Div. II. c. vi.

[2] Casar solien todos los clérigos antiguamiente en el comienzo de la nuestra ley, segunt lo facien en la ley vieja de los judios: mas despues deso los clérigos de occidente, que obedecieron siempre á la eglesia de Roma, acordáron de vevir en castidat.—Las Siete Partidas, P. I. Tit. vi. ley 39.

II.

ASCETICISM.

ALTHOUGH, as we have seen, the church had as yet adopted no dogma recognizing the peculiar sanctity of celibacy, it is not to be supposed that the spirit of asceticism had lain dormant during the period under consideration. The passages quoted above from Justin Martyr and Athenagoras show that ardent believers sought to mortify the flesh and to abstract themselves from worldly cares by maintaining the purity and isolation of a single life; and one from St. Ignatius indicates that even in his time the relative merit of marriage and abstinence was a matter of warm discussion. Zealots were not wanting who boldly declared that to follow the precepts of the Creator was incompatible with salvation, as though a beneficent God should create a species which could only preserve its temporal existence by forfeiting its promised eternity. Ambitious men were to be found who sought notoriety or power by the reputation to be gained from self-denying austerities, which brought them followers and believers venerating them as prophets. Philosophers were not lacking who, wearied with the endless speculations of Pythagorean and Platonic mysticism, sought relief in the truths of the Gospel, and perverted the simplicity of its teaching by interweaving with it the subtle philosophy of the schools, and who, intoxicated with the result, plunged either into the grossest animalism or the most rigorous asceticism. Such were Julian Cassianus, Marcion the founder of the Marcionites, Valentinus the leader of the Valentinians, Tatianus the heresiarch of the Encratitians, and the unknown authors of a crowd of sects which, under the names of Abstinentes, Apotactici, Excalceati, &c., practised various forms of mortification,

and denounced marriage as a deadly sin.[1] Such, on the other hand, were Prodicus, who seems to have originated the mystic libertinism of the Gnostics; Marcus, whose followers, the Marcosians, were accused of advocating the most disgusting practices; Basilides, who honored the passions as emanating from the Creator, and taught that their impulses were to be followed; such, too, perhaps, were the Nicolites, to whom I have already referred.

The church was too pure to be seduced by the latter: the time had not yet come for the former; and men who in the thirteenth century would have founded powerful orders and have been reverenced by the Christian world as new incarnations of Christ were, through their anachronism, stigmatized as heretics, and expelled from the communion of the faithful. Still, their religious fervor aud rigorous virtue had a gradually increasing influence on the practice, if not on the acknowledged dogmas, of the church.[2]

The first manifestation of this is to be seen in the opinions entertained with regard to second marriages. The extract made above from Athenagoras shows that many orthodox Christians looked upon such unions as adulterous, and though this opinion was branded by the church as a heresy when it was elevated into an article of belief by the Montanists and Cathari, or Puritans, and though even the piety and fervor of Tertullian could not save him from excommunication when he embraced the obnoxious doctrine, yet it had already found its way into the discipline of the priesthood, and had drawn the first line of separation between the clergy and the laity. At a period of early though uncertain date, the rule became

[1] So widely spread had these doctrines become by the close of the second century that Clement of Alexandria devotes the third book of his Stromata to their discussion and refutation. It is not worth while to examine their peculiarities minutely here. The curious reader will find all that he is likely to want concerning them in Clement, in Epiphanius, and in Philastrius, without plunging further into the vast sea of controversial patristic theology.

[2] Thus, towards the close of the second century, Dionysius of Corinth reproves Pinytus, Bishop of Gnosus, for endeavoring to enforce the practice of celibacy among his flock. "In qua (epistola) commonet et deprecatur episcopum eorum Pinytum, ne gravia onera discipulorum cervicibus superponat, ne ve fratribus necessitatem compulsæ castitatis indicat, in quo nonnullorum periclitetur infirmitas."—Rufin. Hist. Eccles. Euseb. L. IV. c. 23.

firmly and irrevocably established that no "digamus" or husband of a second wife was admissible to holy orders; and though, as we have seen, there is no reason for supposing that marriage after taking orders was prohibited to a bachelor, it was strictly forbidden to a widower. Tertullian, in his efforts to extend the principle of monogamy to the whole Christian body, assures us in unmistakable terms that the entire structure of the church was based upon the single marriages of its ministers.[1] Indeed, the rites of the church were in time considered so incompatible with a second marriage that the Council of Elvira, in 305, while admitting that a layman might, in cases of extreme necessity, administer baptism, is careful to specify that he must not be a digamus.[2]

The introduction of this entering-wedge is easily explicable, for it had apparent warrant in Apostolic precepts. St. Paul had specified the condition of being the husband of one wife —"unius uxoris vir"—as a prerequisite to the priesthood or episcopate,[3] and the temper of the times was such as to take this in its literal sense, rather than to adopt the more rational view that it was intended to exclude those among the Gentiles who indulged in the prevalent system of concubinage, or who among the Jews had fallen into the sin of polygamy.[4]

---

[1] Qualis es id matrimonium (secundum) postulans, quod eis a quibus postulas non licet habere, ab episcopo monogamo, a presbytero et diaconis ejusdem sacramenti? . . . Quomodo totum ordinem ecclesia de monogamis disponit, si non hæc disciplina præcidit in laicis, ex quibus ecclesiæ ordo proficit?—De Monog. c. 11.—It was evidently easier to pronounce Tertullian a heretic than to confute his logic.

How rapid was the progress of asceticism, and how nearly the Montanist doctrines escaped becoming the received faith of the church, is shown by can. 7 of the Council of Neocesarea in 314, which forbade priests from honoring with their presence the festivities of second marriages "cum pœnitentia bigamus egeat." So in 352 the Council of Laodicea devoted its first canon to the subject, grudgingly permitting those who openly and legitimately married a second time to be only restored to communion "juxta indulgentiam," after a certain period devoted to fasting and prayer—a principle repeated by innumerable councils during the succeeding centuries. And yet we learn by can. 8 of the Council of Nicæa that Cathari who refused to join in communion with digami were considered as heretics. Even as late as 484 we find in an epistle of St. Gelasius an exhortation that second marriages are not to be refused to laymen—"Quod secunda conjugia sæcularibus non negentur."—Gelasii PP. I. Epist. IX. Rubr. ad Cap. xxii.

[2] Concil. Eliberit. can. xxxviii.

[3] I. Tim. III. 2.—Tit. I. 6.

[4] In the Mosaic dispensation there was nothing to prevent the plurality of wives (Deuteron. XXI. 15) which was common in all periods of Jewish

When once this principle was fairly established, and when at the same time the efforts of the Montanists to render the rule binding on the whole body of Christian believers had failed, a distinction was established between the clergy and the laity, as regards the marriage tie, which gave to the former an affectation of sanctity, and which was readily capable of indefinite extension. It is therefore not difficult to comprehend how they soon were subjected to a revival of the old Levitical rule which enjoined on the priesthood to marry none but virgins,[1] and thus we reach the condition of

---

history. Its continuance is shown by the reproaches of Justin Martyr in his "Dialogus cum Tryphone adversus Judæos"—"Satius est vos Deum sequi quam indoctos et cæcos magistros vestros, qui ad hoc tempus et quatuor et quinque uxores unumquemque vestrum habere patiuntur." . . . "Nam si concederetur ut quam quisque velit quotque ei libeat uxores acceperet, id quod faciunt generis vestri homines, qui quemcunque in locum veniant aut mittantur, nuptiarum nomine uxores ducunt, multo magis id Davidi concessum erat." (Mag. Biblioth. Patrum. II. 36–7.) In 393 Theodosius the Great endeavored to put an end to it—"Nemo Judæorum morem suum in conjunctionibus retineat, nec juxta legem suam nuptias sortiatur, nec in diversa sub uno tempore conjugia conveniat," (Const. 7 Cod. Lib. II. Tit. ix.,) the preservation of which law by Justinian nearly a century and a half later shows that the necessity for the restriction still existed—although it is observable that it is omitted in the Theodosian code. So, also, in some ancient Arabic canons, passing under the name of the Council of Nicæa. "Nulli Christianorum duas habere uxores licet vel plures simul gentilium more, qui tres et quatuor simul ducunt. . . . Hac autem lege omnes obligantur Christiani, sive laici sint sive sacerdotes, presbyteri, diaconi, principes, reges et imperatores." (Decret. ex quatuor Regum libris, can. v. —Harduin. Concil. I. 511.)

This explanation of St. Paul's instructions is adopted by Theophylact. "Id vero Judæorum causa dicebat, illis enim permittebatur polygamia, hoc est cum multis connubia jungere." (Comment. in I. Epist. ad Timoth.) And it would appear to be the opinion advanced in a tract of uncertain date, attributed by some authorities to St. Cyprian or St. Augustine, which paraphrases the text thus—"non plures habens uxores quam unam." (De XII. Abusionibus Seculæ cap. x.—Opp. St. Cypriani, Mantiss. p. 49, Oxon. 1682.) The same view was indorsed by the Church of Geneva, in 1563, in their response to certain queries of the Huguenot Synod of Lyons (Cap. XXI. Art. x. apud Quick, Synodicon in Gall. Reform. I. 49).

The manner in which this text is alluded to in the Apostolic Constitutions would seem to indicate a belief that it rendered an unmarried man ineligible to the episcopate. "Talem vere oportet esse episcopum qui sit unius vir uxoris, qui quidem semel nupserit bene suæ domui præsideat . . . si sit honestus, fidelis, moderatus, si uxorem honestam habeat vel habuerit; si filios religiose educatos, etc." (Const. Apost. Lib. II. c. ii.) It will be observed that the unmarried man is not alluded to as a possible candidate.

[1] Levit. XXI. 13–14.—It took long to enforce this rule in practice, though in theory it was early established. In 414 we find Innocent I. complaining that men who had taken widows to wife were even elevated to the episcopate (Innocent I. Epist. XXII. cap. 1), and it forms the subject of several of the epistles of Leo I. (Harduin. Concil. I. 1767, 1772, etc.).

ecclesiastical discipline at the close of the third century, as clearly defined in the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons.

Meanwhile, public opinion had moved faster than the canons. Ascetic sects multiplied and increased, and the highest authorities in the church could not always resist the contagion. The melancholy example of the self-sacrifice of Origen shows how absorbing was the struggle and how intense was the conviction that nature must be conquered at all hazards, whatever means might be found necessary for that object. Nor was Origen alone, for an obscene sect under the name of Valesians undertook to follow his example, and to procure proselytes by force among those unhappy enough to fall into their hands;[1] while, in the canons of the succeeding century, the repeated prohibition of the practice of self-mutilation shows how difficult it was to eradicate the belief that such immolation was an acceptable offering to a beneficent Creator.[2] Indeed, Sextus Philosophus, an ascetic author of the third century, whose writings long passed current under the name Pope Sixtus II., did not hesitate to openly advocate the prac-

[1] Epiphan. Panar. Hæres. LVIII. Epiphanius however admits his ignorance of the locality and date of the Valesii. Their customs were founded upon the text "Si scandalizaverit te ullum ex membris tuis, abscinde abs te."—Matt. XVIII. 8.

[2] Can. Apostol. XXII. XXIII. XXIV.—Concil. Nicæn. c. I.—Concil. Arelatens. II. ann. 452, c. vii. &c. At the close of the 12th century, the canons were relaxed by Clement III. in favor of a priest of Ravenna whose ascetic ardor had led him to follow the example of Origen, and who was permitted to retain all the functions of the priesthood, except the ministry of the altar (Can. iv. Extra, I. xx.). Even in the sixteenth century, Ambrosio Morales, a Spanish Dominican, took the same effectual means to extinguish his passions; expelled from his order in consequence, as commanded by the canons, he devoted himself to literature, and died in 1590, at the age of 60, while professor of eloquence in the University of Alcalà (De Thou, Lib. XCIX.). The delusion, indeed, has perpetuated itself to the nineteenth century, in a Russian sect near Toula. Catharine II. and her successors endeavored in vain to repress it, and in 1818 Alexander I. ordered the banishment of the enthusiasts to Siberia, but the ardor with which they courted martyrdom rendered their zeal dangerously contagious, and the wiser plan was adopted of leaving them in obscurity (Pluquet, Dict. des Hérésies, s. v. Mutilés de Russie). A recent traveller describes them under the name of *Skopsis*, as a large tribe inhabiting the Caucasus, where they flourish in spite of the most energetic measures of repression on the part of the Russian government, imprisonment, banishment to Siberia, conscription, and even the punishment of death being powerless to overcome the influence of religious fanaticism.—Brugsch, Reise der Preussischen Gesandschaft nach Persien, 1860 und 1861 (London Reader, Jan. 3, 1863).

tice,[1] and though his arguments were regarded as heretical by the church, they were at least as logical as the practical application given to the texts commonly quoted in support of the prohibition of marriage.

Not all, however, who sought the praise or the benefits of austerity were prepared to pay such a price for victory in the struggle with themselves. Enthusiastic spirits, exalted with the prospect of heavenly rewards or of earthly peace promised to those who should preserve the purity of virginity and live abstracted from household cares and pleasures, took the vow of chastity which had already become customary. This vow, however, was as yet purely voluntary. It bound those who assumed it only during their own pleasure,[2] and they were, during its continuance, in no degree segregated from the world. So untrammelled, indeed, were their actions, that Cyprian rebukes the holy virgins for frequenting the baths in which both sexes indiscriminately exposed themselves, and he does not hesitate to attribute to this cause much of the ruin and dishonor of its votaries, that afflicted the church.[3] Yet this was by no means the severest trial to which they subjected their constancy. Some, perhaps to court spiritual martyrdom, and show to their admirers a virtue robust enough to pass unscathed the most fiery trials—others, perhaps finding too late that they had overtasked their strength, and that existence was a burthen without the society of some beloved object, associated themselves with congenial souls of the opposite sex, and formed Platonic unions in which

---

[1] Omne membrum corporis quod invitat te contra pudicitiam agere abjiciendum est. Melius est uno membro vivere quam cum duobus perire. —Sexti Philos. Sent. IX.

[2] Non hoc jubet Dominus, sed hortatur: nec jugum necessitatis imponit, quando maneat voluntatis arbitrium liberum.—Cyprian. de Habit. Virgin.

[3] Spectaculum de lavacro facis: theatro sunt fœdiora quo convenis; verecundia illic omnis exuitur, simul cum amictu vestis honor corporis ac pudor ponitur, denotanda et contrectanda virginitas revelatur. Jam nunc considera an cum vestita es, verecunda sis inter viros, talis, cui ad inverecundiam proficit audacia nuditatis. Sic ergo frequenter Ecclesia virgines suas plangit, sic ad infames earum ac detestabiles fabulas ingemiscit, sic flos virginum extinguitur, honor continentiæ ac pudor cæditur, gloria omnis ac dignitas profanatur.—Cyprian. *op. cit.*

That such laxity of conduct was permitted to professed virgins is the more remarkable, since promiscuous bathing was prohibited even to the Christian laity by the Apostolic Constitutions, Lib. I. cap. X.

they aspired to maintain the purity which they had vowed to God. At the best, the sensible members of the church were scandalized by these irregularities, which gave so much scope to the comments of unbelievers; but nature not unfrequently asserted her outraged rights to the shame and confusion of the hapless votaries of an artificial and superhuman perfection. Tertullian does not hesitate to assert that the desire of enjoying the reputation of virginity led to much secret immorality, the effects of which were concealed by frequent resort to infanticide.[1] Cyprian chronicles, not with surprise, but sorrow, the numerous instances he had known of ruin resulting for those who had so fatally miscalculated their power of resisting temptation; with honest indignation he denounces the ecclesiastics who abandoned themselves to practices which, if not absolutely criminal, were brutally degrading; and, with a degree of common sense hardly to be expected from so warm an admirer of the perfection of virginity, he advises that those whose frailty rendered doubtful the strict observance of their vows should return to the world and satisfy their longings in legitimate marriage.[2] This prudent consideration for the weakness of human nature was shared by the ecclesiastical authorities. In the order of widows professed, which was recognized by the early church, the Apostolic Constitutions enjoin that none should be admitted below the age of sixty, to avoid the danger of their infringing their vows by a second

[1] Quanta etiam circa uterum audebit ne mater detegatur! Scit Deus quot jam infantes et perfici et perduci ad partum integros duxerit, debellatos aliquandiu a matribus. Facillime semper concipiunt et felicissime pariunt hujusmodi virgines, et quidem simillimos patribus.—Tertull. de Virgin. Veland. c. xv.

[2] Denique quam graves multorum ruinas hinc fieri vidimus, et per hujusmodi illicitas et periculosas conjunctiones corrumpi plurimas virgines cum summo animi nostri dolore conspicimus. . . . Si autem perseverare nolunt vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant quam in ignem delictis suis cadant. . . . Certe, ipsa concubitus, ipse complexus, ipsa confabulatio et osculatio, et conjacentium duorum turpis et fœda dormitio, quantum dedecoris et criminis confitetur.—Cypriani Epist. IV. ad Pomponium.

The heresiarch Paul of Samosata affords perhaps the best known example of the extent to which these practices were sometimes carried, and the good fathers of the Council of Antioch, who condemned him, lamented the general prevalence of the vice thence arising.—"Neque illud ignoramus quot ex ejusmodi mulierum contubernio partim in præceps lapsi sint, partim in suspicionem venerint."—Concil. Antioch. (Harduin. Concil. I. 198.)

marriage; but the writer is careful to add that such a marriage is not to be condemned for itself, but only on account of the falsehood which it occasioned.[1] In all these vows, therefore, there was evidently nothing irrevocable.

A fresh stimulus to asceticism was found in the neo-platonic philosophy which arose at the close of the second century. Ammonius Sacca, its founder, himself is said to have been a Christian, and his two most noted disciples, Origen and Plotinus, fairly illustrate the influence which his doctrines had upon both the Christian and pagan world. Although, under Porphyry, neo-platonism became the avowed antagonist of Christianity, there was much in its elevated mysticism which was captivating to the fervor of proselytes; and the asceticism which it inculcated may fairly be assumed as inflaming the emulation of those who were already predisposed to regard the mortification of the flesh as a means of raising the spirit to God.

While the Christian world was thus agitated with the speculative doctrines and practical observances of so many sects which seemed to regard the relations between the sexes as the crucial test and exponent of religious ardor,[2] a new dogma arose in the East and advanced with a rapidity which shows how much progress the spirit of asceticism had made, and how ripe were the minds of unsettled zealots to receive

---

[1] Constit. Apost. L. II. c. i., ii. "Bigamia post professionem iniqua habenda est non propter conjunctionem sed propter mendacium."—These widows and virgins were supported out of the tithes of the church, and were therefore under its control.—Ibid. VIII. xxxvi.

The change is striking by the end of the century, when widows thus infringing their vows were unrelentingly and irrevocably condemned—"damnationem habebunt, quoniam fidem castitatis, quam Domino voverunt, irritam facere ausæ sunt. Tales ergo personæ sine Christianorum communione maneant quæ etiam nec in convivio cum Christianis communicent."—Statut. Eccles. Antiq. can. civ.

[2] The calm good sense of Lactantius shows how little the fervent admiration of virginity was respected by the sober portion of the church—"Sicut enim recte ambulare bonum est, errare autem malum, sic moveri affectibus in rectum bonum est, in pravum, malum. Nam si libido extra legitimum torum non evagetur, licet sit vehemens, tamen culpa caret. Sin vero appetit alienam, licet sit mediocris, vitium tamen maximum est."—Instit. Divin. Lib. VI. c. xvi.—See also cap. xxiii. devoted especially to the relations between the sexes. Had celibacy at this time been enjoined on the clergy, he could scarcely have avoided alluding to it.

whatever theory seemed to trample most ruthlessly upon nature, and to render the path of salvation inaccessible to all save those capable of the profoundest self-mortification. Towards the end of the third century, the Persian Manes made his advent in the Empire, announcing himself as the Paraclet and as a new and higher Apostle. Though his career as an envoy of Christ was cut short by Archelaus at the colloquy of Cascar, and though his head shortly afterwards paid the debt of Sapor's vengeance, his disciples were more successful, and the hateful name of Manichean soon acquired a sinister notoriety which kept its significance for a thousand years. Perhaps the doctrine of Dualism, borrowed from the Ormouzd and Ahriman of the Magi, had an attraction when grafted on the simplicity of Christianity; perhaps the Platonic notion of the identity of the soul with its Creator recommended it to the followers of the schools; certainly his Brahminical and Buddhist views with respect to the use of meat and horror of marriage won for him numberless adherents among the relics of the Valentinians, Encratitians, Abstinentes, Cathari, and other similar sects, and struck an answering chord among those of the orthodox who were yielding to the gradually increasing influence of asceticism. The fierce temporal persecution of the still Pagan emperors, and the unavailing anathemas of the church, as yet confined to spiritual censures, seemed only to give new impetus to the proselyting energy of the Elect, and to scatter the seed more widely among the faithful. After this period we hear but little of the earlier ascetic heresies; the system of Manes, as moulded by his followers, was so much more complete that it swallowed up its prototypes and rivals, and concentrated upon itself the vindictiveness of a combined church and state. So thorough was this identification that in 381 a law of Theodosius the Great directed against the Manicheans assumes that the sects of Encratitæ, Apotactitæ, Hydroparastatæ, and Saccofori were merely nominal disguises adopted to avoid detection.[1]

Though the church might not be willing to adopt the Manichean doctrine that man's body is the work of the

[1] Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. v. l. 7.—Cf. Concil. Quinisext. c. 95.

Demon, and that the soul as partaking of the substance of God was engaged in an eternal war with it, and should abuse and mortify it on principle,[1] yet the general tendency of religious enthusiasm to asceticism made the practical result common to all, and there can be but little doubt that the spreading belief in Manes exercised a powerful influence in accelerating the progress of orthodox sacerdotalism. The fact that the church as yet was itself persecuted, and had no power of imposing its peculiarities on others, bound it to the necessity of maintaining its character for superior sanctity and virtue, and ardent believers could not afford to let themselves be outdone by heretics in the austerities which were popularly received as the conclusive evidence of religious conviction. We may therefore reasonably imagine a rivalry in asceticism, which, however unconscious, may yet have powerfully stimulated the stern and unbending souls of such men as St. Anthony, Malchus, and Hilarion, even as Tertullian, after combating the errors of Montanus, adopted and exaggerated his ascetic heresies. How narrowly, indeed, the church in process of time escaped from adopting practically, if not theoretically, the Manichean views respecting marriage, and how thoroughly it became interpenetrated with the Manichean spirit, is clearly demonstrated by the writings of the orthodox Fathers, who in their extravagant admiration for virginity could not escape from decrying matrimony. It was stigmatized as the means of transmitting original sin, a condition which necessarily entailed sin on its participants, and one which at best could only call for mercy and pardon, and be allowable only on sufferance. It is therefore not surprising if those who were not prepared to undergo the privations thus enjoined as the duty of all Christians should habitually stigmatize the mortifications of their self-denying brethren as Manicheism in spirit if not in name.[2] The com-

[1] Epiphan. Panar. Hæres. LXVI.—The same doctrine was held by the Patricians, according to Philastrius, P. III. No. 15.

[2] Jovinian, it seems, did not neglect this ready means of attack (Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. I. c. 3), nor was he alone, for Jerome complains that the worldly and dissolute sheltered themselves behind the same excuse, and reproached the ardent zealots—"Et quam viderit pallentem atque tristem miseram et Manichæam vocant. Et consequenter tali enim proposito jejunium hæresis est." (Epist. XXII. ad Eustoch. c. 5.)

parison indeed became striking when the Christians and the heretics both adopted the system of restricting their sacred class from the pleasures of the world, when the Manichean Elect, who remained unmarried and fasted on vegetable food, were equivalent to the priesthood, while the Auditors, to whom a larger liberty was allowed, represented the orthodox laity.[1] It is by no means improbable, indeed, that the tenets of the Manicheans have been exaggerated by their opponents, and that in process of time, as the church became avowedly ascetic, there was little practical difference on this point between Manicheism and orthodoxy.[2]

Thus even as early as the time of Cyprian, the comparative merits of martyrdom and virginity were rated as one hundred to sixty;[3] while, after martyrdom had gone out of fashion, St. Patrick, in the fifth century, gives us a more elaborate classification, under which bishops and doctors of the church, monks and virgins were rated at one hundred; ecclesiastics in general and widows professed at sixty, while the faithful laity only stand at thirty.[4] It was therefore a heresy for

---

[1] Augustin. Epist. LXXIV. ad Deuterium.

[2] St. Augustine represents Faustus as arguing that both in doctrine and practice his sect only followed the example of the Church. Thus Faustus ridicules the idea that they could prohibit marriage, and asserts positively that they only encouraged those who manifested a desire to persevere in continence—"Et tamen hoc nobis primo respondeatis velim, utrum omnino virgines facere doctrina sit dæmoniorum, an solum per prohibitionem facere nubendi? Si per prohibitionem, nihil ad nos: nam et ipsi tam stultum judicamus inhibere volentem, quam nefas et impium satis nolentem cogere. Si vero favere huic quoque proposito et non reluctari volenti, id quoque doctrinam putatis esse dæmoniorum, taceo nunc vestrum periculum . . . . Quapropter et nos hortamur quidem volentes ut permaneant, non tamen cogimus invitas ut accedant. Novimus enim quantum voluntas, quantum et naturæ ipsius vis etiam contra legem publicam valeat, nedum adversus privatam, cui respondere sit liberum, Nolo. Si igitur hoc modo virgines facere sine crimine est, extra culpam sumus et nos: sin quoquo genere virgines facere crimen est, rei estis et vos. Jam qua mente aut consilio hoc adversum nos capitulum proferatis, ego non video."—Augustin. contra Faustum Manichæum Lib. XXX. c. iv.

If this is to be received as an authentic exposition of Manichean principles, it will be seen that the church was not long in outstripping the heretics.

[3] Primus enim centenarius martyrum fructus est, secundus sexagenarius vester est.—Cyprian. de Habit. Virgin.

[4] Centesimum episcopi et doctores qui omnibus omnia sunt, sexagesimum clerici et viduæ qui continentes sunt, tricesimum laici qui fideles sunt, qui perfecte Trinitatem credunt . . . Monachos vero et virgines cum centesimis jungimus.—Synod. II. S. Patric. can. xviii.

Jovinian to claim equal merit for maids, wives, and widows; and though St. Jerome, in controverting this, commenced by carefully denying any intentional disrespect to marriage, still his ardor carried him so far in that direction that he aroused considerable feeling among reasonable men, and he was obliged formally and repeatedly to excuse himself.[1] St. Augustine recognized the difficulty of reconciling the current doctrines of his time with the necessities of humanity when he wrote a treatise for the purpose of proving the difference between the good of marriage and the evil of carnal desire, which, while it perpetuated the species, likewise perpetuated original sin.[2] St. Martin of Tours was less circumspect when he was only willing to admit that marriage was pardonable, while licentiousness was punishable, and virginity glorious;[3] and even he was far behind the enthusiasts of his time, for while he deplores the miserable folly of those who consider marriage to be equal to virginity, he is likewise obliged to reprove the error of those who were only willing to compare it to lechery—the former belief being evidently much more extravagant than the latter, in the Saint's estimation.[4] So a treatise on chastity, which passes under the name of Sixtus III., barely admits that married people can earn eternal life, though the glory of heaven is not for them; and apparently it is only the dread of being classed with the Manicheans that leads the author to shrink from the conclusions of his own reasoning, and to state that he does not absolutely condemn matrimony or prohibit those from marriage who cannot restrain themselves.[5] Not a little Manichæan in its tendency is a declaration of Gregory the Great to Augustine the Apostle

---

[1] Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. I. c. 2.—Epist. L. LI. LII.

[2] Intentio igitur hujus libri est . . . ut carnalis concupiscentiæ malum, propter quod homo qui per eam nascitur trahit originale peccatum, discernamus a bonitate nuptiarum.—Augustin. de concupisc. et de nuptiis.

[3] Conjugium pertineat ad veniam, virginitas spectet ad gloriam, fornicatio deputetur ad pœnam.—Sulpic. Sever. Dial. II.

[4] Ibid.—Ita et illi qui conjugia fornicationi comparant, vehementer errant; et illi qui conjugia virginitati æquanda æstimant, miseri penitus et stulti sunt.

[5] Quid ergo, damnavit Deus nuptias? absit. Sed tantum regni gloriam illis, non vitam, si tamen omnia mandata servare poterint, denegasse censetur . . . Non damnamus nuptias nec incontinentes nubere prohibemus. —(Mag. Bib. Pat. T. V. P. II. pp. 652, 658.)

of England;[1] and Epiphanius hardly seems to realize the practical Manicheism of his declaration that the church is based upon virginity as upon its corner stone.[2] How keenly the more moderate section of the church at times felt the danger to which she was exposed by this intemperate ascetic zeal, and how narrow was the path which she had to trace between orthodoxy and heresy, is shown by some items of the examination to which all bishops-elect were subjected by the fourth Council of Carthage in 398. Among other points of faith, inquiry was to be made whether they disapprove of marriage, or condemn second marriages, or prohibit the use of meat.[3] It shows how readily Manicheism and Catharism might lurk in the asceticism of the most devout.

These tendencies, however, were not of sudden development. Fully a hundred years were required for their formal recognition and adoption by the church, and at the close of the third century ecclesiastical authorities still condemned the ruthless asceticism which was subsequently glorified as the highest effort of Christian virtue. Thus, in the Apostolic Constitutions, the influence of Manicheism and its kindred sects was as yet only shown by the opposition aroused to their doctrines; and the necessity of that opposition was manifested by the careful and repeated declaration of the purity and sanctity of the marriage-tie, both as regards the priesthood and the laity.[4] Not less instructive is the bare toleration almost grudgingly extended to vows of celibacy, and the cautious restriction which declared that such vows are not to be held as justifying a disparagement of matri-

---

[1] Quia voluptas ipsa esse sine culpa nullatenus potest.—Gregor. I. Regist. Lib. xi. Epist. lxiv. Respons. 10.

[2] Fundamenta igitur et velut crepido quædam in ecclesia virginitas est.—Epiphan. Exposit. Fid. Cathol.

[3] Conc. Carthag. IV. c. 1.

[4] "Nuptiæ igitur honestæ et commendabiles sunt, ipsaque liberorum procreatio pura est; nihil enim mali inest in bono" (Lib. vi. c. 28). Similar expressions directed against the Manichean tendencies of the period are to be found in cap. 11, 14, and 26 of the same book. These are apparently intended for the laity, but the direct bearing of the following on the priesthood is undeniable. "Nam nec legitimus concubitus, nec cubile, nec sanguinis fluxus, nec nocturna pollutio potest hominis naturam contaminare, vel *Spiritum sanctum auferre*, sed sola impietas et actio injusta" (Lib. vi. c. 27). A comparison of this with the disgusting details of the Penitentials of succeeding ages makes manifest how complete was the revolution in the doctrines of the church.

mony.[1] Equally suggestive are the Apostolic Canons. The sixth of these, as has been already shown, pronounces deposition on the bishop or priest who separates himself from his wife under pretence of religion; while the fiftieth threatens equally rigorous punishment on the clerk or layman who shall abstain from marriage, from wine, or from meat, not for the purpose of devoting himself to piety, but on account of holding them in abomination, such belief being a slander on the goodness of God, and a calumny on the perfection of his works.[2]

The tide, however, had fairly set in, and these barriers were too feeble to restrain the swelling current. The influences which were now so powerfully at work could not manifestly be applied to the whole body of believers, as they could only result in gradual extinction or in lawless licentiousness; but as the ecclesiastical body was perpetuated by a kind of spiritual generation, it could, without hazarding a decrease of numbers, be subjected to regulations which should render obligatory the asceticism which as yet had been optional. The attempt to effect this was not long wanting. About the year 305 the Spanish council of Elvira proclaimed in the most decided manner that all concerned in the ministry of the altar should practise entire abstinence from their wives, under pain of forfeiting their positions. It further endeavored

---

[1] "De virginitate præceptum non accepimus, volentium autem potestati id remittimus, tanquam votum" (Lib. IV. c. 14). "Virgo non ordinatur; mandatum enim Domini non habemus: propositi enim est hoc certamen, non ad vituperationem nuptiarum, sed ad exercitium pietatis" (Lib. VIII. c. 30). No stronger contrast can be asked than that which a little more than a century produced between the calm and sensible piety of the Constitutions, and the extravagant rhapsodies of Jerome, Augustine, and Martin.

[2] Si quis episcopus, aut presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quivis omnino de sacerdotali consortio, nuptiis et carnibus et vino abstinuerit: non propterea quo mens ad cultum pietatis reddatur exercitatior, sed propter abominationem: oblitus quod omnia pulchra valde, et quod masculum et fœminam Deus creavit hominem, sed diffamationibus lacessens creationem Dei vocat ad calumniam; aut corrigitor aut deponitor, et ex ecclesia rejicitor. Consimiliter et laicus (Canon L.). This canon was omitted by Dionysius Exiguus, but was subsequently admitted by the church, notwithstanding that it proves in the clearest manner the full enjoyment of marriage by the clergy of all grades. The sixth canon (numbered fifth in the full collection), which prohibits the separation of ecclesiastics from their wives, was likewise not rejected, although in the eighteenth century Cabassut stigmatized it as heretical—"vero-similiter fuit olim ab hæreticis vel schismaticis confectus."

to put a stop to the scandals of the Agapetæ, or female companions, which the rigor of this canon was so well fitted to increase, by decreeing that no clerk should permit any woman to dwell with him, except a sister or a daughter, and even these only when bound by vows of virginity.[1] This was simply the legislation of a local synod, and its canons were not entitled to respect or obedience beyond the limits of the churches directly represented. Its action may not improbably be attributed to the commanding influence of one of its leading members, Osius, Bishop of Cordova, and that action had no result in inducing the church at large to adopt the innovation. Some ten years later were held the more important councils of Ancyra and Neocæsarea, which serve to fix for us the discipline of the period, at least in the East. By the former we learn that marriage in orders was still permitted as far as the diaconate, provided the postulant at the time of ordination declared his desire to enjoy the privilege, and asserted his inability to remain single. This is even less stringent than the rule quoted above from the Apostolic Constitutions, proving incontestably that there was no thought of imposing restrictions on the intercourse between the married clergy and their wives.[2] By the council of Neocæsarea it was provided that a priest marrying in orders should be

---

[1] Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris et diaconibus vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio abstinere se a conjugibus suis et non generare filios: quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur.—Concil. Eliberitan. can. 33.

Episcopus vel quilibet alius clericus aut sororem aut filiam virginem dicatam Deo tantum secum habeat: extraneam nequaquam habere placuit. —Ibid. can. 27.

There is a canon attributed to the first council of Arles, held in 314, which, if genuine, marks the extension of the principle eastward—"Præterea, quod dignum, pudicum et honestum est, suademus fratribus, ut sacerdotes et levitæ cum uxoribus suis non coeant, quia ministerio quotidiano occupantur. Quicumque contra hanc constitutionem fecerit, a clericatus honore deponatur" (Concil. Arelatens. I. can. 29)—but as it is contained in but one MS., Mansi supposes it to probably belong to some subsequent and forgotten synod. It is almost identical with Concil. Telensis can. 9, ann. 386, and, whatever be its date, its phraseology evidently indicates that it records the first introduction of the restriction in its locality.

[2] Diaconi quicumque ordinantur, si in ipsa ordinatione protestati sunt et dixerunt velle se in conjugio copulari, quia sic manere non possunt: hi si postmodum uxores duxerint, in ministerio maneant, propterea quod eis episcopus licentiam dederit. Quicumque sane tacuerunt, et susceperunt manus impositionem, professi continentiam, et postea nuptiis obligati sunt, a ministerio cessare debebunt.—Concil. Ancyran. can. 9.

deposed, but a heavier punishment was reserved for those guilty of what was then considered the greater sin of licentiousness. That no interference was intended by this with the relations existing between the married clergy and their wives is shown by another canon depriving of his functions any priest who submitted to the commission of adultery by his wife without separating himself from her—being a practical extension of the Levitical rule, now by common consent adopted as a portion of ecclesiastical discipline.[1]

[1] Presbyter si uxorem acceperit ab ordine deponatur. Si vero fornicatus fuerit aut adulterium perpetraverit, amplius pelli debet et ad pœnitentiam redigi.—Concil. Neocæsar. can. 1.

This is precisely the reverse of the doctrine of later periods, in which marriage is a far worse crime than mere irregularities, however scandalous.

Si vero post ordinationem adulterata fuerit, dimittere eam convenit. Quod si cum illa convixerit, ministerium sibi commissum obtinere non poterit. —Ibid. can. 8.

III.

THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.

THUS far the church had grown and strengthened without any recognized head or acknowledged legislative power. Each patriarch or metropolitan, surrounded by his provincial synod, established regulations for his own region, with no standard but the canon of Scripture, being responsible only to the opinion of his compeers, who might refuse to receive his clergy to communion. Under this democratic autonomy the church had outlived persecution, had repudiated and cast out innumerable successive heresies, and, thanks to external pressure, had managed to preserve its unity. The time, however, had now come for a different order of things. Constantine, following the dictates of his unerring political sagacity, allied himself with the Christians, professed conversion, and Christianity, powerful even when merely existing on sufferance, became the religion of the state. As such, the maintenance of its unity was a political necessity, to accomplish which required some central power entitled to general respect and implicit obedience. The subtle disputations concerning the fast-spreading Arian heresy were not likely to be stilled by the mere *ipse dixit* of any of the Apostolic Sees, nor by the secular wisdom of crown lawyers and philosophic courtiers. A legislative tribunal which should be at once a court of last appeal, and a senate empowered to enact laws of binding force, as the final decisions of the Church Universal, was not an unpromising suggestion. Such an assemblage had hitherto been impossible, for the distances to be traversed and the expenses of the journey would have precluded an attendance sufficiently numerous to earn the title of Œcumenic; but an imperial rescript which put the governmental machinery of

posts at the service of the prelates could smooth all difficulties, and enable every diocese to send its representative. In the year 325, therefore, the FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL assembled at Nicæa. With the fruitlessness of its endeavors to extinguish the Arian controversy we have nothing to do, but in its legislative capacity its labors had an influence upon our subject which merits a closer examination than would appear necessary from the seemingly unimportant nature of the proceedings themselves.

With the full belief that the canons of a general council were the direct operation of the Holy Ghost, they were of course entitled to unquestioning reverence, and those of Nicæa have always been regarded as of special and peculiar authority, cutting off all debate on any question to which they might be applicable. The third of the series has been the main reliance of sacerdotal controversialists, and has been constantly appealed to as the unanswerable justification for enforcing the rule of discipline which enjoined celibacy on all admitted to holy orders. Its simple phraseology would hardly seem to warrant such conclusion. "The Great Synod has strictly forbidden to bishop, priest, and deacon, and to every ecclesiastic, to have a 'subintroductam mulierem,' unless perhaps a mother, a sister, an aunt, or such person only as may be above suspicion."[1]

This is the only allusion to the subject in the Nicene canons. As it does not include wives among those exempted from the prohibition of residence, we can hardly be surprised that those who believe celibacy to be of apostolic origin should assume that it was intended to pronounce an absolute separation between husband and wife. As the Council of Elvira, however, contains the only enunciation of such a rule pre-

---

[1] I give the version of Dionysius Exiguus. "Interdixit per omnia magna synodus, non episcopo, non presbytero, non diacono, nec alicui omnino qui in clero est, licere subintroductam habere mulierem; nisi forte matrem, aut sororem, aut amitam, vel eas tantum personas quæ suspiciones effugiunt."

An Arabic version of the Nicene canons specially limits the prohibition to bishops, and to unmarried priests and deacons.—"Decernimus ut episcopi non habitent cum mulieribus. . . . Idem decernitur de omni sacerdote cœlibe, idemque de diaconis qui sine uxore sunt." (Harduin. Concil. I. 463.)—This expresses exactly the discipline of the Greek church.

vious to that of Nicæa; as those of Ancyra and Neocæsarea and the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons, directly or indirectly, allow the conjugal relations of ecclesiastics to remain undisturbed, we are certainly justified in assuming the impossibility that an innovation of so much importance would be introduced in the discipline of the universal church without being specifically designated and commanded in terms which would admit of no misunderstanding. That the meaning of the canon is really and simply that alone which appears on the surface—to put an end to the disorders and scandals arising from the improper female companions of unmarried priests—is, moreover, I think, susceptible of easy demonstration.

The term "subintroducta mulier"—γυνη συνεισακτος—is almost invariably used in an unfavorable sense, and is equivalent to the "fœmina extranea," and nearly to the "focaria" and "concubina" of later times, as well as to the "agapeta" and "dilecta" of earlier date. We have already seen how Cyprian, seventy-five years before, denounced the agapetæ who even then were so common, and whose companionship proved so disastrous to all parties, but the custom continued, and its evil consequences became more and more openly and shamelessly displayed. In 314 the council of Ancyra denounced it in terms implying its public recognition.[1] At the close of the same century, Jerome still finds in it ample material for his fiery indignation; and his denunciations manifest that it was still a corroding cancer in the purity of the church, prevailing to an extent that rendered its suppression a matter of the utmost importance.[2] The testimony of Epiphanius is almost equally strong, and shows that it was a

---

[1] Virgines autem quæ conveniunt cum aliquibus, tanquam sorores, habitare prohibemus. — Concil. Ancyrens. can. 18.

[2] Pudet dicere, proh nefas! triste sed verum est. Unde in ecclesias Agapetarum pestis introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? immo unde novum concubinarum genus? Plus inferam. Unde meretrices univiræ? eadem domo, uno cubiculo, sæpe tenentur et lectulo: et suspiciosos nos vocant si aliquid extimemus. Frater sororem virginem deserit, cœlibum spernit virgo germanum, fratrem quærit extraneum: et cum in eodem proposito esse se simulent, quærunt alienorum spiritale solatium, ut domi habeant carnale commercium. (Epist. XXII. ad Eustoch. c. 5.) It should be observed that celibacy had become the rule of the church at the time when Jerome wrote thus.

source of general popular reproach.[1] Such a reform was therefore well worthy the attention of the Nicene fathers, and that this was the special object of the canon is indicated by Jerome himself, who appeals to it as the authority under which an ecclesiastic refusing to separate himself from his agapeta could be punished.[2]

That it had no bearing upon the wives of priests can moreover be proved by several reasons. The restriction on matrimony has never at any time extended below the subdiaconate, the inferior grades of the secular clergy having always been free to live with their wives, even in the periods of the most rigid asceticism. The canon, however, makes no distinction. Its commands are applicable "alicui omnino qui in clero est." To suppose therefore that it was intended to include wives in its restriction is to prove too much—the *reductio ad absurdum* is complete.[3] Equally convincing is the fact that when, towards the close of the century, the rule of celibacy and separation was introduced, and Siricius and Innocent I. ransacked the Gospels for texts of more than doubtful application with which to support the innovation, they made no reference whatever to the Nicene canon.[4] Had it been understood at that period as bearing on the subject, it would have been all-sufficient in itself. The reverence felt for the Council of Nicæa was too great, and the absolute obedience claimed for its commands was too willingly rendered, for such an omission to be possible. That Siricius and Innocent should not have adduced it is therefore proof incontrovertible that it was as yet construed as directed

---

[1] Accusant nimirum eos qui in ecclesia dilectas appellatas, aliunde introductas ac cohabitantes fœminas habent.—Panar. Hæres. LXIII.

[2] Quod si post monita nostra aliquis clericus agapetas amplius quæsierit amare quam Christum, secundum synodalem regulam conveniatur: et præcepta patrum in Nicæa definita ei legantur. Jam vero si conventus fugerit, prædicta et reliquerit, consecuti sumus maximum lucrum. Alioquin si neglexerit, talis ab ecclesia Christi anathematizandus est. — Epist. ad Oceanum de Vit. Cleric.

[3] When, during the demoralization of the tenth century, the council of Augsburg made a spasmodic effort to revive the neglected rule of celibacy, it endeavored to include the lower orders of the clergy within its scope, and Ratramnus of Corvey did not fail to point out that such was the incontrovertible meaning of the Nicene canon, which at that time was universally considered to refer to marriage.

[4] Siricii Epist. 2.—Innocent. ad Victricium, ad Exuperium, &c.

solely against the improper companions of the clergy. If further evidence to the same effect be required, it may be found in a law of Honorius, promulgated in 420, in which, while forbidding the clergy to keep "mulieres extraneæ" under the name of "sorores," and permitting only mothers, daughters, and sisters, he adds that the desire for chastity does not prohibit the residence of wives whose merits have assisted in rendering their husbands worthy of the priesthood.[1] The object of the law is evidently to give practical force and effect to the Nicene canon, and the imperial power under Honorius had sunk to too low an ebb for us to imagine the possibility of his venturing to tamper with and vitiate the decrees of the most venerable council.

If the proof thus adduced be as convincing as it appears to me, the story of Paphnutius is not so important as to deserve the amount of controversy that has been expended upon it, and a brief reference is all that seems necessary. Socrates and Sozomen relate that while the canons of the council were under consideration, some of the fathers desired to introduce one interdicting all intercourse between those in orders and their wives. Whereupon Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, protested against the heavy burden to be thus imposed upon the clergy, quoting the well-known declaration of St. Paul to the Hebrews respecting the purity of the marriage-bed. The influence of St. Paphnutius was great, for he was a confessor of peculiar sanctity; his sightless eyes bore testimony to the severity of the persecutions which he had endured, and his immaculate chastity, preserved from boyhood in a monastery, rendered his motives and his impartiality on the subject unimpeachable. The bishops, who had been on the point of accepting the proposed canon, were convinced, and the project was abandoned.[2]

---

[1] Illas etiam non relinqui castitatis hortatur adfectio, quæ ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere conjugium. Neque enim clericis incompetenter adjunctæ sunt, quæ dignos sacerdotio viros sui conversatione fecerunt.—Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 44.

[2] "Visum erat episcopis legem novam in ecclesiam introducere; ut qui essent sacris initiati (sicut episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi) cum uxoribus quas cum erant laici, in matrimonium duxissent, minime dormirent." Paphnutius protested "honorabile esse conjugium inter omnes et thorum immaculatum: videndum ne nimis exquisita præscriptione ecclesiam gravi incom-

If this account be true, it of course follows that the third canon has no bearing on the wives of ecclesiastics, and that the enforcement of celibacy dates from a later period than that of the council. Accordingly, when the Nicene canon was found necessary to support the antiquity of the rule, it became requisite to discredit the story of Paphnutius. The first attempt to do this, which has come under my observation, occurred during the fierce contentions aroused by the efforts of Gregory VII. to restore the almost forgotten law of celibacy. Bernald of Constance has left a record of a discussion held by him in 1076 with Alboin, a zealous defender of sacerdotal marriage, in which the authenticity of the story is hotly contested.[1] Bernald's logic may be condensed into the declaration that he considered it much more credible that Sozomen was in error than that so holy a man as St. Paphnutius could have been guilty of such a blasphemy. No reason whatever was vouchsafed when Gregory VII. caused the story to be condemned in the Synod of Rome of 1079.[2] Later writers, from Bellarmine down, have, however, entered into elaborate arguments to prove its impossibility. They rest their case principally on the assertion of the existence of celibacy as a rule anterior to the council, and on its enforcement afterwards; on the fact that Socrates and Sozomen flourished a little more than a century after the council, and that they are therefore untrustworthy; and that the name of St. Paphnutius does not appear in the acts of the council. To the first of these objections the preceding pages afford, I think, a sufficient answer; to the second it can only be replied that we must be content with the best testimony attainable, and that there is none better than that of the two historians, whose general truthfulness and candor are acknowledged;[3] and to the third it may be remarked that of the 318 bishops

---

modo afficerent" (Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 8).—The account of Sozomen (Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 22) is to the same effect, though less in detail.

[1] Bernald. Altercat. de Incont. Sacerd.

[2] Monumenta Gregoriana (Migne's Patrol. T. CXLVIII. p. 1378).

[3] Sed præ cæteris omnibus Socrates et Sozomenus ac Theodoritus totius antiquitatis judicio celebrati sunt, qui ab iis temporibus exorsi, in quibus Eusebius scribendi finem fecerat, ad Theodosii junioris tempora opus suum perduxerunt.—H. Valesii Præfat.

present, but 222 affixed their signatures to the acts, while Rufinus and Theodoret both expressly assert that he was present.[1] That the statement was not discredited until controversialists found their account in so doing, is shown by its retention in the "Historia Tripartita,"[2] a condensation of the narratives of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, compiled in the sixth century by Cassiodorus, whose irreproachable orthodoxy would hardly have permitted him to give it currency if it had then been considered as blasphemous as the writers of the eleventh century would have us believe. In the absence of any comment or negation on his part, we may reasonably conclude that in his time the story was not considered improbable.

Various indications have been collected by controversialists to show that for some time after the council of Nicæa no interference was attempted with married priests. Of these, one or two will suffice.

St. Athanasius, whose orthodoxy it would not be prudent for any one to question, and whose appearance during his diaconate at the council of Nicæa first attracted general attention to his commanding abilities, has left us convincing testimony as to the perfect freedom allowed during his time to all classes of ecclesiastics. An Egyptian monk named Dracontius had been elected to an episcopate, and hesitated to accept the dignity lest its duties should prove incompatible with the fulfilment of his vows. To remove these scruples, Athanasius addressed him an epistle containing various arguments, among which was the declaration that in his new sphere of action he would find no difficulty in carrying out whatever rules he

---

[1] Aliis dextri poplites succisi. Ex quorum numero fuit Paphnutius Ægyptus. In summo cernere illic licebat turbam martyrum in unum collectam.—Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 7.

So also Rufinus (Hist. Eccles. Lib. x. c. 4): "Fuit præterea in illo concilio et Paphnutius homo Dei, episcopus Ægypti partibus, confessor, etc.," but he makes no allusion to the incident related by Socrates and Sozomen. Gelasius of Cyzicum, a writer of the fifth century, in his history of the council (Act. Concil. Nicæn. Lib. II. cap. xxxii), relates, without any expression of disapprobation or disbelief, the story of the attempt to separate the wives of ecclesiastics, and its failure on account of the opposition of Paphnutius.

[2] Histor. Tripart. Lib. II. c. 13.

might prescribe for himself. "Many bishops," said the Saint, "have not contracted matrimony, while, on the other hand, monks have become fathers. Again, we see bishops who have children, and monks who take no thought of having posterity."[1] The tenor of the whole passage is such as to show that no laws had yet been enacted to control individual action in such matters, and while rigid asceticism was largely practised, it was to be admired as the result of private conviction, and not as mere enforced submission to an established rule.

Testimony equally unequivocal is afforded by the case of St. Gregory Theologos, Bishop of Nazianzum. He relates that his father, who was likewise a St. Gregory Bishop of Nazianzum, was converted about the period of the Nicene council, and shortly afterwards admitted to the priesthood and created bishop. His mother, St. Nonna, prayed earnestly for male issue, saw her future son St. Gregory in a prophetic vision, and devoted him, before his birth, to the service of God. That this occurred after his father's admission to orders is shown by the address which he represents the latter as making to him, "I have passed more years in offering the sacrifice than measure your whole life,"[2] while the birth of a younger son, Cæsarius, shows that conjugal relations continued undisturbed. St. Gregory evidently felt that neither shame nor irregularity attached to his birth during the sacred ministry of his father.

---

[1] Novimus enim et episcopos jejunantes et monachos comedentes; novimus et episcopos non bibentes vinum, et monachos bibentes; novimus quoque episcopos signa facientes et monachos non facientes. Multi quoque ex episcopis, matrimonia non inierunt, monachi contra parentes liberorum facti sunt; quemadmodum vicissim episcopos filiorum patres (πολλοι δε των Ἐπισκοπων οὐδε γεγαμηκασι, μοναχοι δε πατερες τεκνων γεγονασιν. ὡσπερ και Ἐπισκοπους πατερας τεκνων και μοναχους ἐξ ὁλοκληρου γενους μη τυγχανοντας) et monachos generis posteritatem non quæsivisse, animadvertas, et clericos rursus esuriisse, et monachos jejunasse. —Epist. ad Dracontium.

[2] Οὔπω τοσουτον ἐκμεμετρηκας βιον,
Ὅσος διηλθε θυσιων ἐμοι χρονος.

Baronius labors hard to break the force of this assertion, but his arguments seem to me successfully controverted by Calixtus. (De Conjug. Cleric. Ed. 1753, pp. 261–74.)

IV.

LEGISLATION.

THUS far the progress of asceticism had been the result of moral influence alone. Those who saw in the various forms of abstinence and mortification the only path to salvation, and those who may have felt that worldly advantages of power or reputation would compensate them for the self-inflicted restrictions which they underwent, already formed a numerous body in the church, but as yet had not acquired the numerical ascendency requisite to enable them to impose upon their brethren the rules which they had adopted for their own guidance. The period was one of transition, and for sixty years after the council of Nicæa there was doubtless a struggle for supremacy not perhaps the less severe because at this late date we can but dimly trace its outlines amid the records of the fierce Arian controversy which constitutes the ecclesiastical history of the time, and which absorbed the attention of writers almost to the exclusion of everything else.

The first triumph of the ascetic party was in establishing recognized restrictions on those who had voluntarily assumed vows of celibacy. With them, at least, the case was clear. Aspiring to no rank in the church, they simply dedicated themselves to God, and pledged themselves to lives of abstinence. Their backsliding caused scandal to the church, which, if it were held responsible in the eyes of men for their conduct, must necessarily assume the power to control their mode of life, while the fact of simply holding them to the performance of vows solemnly undertaken could not reasonably be regarded as an arbitrary stretch of authority.

Soon after his conversion, Constantine had encouraged the prevailing tendency by not only repealing the disabilities im-

posed by the old Roman law on those who remained unmarried, but by extending the power of making wills to minors who professed the intention of celibacy.[1] His piety and that of subsequent emperors speedily attributed to all connected with the church certain exemptions from the intolerable municipal burdens which were eating out the heart of the empire. An enormous premium was thus offered to swell the ranks of the ecclesiastics, while, as the number of the officiating clergy was necessarily limited, the influx would naturally flow into the mass of monks and nuns on whose increase there was no restriction, and whose condition was open to all, with but slender examination into the fitness of the applicant.[2] The rapidly increasing wealth of the church, and the large sums devoted to the maintenance of all orders of the clergy offered additional temptations to those who might regard the life of the ascetic as the means of securing an assured existence of idleness, free from all care of the morrow. If, therefore, during a period when ridicule and persecution were the portion of those who vowed perpetual continence, it had been found impossible to avoid the most deplorable scandals,[3] it can readily be conceived that allurements such as these would crowd the monastic profession with proselytes of a most questionable character, drawn from a society so frightfully dissolute as that of the fourth century.[4] The necessity of subjecting them

[1] Cassiod. Hist. Tripart. Lib. I. c. 9.

[2] See Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. ll. 9, 10, 11, 14, etc. This evil had become so great by the time of Valens that in 365 that emperor declares "Quidam ignaviæ sectatores desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cœtibus monizonton congregantur." The most vigorous measures were requisite, "erui e latebris consulta præceptione mandavimus," and he orders the culprits to be subjected again to their municipal duties under pain of forfeiture of all their property. (Lib. XII. Cod. Theod. Tit. i. l. 63.) In 376 the same emperor endeavored to enforce the obligation of military service on the crowds of vigorous men who filled the monasteries, and on their resistance a persecution arose in which many were killed.—Hieron. Euseb. Chron. ann. 378.

[3] The lamentations of St. Cyprian have already been alluded to. In 305 the council of Elvira found it necessary to denounce perpetual excommunication against the "virgines sacratæ" who abandoned themselves to a life of licentiousness, while those guilty only of a single lapse were allowed restoration to communion on the deathbed, if earned by continual penitence. (Concil. Eliberit. c. 13.)

[4] The fierce declamations of St. Jerome afford a terrible picture of the disorders prevalent among those vowed to celibacy, and of the hideous crimes resorted to in order to conceal or remove the consequences of guilt.

to established rules must therefore have soon become generally recognized; and although a passage from St. Athanasius, quoted above, shows that they were free at any time to abandon the profession which they had assumed, still, while they remained as members, the welfare of the church would render all right-minded men eager to hail any attempt to establish rules of wholesome discipline. The first authoritative attempt to check disorders of the kind is to be found in the first council of Carthage, which in 348 insisted that all who, shunning marriage, elected the better lot of chastity, should live separate and solitary, and that none should have access to them under penalty of excommunication.[1]

Although the church, in becoming an affair of state, had to a great extent sacrificed its independence, still it enjoyed the countervailing advantage of being able to call upon the temporal power for assistance when its own authority was defied, nor was it long in requiring this aid in the enforcement of its regulations. Accordingly, in 364, we find a law of Jovian forbidding, under pain of actual or civil death, any attempt to marry a sacred virgin,[2] the extreme severity of which is the best indication of the condition of morals that could justify a resort to penalties so exaggerated. How great was the necessity for reform, and how little was actually accomplished by these attempts, may be estimated from an effort of the Council

---

The period is but little later than that under consideration, and the description is no doubt fairly applicable to the latter, unless we assume that the asceticism enforced by Siricius had made matters worse.—"Piget dicere quot quotidie virgines ruant, quantas de suo gremio mater perdat ecclesia: super quæ sidera inimicus superbus ponat thronum suum; quot petras excavet et habitet coluber in foraminibus earum. Videas plerasque viduas antequam nuptas, infelicem conscientiam mutata tantum veste protegere. Quas nisi tumor uteri, et infantum prodiderit vagitus, sanctas et castas se esse gloriantur, et erecta cervice et ludentibus pedibus incedunt. Aliæ vero sterilitatem præbibunt, et necdum sati hominis homicidium faciunt. Nonnullæ cum se senserint concepisse de scelere, abortii venena meditantur, et frequenter etiam ipsæ commortuæ, trium criminum reæ, ad inferos producuntur, homicidæ suæ, Christi adulteræ, necdum nati filii parricidæ."—Hieron. Epist. XXII. ad Eustoch. c. 5.

It was doubtless the consideration of these evils that induced the council of Saragossa, in 381, to forbid virgins from taking the veil unless they could prove themselves to be upwards of forty years of age.—Concil. Cæsaraugust. I. c. 8.

[1] Concil. Carthag. I. c. 3.

[2] Si quis non dicam rapere, sed vel adtemptare matrimonii jungendi causa, sacratas virgines vel invitas ausus fuerit, capitali sententia ferietur.—Lib. IX. Cod. Theod. Tit. XXV. l. 2.

of Valence, in 374, to prolong the penance incurred by those who married,[1] and from the description which ten years later Pope Siricius gives of the unbridled and shameless license indulged in by both sexes in violation of their monastic vows.[2]

As yet, however, these efforts were confined to those who had bound themselves with solemn vows. The secular clergy were still at liberty to follow the dictates of their own consciences, and if an attempt was made to erect the necessity of ascetic abstinence into an article of either faith or discipline, the church was prompt to stamp it with the seal of unequivocal reprobation. Eustathius, Bishop of Sebastia, in Cappadocia, himself the son of Eulalius, Bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, carried his zeal for purity to so great an excess that his exaggerated notions of the inferiority of the married state trenched closely upon Manicheism, although his heretical rejection of canonical fasting showed that on other points he was bitterly opposed to the tenets of that obnoxious sect. His horror of matrimony went so far as to lead him to the dogma that married people were incapable of salvation; he forbade the offering of prayer in houses occupied by them; and he declared that the blessings and sacraments of priests living with their wives were to be rejected, and their persons treated with contempt.[3]

There were not wanting those to whom even these extreme

---

[1] De puellis vero quæ se Deo voverunt, si ad terrenas nuptias sponte transierint, id custodiendum esse decrevimus, ut pœnitentia his nec statim detur, etc.—Concil. Valent. I. ann. 374, can. ii.

[2] Postea vero in abruptum conscientiæ desperatione producti, de illicitis complexibus libere filios procreaverint, quod et publicæ leges et ecclesiastica jura condemnant.—Siricii Epist. I. c. 6.

[3] Declaratum est enim hos eosdem nuptias accusare et docere quod nullus in conjugali positus gradu spem habeat apud Deum. . . . In domibus conjugatorum nec orationes quidem debere celebrari, persuasisse in tantum ut easdem fieri vetent. . . . Presbyteros vero qui matrimonia contraxerunt sperni debere dicunt, nec sacramenta quæ ab eis conficiuntur, attingi.—Concil. Gangrens. Prooem.

So also Socrates—"Benedictionem presbyteri habentis uxorem, quam lege cum esset laicus duxisset, tanquam scelus declinandum præcepit.—Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 33.

After the specific condemnation of this latter doctrine by the undoubtedly orthodox council of Gangra, it is somewhat remarkable to see it enunciated and erected into a law of the church by Gregory VII. in his internecine conflict with the married priests. Thus the heresy of one age becomes the received and adopted faith of another.

opinions were acceptable, and Eustathius speedily accumulated around him a host of devotees whose proselyting zeal threatened a stubborn heresy. The excesses attributed to their inability to endure the practical operation of their leader's doctrines may be true, or may be merely the accusations which are customarily disseminated when it becomes necessary to invest schismatics with odium. Be this as it may, the orthodox clergy felt the importance of promptly repressing opinions which, although at variance with the creed of the church, were yet dangerously akin to the extreme views of those who were regarded as pre-eminently holy. Eulalius, the father of the heresiarch, himself presided at a local synod held at Cæsarea, and condemned his son. This did not suffice to repress the heresy, and about the year 362 a provincial council was assembled at Gangra, where fifteen bishops, among whom was Eulalius, pronounced their verdict on Eustathius and his misguided followers, and drew up a series of canons defining the orthodox belief on the questions involved. That they were received by the church as authoritative is evident from their being included in the collections of Dionysius and Isidor. These canons anathematize all who refuse the sacraments of a married priest and who hold that he cannot officiate on account of his marriage; also those who, priding themselves on their professed virginity, arrogantly despise their married brethren, and who hold that the duties of wedlock are incompatible with salvation.[1] The whole affords a singularly distinct record of the doctrines accepted at this period, showing that there was no authority admitted for imposing restrictions of any kind on the married clergy. It probably was an effort on the part of the conservatives of the church to restrain their more progressive brethren, and they no doubt gladly availed themselves of the wild theories

[1] Concil. Gangrens. c. 4. Si quis decernit presbyterum conjugatum tanquam occasione nuptiarum quod offerre non debeat, et ab ejus oblatione ideo se abstinet, anathema sit. —I give the Isidorian version adopted by Gratian, Dist. XXVIII. c. 15, and by Burchard, Lib. III. c. 75. That of Dionysius Exiguus is somewhat different.

Can. 10.—Si quis propter Deum virginitatem professus in conjugio positos per arrogantiam vituperaverit, anathema sit.—Can. 1 and 9 are directed against those who condemn marriage and teach that it affords no chance of heaven.

of Eustathius to stigmatize the extravagances which were daily becoming more influential. At the same time they were careful to shield themselves behind a qualified concession to the ascetic spirit of the period, for in an epilogue they apologetically declare their humble admiration of virginity, and their belief that pious continence is most acceptable to God.[1]

In little more than twenty years after this emphatic denunciation of all interference with married priests we find the first absolute command addressed to the higher orders of the clergy to preserve inviolate celibacy. So abrupt a contrast provokes an inquiry into its possible causes, as no records have reached us exhibiting any special reasons for the change.

While the admirers of ascetic virginity became louder and more enthusiastic in their praises of that blessed condition, it is fair to presume that they were daily more sensible of a lower standard of morality in the ministers of the altar, and that their susceptibilities were more deeply shocked by the introduction and growth of abuses. While the church was kept purified by the fires of persecution, it offered few attractions for the worldly and ambitious. Its ministry was too dangerous to be sought except by the pure and zealous Christian, and there was little danger that pastors would err except from over-tenderness of conscience or unthinking ardor. When, however, its temporal position was incalculably improved by its domination throughout the empire, it became the avenue through which ambition might attain its ends, while its wealth held out prospects of idle self-indulgence to the slothful and the sensual. A new class of men, dangerous alike from their talents or their vices, would thus naturally find their way into the fold, and corruption, masked under the semblance of austerest virtue, or displayed with careless cynicism, would not be long in penetrating into the Holy of Holies. Immorality must have been flagrant when, in 370, the temporal power felt the necessity of interfering by a law of the Emperor Valentinian denouncing severe punishment on

[1] Nos autem virginitatem cum humilitate admiramur, et continentiam cum castitate et religione Deo acceptissimam dicimus.--Concil. Gangrens. Epilog.

ecclesiastics who visited the houses of widows and virgins.[1] When an increasing laxity of morals thus threatened to overcome the purity of the church, it is not surprising that the advocates of asceticism should have triumphed over the more moderate and conservative party, and that they should improve their victory by seeking a remedy for existing evils in such laws as should render the strictest continence imperative on all who entered into holy orders. They might reasonably argue that if nothing else were gained, the change would at least render the life of the priest less attractive to the vicious and the sensual, and that the rigid enforcement of the new rules would elevate the character of the church by preventing such wolves from seeking a place among the sheep. If by such legislation they only added fresh fuel to the flame; if they heightened immorality by hypocrisy and drove into vagabond licentiousness those who would perhaps have been content with lawful marriage, they only committed an error which has ever been too common with earnest men of one idea to warrant special surprise.

Another object may not improbably have entered into the motives of those who introduced the rule. The church was daily receiving vast accessions of property from the pious zeal of its wealthy members, the death-bed repentance of despairing sinners,[2] and the munificence of emperors and prefects, while the effort to procure the inalienability of its possessions dates from an early period. Its acquisitions, both real and personal, were of course exposed to much greater risk of dilapidation when the ecclesiastics in charge of its widely scattered riches had families for whose provision a natural parental anxiety might be expected to override the

[1] Ecclesiastici, aut ex ecclesiasticis, vel qui continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant; sed publicis exterminentur judiciis, si posthac eos ad fines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos. — Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 20.

[2] So great was the influx of wealth to the church from the pious legacies of the faithful that it became an evil of magnitude to the state, and in 370 a law of Valentinian pronounced null and void all such testamentary provisions made by those under priestly influence (Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 20)—a provision repeated in 390 (Ibid. l. 27) with such additional details as show its successful evasion during the interval. The industry of Godefroi, in his notes to these laws (T. VI. pp. 48–50, 60–64), has collected much curious matter bearing on the subject.

sense of duty in discharging the trust confided to them. The simplest mode of averting the danger might therefore seem to be to relieve the churchman of the cares of paternity, and, by cutting asunder all the ties of family and kindred, to bind him completely and forever to the church and to that alone. This motive, as we shall see, was openly acknowledged as a powerful one, in later times, and it no doubt served as an argument of weight in the minds of those who urged and secured the adoption of the canon.

It appears to me not unreasonable to suppose that all these various motives lent additional force to the zeal for the purity of the church and to the undoubting belief in the necessity of perpetual celibacy, which impelled the Popes, about the year 385, to issue the first definite command imposing it as an absolute rule of discipline on the ministers of the altar. The question evidently was one which largely occupied the minds of men, and the conclusion was reached progressively. A Roman synod, to which the date of 384 is assigned, answered a series of interrogatories propounded by the bishops of Gaul, among which was one relating to the chastity of the priesthood. To this the response was rather argumentatory and advisory in its character than imperative; the continence of the higher grades of ecclesiastics was insisted on, but no definite punishment was ordered for its violation[1]—and no maxim in legislation is better understood than that a law without a penalty expressed is practically a dead letter. Allusion was made to previous efforts to enforce the observance in various churches; surprise was expressed that light should be sought for on such a question—for the Gallic prelates had evidently been in doubt respecting it—and numerous reasons were alleged in a manner to show that the subject was as yet open to argument, and could not be assumed as proved or be decided by authority alone. These reasons may be briefly summed up as consisting of references to the well-known texts referred to in a previous section, together with a vague

[1] Synod. Roman. ad Gallos Episc. Respons. c. 3.—The date of this synod is not certain, but the year mentioned in the text is the earliest to which it is assigned. By some authorities it has been attributed to 398, and Harduin suggests that it may even have been held under Innocent I.

assertion of the opinion of the Fathers to the same effect. Reference was made to the inconsistency of exhortations to virginity proceeding from those who themselves were involved in family cares and duties, a reasonable view when we consider how much of ecclesiastical machinery by this time turned on monachism; and the necessity was urged of bishops, priests, and deacons preserving the purity requisite to fit them for the daily sacrifice of the altar and the ministration of sacraments. This latter point was based upon the assumption of a similar abstinence being imposed by the old law on the Levites during their term of service in the Temple, and the example of the pagan priesthood was indignantly adduced to shame those who could entertain a sacrilegious doubt upon a matter so self-evident.[1] The conclusion arrived at was definite, but, as I have already remarked, no means were suggested or commanded for its enforcement.

Not many months later, Pope Damasus died, but the cause was safe in the hands of his successor. Scarcely had Siricius ascended the pontifical throne, when, in 385, he addressed an epistle to Himerius, Archbishop of Tarragona, expressing his grief and indignation that the Spanish clergy should pay so little regard to the sanctity of their calling as to maintain relations with their wives. It is evident from the tenor of

[1] "Certe idololatræ ut impietates exerceant et dæmonibus immolent, imperant sibi continentiam muliebrem, et ab escis quoque se purgari volunt, et me interrogas si sacerdos Dei vivi spiritualia oblaturus sacrificia purgatus perpetuo debeat esse, an totus in carne carnis curam debeat facere?"

If all the postulates be granted, the reasoning is unanswerable, and as the precedents of the Old Testament have been relied upon in all arguments since the time of Siricius, it may be worth while to refer to the caution of Abimelech before giving the shew-bread to David (I. Kings 21) as one of the texts most constantly quoted, and to the residence of Zacharias in the Temple during his term of ministration (Luke I. 23), which was frequently instanced. These are certainly more germane to the matter than the linen breeches provided for Aaron and his sons (Exod. XXVIII. 42–3), by which the Venerable Bede assures us (De Tabernac. Lib. III. c. 9) "significatum esse sacerdotes Novi Testamenti aut virgines esse, aut contracta cum uxoribus fœdera dissolvisse."

As regards the pagan priesthood, there can be little doubt that their example had its influence in introducing the custom among the Christians. Absolute continence for ten days was a prerequisite to admission to the Eleusinian mysteries of Greece and to the Bacchic mysteries of Rome; while a declaration of virginity was exacted in the Dionysiac solemnities in Athens. These regarded merely votaries; as respects the permanent priests of various deities, I have already quoted the allusions of Tertullian and Jerome.

the decretal that Himerius had been unable to enforce the new discipline, and had appealed to Rome for assistance in breaking down the stubborn resistance which he had encountered, for allusion is made to some of the refractory who had justified themselves by the freedom of marriage allowed to the Levites under the old law, while others had expressed their regret and had declared their sin to be the result of ignorance. Siricius adopted a much firmer tone than his predecessor. He indulged in less elaboration of argument; a few texts, more or less apposite; an expression of wonder that the rule should be called in question; a distinct assertion of its application to the three grades of bishops, priests, and deacons; a sentence of expulsion on all who had dared to offer resistance, and a promise of pardon for those who had offended through ignorance, allowing them to retain their positions as long as they observed complete separation from their wives, though even then they were pronounced incapable of all promotion—such was the first definitive canon, prescribing and enforcing sacerdotal celibacy, exhibited by the records of the church.[1]

The confident manner in which the law is thus laid down as incontrovertible and absolute might almost make us doubt whether it were not older than the preceding pages have shown it to be, if Siricius had not confessed the weakness of the cause by adopting a very different tone within a year. In 386 he addressed the church of Africa with certain canons adopted by a Roman synod. Of these the first eight relate to observances about which there was at that time no question, and they are expressed in the curtest and most decisive phraseology. The ninth canon is conceived in a spirit totally different. It persuades, exhorts, and entreats that the three orders shall preserve their purity; it argues as to the propriety and necessity of the matter, which it supports by various texts, but it does not assume that the observance thus enjoined is even a custom, much less a law, of the church;

[1] Siricii Epist. I. c. 7.—It would seem from this decretal (cap. 8, 9, 10, 11) that even the rule excluding digami was wholly neglected. Siricius further (cap. 13) urges the admission of monks to holy orders, for the purpose of providing a priesthood vowed to chastity.

it urges that the scandal of marriage be removed from the clergy, but it threatens no penalty for refusal.[1] Siricius was too imperious and too earnest in all that he undertook for us to imagine that he would have adopted pleading and entreaty if he had felt that he possessed the right to command; nor would he have condescended to beg for the removal of an opprobrium if he were speaking with all the authority of unquestioned tradition to enforce a canon which had become an unalterable part of ecclesiastical discipline.

It is observable that in these decretals no authority is quoted later than the Apostolic texts, which, as we have seen, have but little bearing on the subject. No canons of councils, no epistles of earlier popes, no injunctions of the Fathers are brought forward to strengthen the position assumed, whence the presumption is irresistible that none such existed, and we may rest satisfied that no evidence has been lost that would prove the pre-existence of the rule.

---

[1] Præterea, quod dignum, pudicum et honestum est, suademus ut sacerdotes et levitæ cum uxoribus suis non coeant, quia in ministerio divino quotidianis necessitatibus occupantur. . . Qua de re hortor, moneo, rogo, tollatur hoc opprobrium quod potest etiam jure gentilitas accusare.—Concil. Telensis c. 9.

V.

ENFORCEMENT OF CELIBACY.

CELIBACY was but one of the many shapes in which the rapidly progressing sacerdotalism of Rome was overlaying religion with a multitude of formal observances. That which in earlier times had been the spontaneous expression of fervid zeal, or the joyful self-sacrifice of ardent asceticism, was thus changed into a law, bearing upon all alike, and taking no count of the individual idiosyncrasies which might render the burden too heavy for the shoulders of the less fiery though not less conscientious Christian. That it should meet with resistance was to be expected when we consider that the local independence of primitive times was as yet too near in the memories of all for obedience at once to take the place of the voluntary loyalty which had carried the church through three centuries of scorn and persecution. In fact, energetic protests were not wanting, as well as the more perplexing stubbornness of passive resistance.

St. Ambrose admits that although the necessity of celibacy was generally acknowledged, still, in many of the remoter districts, there were to be found those who neglected it, and who justified themselves by ancient custom, relying on precautions to purify themselves for their sacred ministry.[1] In this he probably alludes to the Leonistæ, simple Christians whose refusal to adapt themselves to the sacerdotalism, which was daily becoming more rigorous and indispensable, caused their expulsion from Rome, and who, taking refuge in the recesses of the Cottian Alps, endeavored to preserve the un-

[1] Quod eo non præterii quia in plerisque abditioribus locis, cum ministerium gererent, vel etiam sacerdotium, filios susceperent, et id tanquam usu veteri defendunt, quando per intervallo dierum sacrificium deferebatur.—Ambros. de Officiis Lib. I. c. 50.

adulterated faith of earlier times in the seclusion and privation of exile.

All who revolted against the increasing oppression of the hierarchy were not, however, content to bury themselves in solitude and silence, and heresiarchs sprang up who waged a bold but unequal contest. Bonosus, Jovinian, and Vigilantius are the names which have reached us as the most conspicuous leaders in the ill-advised attempt to turn back the advancing spirit of the age, and of these Jovinian is the foremost figure. Bonosus, who was Bishop of Sardica, acquired a peculiarly sinister notoriety, for, in his opposition to the ascetic spirit, he adopted a heresy of Tertullian and Photinus, and assailed one of the chief arguments of the admirers of celibacy by denying the perpetual virginity of the Virgin; whence his followers acquired the euphonious title of Bonosiacs.[1] For this he was denounced by Pope Siricius with all the vehemence which doctrines so sacrilegious were calculated to excite,[2] and his followers were duly condemned by the Council of Capua in 389, while the tireless pen of St. Jerome was called into requisition to refute errors so unpardonable.[3] Notwithstanding this they continued to flourish, for an epistle

[1] This belief was founded on the words of Matthew (I. 25), "και οὐκ ἐγινωσκεν αὐτην ἑως ὁυ ἐτεκε τον ὑιον ἀυτης τον πρωτοτοκον, και ἐκαλεσε το ὀνομα ἀυτου Ἰησουν."—"And he knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born son; and he called his name JESUS." The restrictive "till" and the characterization of Jesus as the first-born of the Virgin are certainly not easily explicable on any other supposition; nor is the difficulty lessened by the various explanations concerning the family of Joseph, by which such expressions as Ἰακωβον τον ἀδελφον του κυριου—Jacobum fratrum Domini (Galat. I. 19)—are taken by commentators in a spiritual sense, or are eluded by transferring to the Greek a Hebrew idiom which confounds brothers with cousins. In the Constitutiones Apostolicæ occurs a passage—"Et ego Jacobus frater quidem Christi secundum carnem, servus autem tanquam Dei"—which seems to place it in an unmistakable light, if it be an extract from some forgotten Gospel, although it may only reflect the opinions of the third century when the collection was written or compiled.

The Bonosiacs were also sometimes called Helvidians.—S. Augustin. de Hæresibus § 84.—Isidor. Hispalens. Etymolog. Lib. VIII. c. v. § 57.

In an age which was accustomed to such arguments as "per mulierem culpa successit, per virginem salus evenit" (Rescript. Episcopp. ad Siricium), it is easy to appreciate the pious horror evoked by such blasphemous heresies.

[2] Merito vestram sanctitatem abhorruisse, quod ex eodem utero Virginali, ex quo secundum carnem Christus natus est, alius partus effusus sit.—Epist. Siric. ap. Batthyani, Legg. Eccles. Hungar. T. I. p. 210.

[3] Hieron. de Perpet. Virgin. B. Mariæ adv. Helvidium.

of Innocent I. to Lawrence, Bishop of Segna, proves that the error was openly taught on the eastern shores of the Adriatic in the early part of the fifth century;[1] in 443 the council of Arles shows their existence in France by promising reconciliation to those who should manifest proper repentance, and that of Orleans as late as 538 still contains an allusion to them.[2] The belief even extended to Arabia, where a sect professing it is stigmatized by Epiphanius as Antidicomarianitarians, whose conversion that worthy bishop endeavored to secure by a long epistle, in which his labored explanations of the stubborn text of Matthew are hardly more convincing than his hearty objurgations of the blasphemous dogma, or his illustrative comparison of the Virgin to a lioness bearing but one whelp.[3]

While Jovinian shared in this particular the error of Bonosus and Helvidius, he did not attach undue importance to it. More practically inclined, his heresy consisted principally in denying the efficacy of celibacy, and this he maintained in Rome itself, with more zeal than discretion. Siricius caused his condemnation and that of his associates in a synod held about the year 390,[4] and succeeded in driving him to Milan, where he had many proselytes. There was no peace for him there. A synod held under the auspices of St. Ambrose bears testimony to the wickedness of his doctrines and to the popu-

---

[1] Epist. xx.

[2] Concil. Arelatens. II. can. 17.—Concil. Aurelian. III. can. 31.

[3] Panar. Hæres. 78.—It is hardly to be wondered at that at the time of the Reformation the Bonosiac heresy should have been revived. In 1523, at the Diet of Nürnberg, the Papal orator accused the eccentric and indomitable Andrew Osiander "quod prædicasset Beatam Virginem Mariam post Christi partum non mansisse Virginem" (Spalatini Annal. ann. 1523), but Osiander found few followers. At the Colloquy of Poissy, in 1561, the learned Claude d'Espense, doctor of Sorbonne, in arguing that there were many things the authority of which rested solely on tradition, and yet which were admitted as undoubted by all parties, instanced "que la Vierge Marie demoura vierge après l'enfantement, et plusieurs autres semblables par conséquent: ce qui a esté baillé de main en main par nos pères, ores qu'il ne soit escript, n'est pourtant moins certain et approuvé que s'il estoit temoigné par l'Escripture" (Pierre de la Place, Liv. VII.).

[4] Una suscitata fuit sententia, ut Jovinianus, Auxentius, Genialis, Geminator, Felix, Plotinus, Martianus, Januarius et Ingeniosus qui incentores novæ hæresis et blasphemiæ inventi sunt, divina sententia et nostro judicio in perpetuum damnati, extra ecclesiam remanerent.—Siricii Epist. ii.

lar clamor raised against him,[1] and the wanderer again set forth on his weary pilgrimage. Deprived of refuge in the cities, he disseminated his tenets throughout the country, where ardent followers, in spite of contumely and persecution, gathered around him and conducted their worship in the fields and hamlets. The laws promulgated about this time against heresy were severe and searching, and bore directly upon all who deviated from the orthodox formulas of the Catholic church, yet Jovinian braved them all. Even the wrathful invective and scandalous accusations of St. Jerome[2] were insufficient to put down the stubborn schismatics, who maintained their faith until the church, wearied out with their obstinacy and unable to convert or to silence them, appealed to the secular power for more efficient assistance. Perhaps Jovinian's long career of successful resistance may have emboldened him; perhaps his sect was growing numerous enough to promise protection; at all events, despite the imperial rescripts which shielded with peculiar care the Apostolic city from the presence of heretics, Jovinian in 412 openly held assemblages of his followers in Rome, to the scandal of the faithful. Their complaints were heard by the miserable shadow who then occupied the throne of Augustus, and

---

[1] Nec miramur si luporum rabiem grex Domini perhorruit, in quibus Christi vocem non recognovit. Agrestis enim ululatus est, nullam virginitatis gratiam, nullum castitatis ordinem servare, promiscue omnia velle confundere, diversorum gradus abrogare meritorum, et paupertatem quandam cœlestium remunerationum inducere, quasi Christo una sit palma quam tribuit, ac non plurimi abundent tituli præmiorum. Simulant se ista donare conjugio. Sed quæ potest laus esse conjugii, si nulla virginitatis est gloria?—Rescript. Episcopp. ad Siricium. (Harduin. Concil. I. 853.)

[2] "Post præconium tuum et balneas, quæ viros pariter et fœminas lavant, omnis impatientia, quæ ardentem prius libidinem quasi verecundiæ vestibus tegebat, nudata est et exposita; quæ ante in occulta erant, nunc in propatulo sunt. . . . Occultos adulteros in apertos verterent maritos." He further represents Jovinian as exhorting his followers "Raro jejunate, crebrius nubite; non enim potestis implere opera nuptiarum nisi mulsum et carnem et nucleum sumpseritis. Viribus opus est ad libidinem; cito caro consumpta marcescit. Nolite timere fornicationem. Qui semel in Christo baptizatus est, cadere non potest."—Hieron. adv. Jovin.—There is no evidence in the proceedings against Jovinian that any disorders of this kind were permitted by him, and Jerome was too impetuous and reckless a controversialist for us to imagine that these accusations are aught but the commonplace slanders employed by the polemics of all ages. St. Augustine, indeed, admits that Jovinian himself was chaste, though he denied the efficacy of celibacy.—Augustin. de Hæres, No. lxxxii.

Honorius applied himself to the task of persecution with relentless zeal. Jovinian was scourged with a leaded thong and exiled to the rock of Boa, on the coast of Dalmatia, while his followers were hunted down, deported, and scattered among the savage islands of the Adriatic.[1]

Nor was this the only struggle. A wild shepherd lad named Vigilantius, born among the Pyrenean valleys, was fortunate enough to be the slave of St. Sulpicius Severus, whose wealth, culture, talents, and piety rendered him prominent throughout Southern Gaul. The earnest character of the slave attracted the attention of the master; education developed his powers; he was manumitted, and the people of his native Calagurris chose him for their priest. Sent by Sulpicius as bearer of letters to his friends St. Paulinus at Nola, and St. Jerome in his Bethlehem retreat, Vigilantius had the opportunity of comparing the simple Christianity of his native mountains with the splendid pageantry of Rome, the elegant retirement of Nola, and the heated controversialism which agitated the asceticism of Bethlehem. Notwithstanding the cordiality of their first acquaintance, his residence with Jerome was short. Both were too earnestly dogmatic in their natures for harmony to exist between the primitive Cantabrian shepherd and the fierce apostle of Buddhist Christianity, who devoted his life to reconciling the doctrines of the Latin church with the practices of Manicheism.[2] Brief friendship ended in a quarrel, and Vigilantius extended his experiences by a survey of Egypt, where the vast hordes of Nitrian anchorites were involved in civil strife over the question of Origenism. Returning through Italy, he tarried in Milan and among the Alps, where he found the solution of his doubts and the realization of his ideas in the teaching of Jovinian and in the exiled churches of the Leonistæ. He had left Gaul a disciple; he returned to it a missionary, prepared to

[1] Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. Tit. v. l. 53.

[2] It is perhaps worthy of remark that Jerome was familiar with the doctrines and traditions of Eastern asceticism. In his attack on Jovinian he supports his arguments in favor of virginity by a reference to the legend that Gotama Buddha was born of a virgin — "quod Buddam principem dogmatis eorum e latere suo virgo generarit."—Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i. c. 42.

do battle with sacerdotalism in all its forms. Not only did he deny the necessity of celibacy and the paramount efficacy of virginity, but in his zeal for reform he swept away fasting and maceration, he ridiculed the adoration of relics, and pronounced the miracles wrought at their altars to be the work of demons; he objected to the candles and incense around the shrines, to prayers for the dead, and to the oblations of the faithful.[1]

No doubt the decretals of Siricius had rendered compulsory the celibacy of the priesthood throughout Gaul and Spain. The machinery of the hierarchy may readily have stifled open opposition, however frequent may have been the secret infractions of the rule.[2] This may perhaps have contributed

[1] Exortus est subito Vigilantius, seu verius Dormitantius, qui immundo spiritu pugnat contra Christi spiritum, et martyrum neget sepulchra veneranda, dammandas dicat esse vigilias; nunquam nisi in Pascha alleluia cantandum; continentiam hæresim; pudicitiam libidinis seminarium. Et quomodo Euphorbus in Pythagora renatus esse perhibetur, sic in isto Joviniani mens prava surrexit; ut et in illo et in hoc diaboli respondere cogamur insidiis.—Hieron. adv. Vigilant. c. 1.

[2] The canons of the first council of Toledo, held about the year 400, show by their repetition of the rule the struggle necessary for its enforcement —and their expressions further prove its introduction as an innovation during the existing generation. Thus Can. I. "Placuit ut diacones vel integri vel casti sint, et continentis vitæ, etiam si uxores habeant, in ministerio constituantur ita tamen ut si qui etiam ante interdictum quod per priores ante nos episcopos constitutum est, incontinenter cum uxoribus suis vixerint, presbyterii honore non cumulentur: si quis vero ex presbyteris ante interdictum filios susceperit, de presbyterio ad episcopatum non admittatur."

Other canons make manifest the troubles arising from the new order of things, and the novel questions presenting themselves for settlement. Thus

Can. 3. A lector marrying a *widow* was ineligible for promotion beyond the subdiaconate.

Can. 4. A subdeacon left a widower and marrying again was to be degraded to the position of ostiarius or lector. If he married a third time, "quod nec dicendum nec audiendum est," after two years' separation and due penitence, he could be readmitted to communion as a layman only.

Can. 6, which forbade undue intimacy between holy virgins and laymen, not kinsmen, and regulated their attendance at banquets, &c., showed that considerable liberty was still permitted.

Can. 7. Ecclesiastics, whose wives were unfaithful under the privations imposed, were empowered to tie them up, to beat and to starve them, always avoiding risk of life. The husband was forbidden to admit his guilty consort to his table, unless she should become converted, after due penitence.

Can. 18. The widow of a bishop, priest, or deacon who married again was deprived of communion until her death-bed.

Can. 19. If the daughter of a bishop, priest, or deacon, after being dedicated to God, should marry, the parent who should become reconciled to her was to be excommunicated.

Canons like these were repeated with endless iteration during the succeeding centuries, of which this specimen will probably suffice the reader.

to the success of Vigilantius. Even his former master, St. Sulpicius Severus, and St. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, were inclined to favor his reforms. That they spread with dangerous rapidity throughout Gaul from south to north is shown by the fact that in 404 Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, and in 405 St. Exuperius of Toulouse applied to Innocent I. for advice as to the manner in which they should deal with the new heresy. It also counted numerous adherents throughout Spain, among whom even some bishops were enumerated. The alarm was promptly sounded, and the enginery of the church was brought to bear upon the hardy heretic. The vast reputation and authority of Jerome lent force to the coarse invective with which he endeavored to overwhelm his whilom acquaintance, and though the nickname of Dormitantius which he bestowed (κατ ᾽ἀντaφρασιν) on Vigilantius was a sarcasm neither very severe nor very refined, the disgusting exaggeration of his adversary's tenets in which he as usual indulged had doubtless its destined effect.[1] Pope Innocent was not backward in asserting the authority of Rome and the inviolable nature of the canon. In his epistle to Victricius, he repeated the decretal of Siricius, but in a somewhat more positive form;[2] while in the following year (405) he confirmed the vacillating faith of Exuperius by declaring that any violation of the strictest celibacy on the part of priest or deacon subjects the offender to the deprivation of his position.[3] As in the previous effort of Siricius, however,

---

[1] Proh nefas! episcopos sui sceleris dicitur habere consortes: si tamen episcopi nominandi sunt qui non ordinant diaconos nisi prius uxores duxerint; nulli cœlibi credentes pudicitiam, immo ostendentes quam sancte vivant qui male de omnibus suspicantur; et nisi prægnantes uxores viderint clericorum, infantesque de ulnis matrum vagientes, Christi sacramenta non tribuant. . . . Hoc docuit Dormitantius, libidini fræna permittens, et naturalem carnis ardorem, qui in adolescentia plerumque fervescit, suis hortatibus duplicans, immo extinguens coitu fœminarum, ut nihil sit quo distemus a porcis, etc.—Hieron. adv. Vigilant. c. 2.

[2] Præterea quod dignum, pudicum et honestum est, tenere ecclesia omnino debet, ut sacerdotes et levitæ cum uxoribus non misceantur . . . Maxime ut vetus regula hoc habet ut quisquis corruptus baptizatus clericus esse voluisset, spondeat uxorem omnino non ducere.—Innocent. Epist. ii. c. 9, 10.

[3] Ut incontinentes in officiis talibus positi, omni ecclesiastico honore priventur, nec admittantur ad tale ministerium, quod sola continentia oportet impleri.—As for those who could be proved to have seen the epistle of Siricius—"illi sunt modis omnibus submovendi."—Innocent. Epist. iii. c. 1.

ignorance is admitted as an excuse, entitling him who can plead it to retain his grade without hope of preferment—and the test of this ignorance is held to be the canon of 385. This latter point is noteworthy, for it is a tacit confession of the novelty of the rule, although Innocent labored at great length to prove both its antiquity and necessity from the well known texts of St. Paul and the Levitical observances. Yet no intermediate authority was quoted, and punishment was only to be inflicted on those who could be proved to have seen the decretal of Siricius.

The further career of Vigilantius and his sectaries is lost in the darkness and confusion attendant upon the ravages of the Alans and Vandals who overran Gaul during the following year. We only know that Sulpicius and Exuperius, frightened by the violence of Jerome and the authority of Innocent, abandoned their protégé, and we can presume that, during the period of wild disorder which followed the irruption of the Barbarians, what little protection Rome could afford was too consoling to the afflicted churches for them to risk its withdrawal by resisting on any point the daily increasing pretensions of the Apostolic See to absolute command.[1]

The victory was won, for with the death of Vigilantius and Jovinian ended the last organized and acknowledged attempt to stay the progress of celibacy in the Latin church, until centuries later, when the regulation was already too ancient and too well supported by tradition and precedent to be successfully called in question.

In Africa we find no trace of open resistance to the introduction of the rule, though time was evidently required to procure its enforcement. We have seen that Siricius, in 386, addressed an appeal to the African bishops. To this they responded by holding a council in which they agreed "conscriptione quadam" that chastity should be preserved by the three higher orders. This apparently was not conclusive, for in 390 another council was held in which Aurelius of Car-

---

[1] The observance of the rule and its effects are well illustrated in the story of Urbicus, Bishop of Clermont, and his unhappy wife, as naïvely related by Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. L. I. c. 44).

thage again introduced the subject. He recapitulated their recent action, urged that the teaching of the Apostles and ancient usage required the observance of the rule, and obtained the assent of his brother prelates to the separation from their wives of those who were concerned in administering the sacraments.[1] The form of these proceedings shows that it was an innovation, requiring deliberation and the assent of the ecclesiastics present, not a simple affirmation of a traditional and unalterable point of discipline, and, moreover, no penalty is mentioned for disobedience. Little respect, probably, was paid to the new rule. The third and fourth councils of Carthage, held in 397 and 398, passed numerous canons relating to discipline, prescribing minutely the qualifications and duties of the clergy, and of the votaries of the monastic profession. The absence from among these canons of any allusion to enforced celibacy would therefore appear to prove that it was still left to the conscience of the individual. If this be so, the triumph of the sacerdotal party was not long delayed, as might be expected from the rising influence and authority of St. Augustine, whose early Manicheism led him, after his conversion, to be one of the most enthusiastic admirers and promoters of austere asceticism. We may not unreasonably assume that it was through his prompting that his friend St. Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, at the fifth council held in that city in 401, proposed a canon, which was adopted, ordering the separation of the married clergy of the higher grades from their wives, under pain of deprivation of office.[2] As before, the form of the canon shows it to be an innovation.

---

[1] Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Omnibus placet, ut episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi, vel qui sacramenta contrectant, pudicitiæ custodes etiam ab uxoribus se abstineant.—Concil. Carthag. II. can. 2 (Cod. Eccles. African. can. 3).

[2] Aurelius episcopus dixit: Addimus fratres carissimi præterea, cum de quorundam clericorum, quamvis lectorum, erga uxores proprias incontinentia referretur, placuit, quod et in diversis conciliis firmatum est, ut subdiaconi, qui sacra mysteria contrectant, et diaconi et presbyteri, sed et episcopi, secundum priora statuta etiam ab uxoribus se contineant, ut tanquam non habentes videantur esse: quod nisi fecerint, ab ecclesiastico removeantur officio. Ceteros autem clericos ad hoc non cogi, nisi maturiori ætate. Ab universo concilio dictum est: Quæ vestra sanctitas est juste moderata, et sancta et Deo placita sunt, confirmamus.—Concil. Carthag. V. c. 3—Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 25.

The councils thus alluded to are

That the rule was positively adopted and frequently submitted to is shown by St. Augustine, who, in his treatise against second marriages, states that, in arguing with those desirous of entering upon those unhallowed unions, he was accustomed to strengthen his logic by citing the continence of the clergy, who, however unwillingly they had in most cases been forced to undertake the burden, still, by the aid of God, were enabled to endure it to the end.[1] Yet it is evident that its enforcement was attended with many difficulties and much opposition, for, twenty years later, at another council of Carthage, we find Faustinus, the Papal Legate, proposing that the three higher orders shall be separated from their wives, to which the fathers of the council somewhat evasively replied that those who were concerned in the ministry of the altar should be chaste in all things. No attempt, however, was apparently made to strengthen the resolution by affixing a penalty for its infringement. It was a simple declaration of opinion, and nothing more.[2]

---

probably the Roman Synods under Damasus and Siricius.

I give the version most favored by modern critics, but it should be observed that there is doubt concerning several important points. In the older collections of councils (*e. g.* Surius, Ed. 1567, T. I. p. 519–20) the canon indicates no compulsion for the orders beneath the diaconate, commencing "Placuit episcopos et presbyteros et diaconos" and ending "Cæteros autem clericos ad hoc non cogi sed secundum uniuscujusque ecclesiæ consuetudinem observari debere," and this has probability in its favor, since the subdiaconate was not included in the restriction for nearly two centuries after this period, and the lower grades were never subjected to the rule.

The expression "secundum priora statuta" is probably the emendation of a copyist puzzled by the obscurity of "secundum propria statuta," which latter is the reading given by Dionysius Exiguus and followed by Surius. That it is the correct one is rendered almost certain by the Greek version, which is κατα τους ἰδιους ὁρους (Calixt. Conjug. Cleric. p. 350) which would seem to leave the matter very much to the pre-existing customs of the individual churches.

[1] Solemus eis proponere continentiam clericorum, qui plerumque ad eamdem sarcinam subeundam capiuntur inviti, eamque susceptam usque ad debitam finem, Domino adjuvante, perducunt.—De Adulterin. Conjug. Lib. II. c. 20.

[2] Faustinus episcopus ecclesiæ Potentinæ, provinciæ Piceni, legatus Romanæ ecclesiæ, dixit: Placet ut episcopus, presbyter et diaconus vel qui sacramenta contrectant pudicitiæ custodes ab uxoribus se abstineant. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Placet ut in omnibus pudicitia custodiatur qui altari inserviunt (Cod. Eccles. African. can. IV.).

That strict rules were not enforced in the African church is rendered probable by another circumstance. Faustus the Manichean, in defending the tenets of his sect on the subject of marriage and celibacy, enters into an elaborate comparison of their doctrines and practices with those of the Catholic church. In ridiculing the

Symptoms of similar difficulty in the rigid enforcement of the canon are observable elsewhere. The prelates of Cis-Alpine Gaul, assembled in the council of Turin in 401, could only be brought to pronounce incapable of promotion those who contravened the injunction which separated them from their wives.[1] The practical working of this was to permit those to retain their wives who were satisfied with the grade to which they had attained. Thus the priest, who saw little prospect of elevation to the episcopate, might readily console himself with the society of his wife, while the powerful influence of the wives would be brought to bear against the promptings of ambition on the part of their husbands. The punishment thus was heaviest on the lower grades and lightest on the higher clergy, whose position should have rendered the sin more heinous—in fact, the bishop, to whom further promotion was impossible, escaped entirely from the penalty.

Even as late as 441 the first council of Orange shows how utterly the rule had been neglected by ordering that for the future no married man should be ordained deacon without making promise of separation from his wife, for contravention of which he was to suffer degradation; while those who had previously been admitted to orders were only subjected to the canon of the council of Turin, incurring merely loss of promotion.[2] This evidently indicates that the regulation was a novelty, for it admits the injustice of subjecting to the rigor of the canon those who had taken orders without being aware of the obligations incurred; and it is a fair conclusion to suppose that this was a compromise by which the existing clergy

---

idea that the Manicheans prohibited marriage to their followers, he could not have omitted the argument and contrast derivable from prohibition of marriage by the Catholics, had such prohibition been enforced. His omission to do this is therefore a negative proof of great weight.—See Augustin. contra Faust. Manich. Lib. xxx. c. iv.

[1] Hi autem qui contra interdictum sunt ordinati, vel in ministerio filios genuerunt, ne ad majores gradus ordinum permittantur synodi decrevit auctoritas.—Concil. Taurinens. c. 8.

[2] Sedit præterea ut deinceps non ordinentur diacones conjugati nisi qui prius conversionis proposito professi fuerint castitatem.—Concil. Arausic. I. c. 22.

Si quis autem post acceptam benedictionem leviticam cum uxore sua incontinens invenitur, ab officio abjiciatur.—Ibid. c. 23.

De his autem qui prius ordinati hoc ipsum inciderunt, Taurinatis synodi sequendam esse sententiam, qua jubentur non ulterius promoveri—Ibid. c. 24.

gave their assent to the rule for the benefit of their successors, provided that they themselves escaped its full severity. In fact, it seemed to be impossible to make the church of Gaul accept the rule of discipline. About 459, we find Leo I., in answer to some interrogatories of Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, laboriously explaining that bishops and priests must treat their wives as sisters.[1] Rusticus had evidently asked the question, and Leo expresses no surprise at his ignorance.

The date of 456 is attributed to an Irish synod held by St. Patrick, in which a canon ordering that priests shall not offend decency by their nakedness, and that their wives shall keep the head covered, would appear to prove, by the absence of any prohibition of intercourse, that the Apostle of Ireland was unable to enforce upon his converts the difficult task of compulsory asceticism.[2]

Even where the authority of the decretals of Siricius and Innocent was received with respectful silence, it was not always easy to enforce their provisions. An epistle of Innocent to the bishops of Calabria shows that, within territory depending strictly upon Rome itself, a passive resistance was maintained, requiring constant supervision and interference to render the rule imperative. Some priests, whose growing families rendered their disregard of discipline as unquestionable as it was defiant, remained unpunished. Either the bishops refused to execute the laws, or their sympathies were known to be with the offenders, for the pious layman whose sensibilities were wounded by the scandal felt himself obliged to appeal to the Pope. Innocent accordingly ordered the accused to be tried and to be expelled, while he expressed no little surprise at the negligence of the prelates who were so remiss.[3] It is more difficult to understand the edict of 420, issued by Honorius, to which allusion has already been made (p. 54). This law expressly declares that the desire for purity

---

[1] Leon. PP. I. Epist. clxvii. Inquis. iii.

[2] Quicumque clericus, ab hostiario usque ad sacerdotem sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat, et si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint, et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab ecclesia separentur.—Synod. S. Patricii, c. 6.

[3] Innocent. I. Epist. v.

does not require the separation of wives whose marriage took place before the ordination of their husbands.

These disconnected attempts at resistance were unsuccessful. Sacerdotalism triumphed, and the rule which forbade marriage to those in orders, and separated husband and wife, when the former was promoted to the ministry of the altar, became irrevocably incorporated in the canon law. Throughout the struggle the Papacy had a most efficient ally in the people. The holiness and the necessity of absolute purity was so favorite a theme with the leading minds of the church, and formed so prominent a portion of their daily homilies and exhortations, that the popular mind could not but be deeply impressed with its importance, and therefore naturally exacted of the pastor the sacrifice which cost so little to the flock. An instance or two occurring about this period will show how vigilant was the watch kept upon the virtue of ecclesiastics, and how summary was the process by which indignation was visited upon even the most exalted, when suspected of a lapse from the rigid virtue required of them. Thirty years after the ordination of St. Brice, who succeeded St. Martin in the diocese of Tours, rumor credited him with the paternity of a child unseasonably born of a nun. In their wrath the citizens by common consent determined to stone him. The saint calmly ordered the infant, then in its thirtieth day, to be brought to him, and adjured it in the name of Christ to declare if it were his, to which the little one firmly replied, "Thou art not my father!" The people, attributing the miracle to magic, persisted in their resolution, when St. Brice wrapped a quantity of burning coals in his robe, and pressing the mass to his bosom carried it to the tomb of St. Martin, where he deposited his burden, and displayed his robe uninjured. Even this was insufficient to satisfy the outraged feelings of the people, and St. Brice deemed himself fortunate in making his escape uninjured, when a successor was elected to the bishopric.[1] Somewhat similar was the case of St. Simplicius, Bishop of Autun. Even as a layman, his holy zeal had led him to treat as a sister his beautiful wife, who was

[1] Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. Lib. II. c. 1.

inspired with equal piety. On his elevation to the episcopate, still confident of their mutual self-control, she refused to be separated from him. The people, scandalized at the impropriety, and entertaining a settled incredulity as to the superhuman virtue requisite to such restraint, mobbed the bishop's dwelling, and expressed their sentiments in a manner more energetic than respectful. The saintly virgin called for a portable furnace full of fire, emptied its contents into her robe, and held it uninjured for an hour, when she transferred the ordeal to her husband, saying that the trial was as nothing to the flames through which they had already passed unscathed. The result with him was the same, and the people retired, ashamed of their unworthy suspicions.[1] Gregory of Tours, who relates these legends, was sufficiently near in point of time for them to have an historical value, even when divested of their miraculous ornaments. They bring before us the popular tendencies and modes of thought, and show us how powerful an instrument the passions of the people became, when skilfully aroused and directed by those in authority.

The Western church was thus at length irrevocably committed to the strict maintenance of ecclesiastical celibacy, and the labors of the three great Latin Fathers, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, were crowned with success. It is perhaps worth while to cast a glance at such evidences as remain to us of the state of morals about this period and during the fifth century, and to judge whether the new rule of discipline had resulted in purifying the church of the corruptions which had so excited the indignation of the anchorite of Bethlehem, and had nerved him in his fierce contests with those who opposed the enforced asceticism of the ministers of Christ.

How the morals of the church fared during the struggle is well exhibited in the writings of St. Jerome himself, as quoted above, describing the unlawful unions of the agapetæ with ecclesiastics and the horrors induced by the desire to escape the consequences of incautious frailty. Conclusions not less convincing may be drawn from his assertion that holy orders

[1] Greg. Turon. de Glor. Confess. c. 76.

were sometimes assumed on account of the superior opportunities which clericature gave of improper intercourse with women;[1] and from his description of the ecclesiastics, who passed their lives in female companionship, surrounded by young female slaves, and leading an existence which differed from matrimony only in the absence of the marriage ceremony.[2]

But a short time after the recognition of the rule appeared the law of Honorius, promulgated in 420, to which reference has already been made. It is possible that the permission of residence there granted to the wives of priests may have been intended to act as a partial cure to evils caused by the enforcement of celibacy; and this is rendered the more probable, since other portions of the edict show that intercourse with improper females had increased to such a degree that the censures of the church could no longer restrain it, and that an appeal to secular interference was necessary, by which such practices should be made a crime to be punished by the civil tribunals.[3] That even this failed lamentably in purifying the church may be gathered from the proceedings of the provincial councils of the period.

Thus, in 453, the council of Anjou repeats the prohibition of improper female intimacy, giving as a reason the ruin constantly wrought by it. For those who thereafter persisted in their guilt, however, the only penalty threatened was incapacity for promotion on the part of the lower grades, and suspension of functions for the higher[4]—whence we may conclude that practically an option was afforded to those who preferred sin to ambition. The second council of Arles, in 443, likewise gives an insight into the subterfuges adopted to

[1] Sunt alii (de mei ordinis hominibus loquor) qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum ambiunt ut mulieres licentius videant.—Epist. XXII. ad Eustoch. cap. 28.

[2] Epist. cxxv. ad Rusticum, cap. 6.

[3] Eum qui probabilem sæculo disciplinam agit, decolorari consortio *Sororiæ* appellationis non decet. Quicumque igitur, cujuscumque gradus sacerdotio fulciuntur, vel clericatus honore censentur, extranearum sibi mulierum interdicta consortia cognoscant.—Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 44.

[4] Quia frequenter plurimorum ruinas sub hac occasione deflemus. Si quis autem post hoc interdictum a prædictis familiaritatibus se revocare noluerit, nequaquam gradu altiore donabitur, et si jam ordinatus fuerit, non ministret.—Concil. Andegav. c. 4.

evade the rule and to escape detection.[1] About this period a newly-appointed bishop, Talasius of Angers, applied to Lupus of Troyes and Euphronius of Autun for advice concerning various knotty points, among which were the rules respecting the celibacy of the different grades. In their reply the prelates advised their brother that it would be well if the increase of priests' families could be prevented, but that such a consummation was almost impossible if married men were admitted to orders, and that if he wanted to escape ceaseless wrangling and the scandal of seeing children born to his priests, he had better ordain only those who were single.[2] The subject was one of endless effort. In fact, of the numerous councils whose canons have reached us, held in Gaul and Spain during the centuries which intervened until the invasion of the Saracens and the decrepitude of the Merovingian dynasty caused their discontinuance, there is scarcely one which did not feel the necessity of legislating on this delicate matter. It would be tedious and unprofitable to detail specifically the innumerable exhortations, threats, and ingenious devices resorted to in the desperate hope of enforcing obedience to the rules and of purifying the morals of the clergy. Suffice it to say that the constantly varying punishments enacted, the minute supervision ordered over every action of the priesthood, the constant attendance of witnesses whose inseparable companionship should testify to the virtue of each ecclesiastic, and the perpetual iteration of the rule in every conceivable shape, prove at once the hopelessness of the attempt, and the incurable nature of the disorders of which the church was at once the cause and the victim.[3]

---

[1] Nullus diaconus vel presbyter vel episcopus ad cellarii secretum intromittat puellam vel ingenuam vel ancillam.—Concil. Arelatens. II. c. 4.

[2] Generationem vero filiorum ab his quos conjugatos assumimus, melius esset si fieri possit arceri: quos melius est non assumi, quam de his postea per diversa sensuum varietate certari: cum melius sit omnes disceptationum causas excludi; ut qui non vult in clericatu generari, non constituat in altario conjugatos.—Epist. Lupi et Euphronii. (Harduin. II. 792.)

[3] Whatever interest there might be in exhibiting in detail the varying legislation and the expedients of lenity or severity by turns adopted, would scarcely repay the space which it would occupy or relieve the monotony of retracing the circle in which the unfortunate fathers of the church perpetually moved. I therefore content myself with simply indicating such canons of the period as bear

Perhaps this may not move our surprise when we glance at the condition of morality existing throughout the Empire in the second quarter of the fifth century, as sketched by a zealous churchman of the period. Salvianus, Bishop of Marseilles, was a native of Trèves. Three times he witnessed the sack of that unfortunate city by the successive barbarian hordes which swept over Western Europe, and he lifts up his voice, like Jeremiah, to bewail the sins of his people, and the unutterable misfortunes which were the punishment but not the cure of those sins. Nothing can be conceived more utterly licentious and depraved than the whole framework of society as described by him, with such details as preclude us from believing that holy indignation or pious sensibility led him to exaggerate the outlines or to darken the shades of the picture. The criminal and frivolous pleasures of a decrepit civilization left no thought for the absorbing duties of the day or the fearful trials of the morrow. Unbridled lust and unblushing indecency admitted no sanctity in the marriage tie. The rich and powerful established harems, in the recesses of which their wives lingered, forgotten, neglected, and despised. The banquet, the theatre, and the circus exhausted what little strength and energy were left by domestic excesses. The poor aped the vices of the rich, and hideous depravity reigned supreme and invited the vengeance of Heaven. Such rare souls as could remain pure amid the prevailing contamination would naturally take refuge in the contrast of severe

---

upon the subject, for the benefit of any student who may desire to examine the matter more minutely.

Concil. Turon. I. (ann. 460) c. 2, 3.—Agathens. (506) c. 9.—Aurelianens. I. (511) c. 13.—Tarraconens. (516) c. 1.—Gerundens. (517) c. 6, 7.—Epaonens. (517) c. 2, 32.—Ilerdens. (523) c. 2, 5, 15.—Toletan. II. (531) c. 1, 3.—Aurelianens. II. (533) c. 8.—Arvernens. I. (535) c. 13, 16.—Aurelianens. III. (538) c. 2, 4, 7.—Aurelianens. IV. (541) c. 17.—Aurelianens. V. (549) c. 3, 4.—Bracarens. I. (563) c. 15.—Turonens. II. (567) c. 10, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20.—Bracarens. II. (572) c. 8, 32, 39.—Autissiodor. (578) c. 21.—Matiscon. I. (581) c. 1, 2, 3, 11.—Lugdunens. III. (583) c. 1.—Toletan. III. (589) c. 5.—Hispalens. I. (590) c. 3.—Cæsaraugustan. (592) c. 1.—Toletan. (597) c. 1.—Oscensis (598) c. 2.—Egarens. (614) c. unic.—Concil. loc. incert. (a. 615) c. 8, 12.—Toletan. IV. (633) c. 42, 44, 52, 55.—Cabilonens (649) c. 3.—Toletan. VIII. (653) c. 4, 5, 6, 7.—Toletan. IX. (655) c. 10.—Toletan. XI. (675) c. 5.—Bracarens. III. (675) c. 4.—Augustodunens. (690) c. 10.

Many of these canons show how impossible it proved to maintain the separation between the clergy and their wives, while others indicate that even marriage was at times not uncommon within the prohibited orders.

asceticism, and resolutely seek absolute seclusion from a world whose every touch was pollution. The secular clergy, however, drawn from the ranks of a society so utterly corrupt, and enjoying the wealth and station which rendered their position an object for the ambition of the worldly, could not avoid sharing to a great extent the guilt of their flocks, whose sins were more easily imitated than eradicated. Nor does Salvianus confine his denunciations to Gaul and Spain. Africa and Italy are represented as even worse, the prevalence of unnatural crimes lending a deeper disgust to the rivalry in iniquity. Rome was the sewer of the nations, the centre of abomination of the world, where vice openly assumed its most repulsive form, and wickedness reigned unchecked and supreme.

It is true that the descriptions of Salvianus are intended to include the whole body of the people, and that his special references to the church are but few. Those occasional references, however, are not of a nature to exempt it from sharing in the full force of his indignation. When he pronounces the Africans to be utterly licentious, he excepts those who have been regenerated in religion—but these he declares to be so few in number that it is difficult to believe them Africans. What hope, he asks, can there be for the people when even in the church itself the most diligent search can scarce discover one chaste amid so many thousands: and when imperial Carthage was tottering to its fall under the assaults of the besieging Vandals, he describes its clergy as wantoning in the circus and the theatre—those without falling under the sword of the barbarian, those within abandoning themselves to sensuality.[1] This, be it remembered, is that African church which had just been so carefully nurtured in the purest asceti-

[1] Quis non omnes omnino Afros generaliter sciat impudicos, nisi forte ad Deum conversos, id est fide ac religione mutatos? Sed hoc tam rarum est et novum, quam ratum videri potest quemlibet Gavium non esse Gavium, aut quemcunque Seium non esse Seium. . . Quæ spes in illo populo esse poterat, ubi cum unus interdum adulter plebem ecclesiasticum polluat, ibi inter tot millia, si diligentissime quæreres, castum vel in ecclesia invenire vix posses?—De Gubernat. Dei Lib. VII.

Circumsonabant armis muros Cirtæ Carthaginis populi barbarorum, et ecclesia Carthaginensis insaniebat in circis, luxuriabat in theatris: alii jugulabantur, alii intus for —Ibid. Lib. VI.

cism for thirty years, under the unremitting care of Augustine, who died while his episcopal city of Hippo was encircled with the leaguer of the Vandals.

Nor were these disorders attributable to the irruption of the Barbarians, for Salvianus sorrowfully contrasts their purity of morals with the reckless dissoluteness of the Romans. The respect for female virtue, inherent in the Teutonic tribes, has no warmer admirer than he, and he recounts with wonder how the temptations of luxury and vice, spread before them in the wealthy cities which they sacked, excited only their disgust, and how, so far from yielding to the allurements that surrounded them, they sternly set to work to reform the depravity of their new subjects, and enacted laws to repress at least the open manifestations which shocked their untutored virtue.

When corruption so ineradicable pervaded every class, we can scarce wonder that when Sixtus III. was tried, in 440, for the seduction of a nun, and his accusers were unable to substantiate the charge, he should have addressed the synod assembled in judgment by repeating to them the story of the woman taken in adultery, and the decision of Christ. It can hardly be regarded as a confession, but it was undoubtedly a sarcasm on the prelates around him, whom he thus challenged to cast the first stone.[1]

[1] Expurgat. Sixti Papæ c. VI. (Harduin. Concil. II. 1742).—Pagi (ann. 433, No. 19) casts doubt on the authenticity of the proceedings of this trial, but he adduces no reasons, although it is difficult to assign any object for its manufacture, if spurious.

VI.

THE EASTERN CHURCH.

DURING the period which we have been considering, there had gradually arisen a divergence between the Christians of the East and of the West. The Arianism of Constantius opposed to the orthodoxy of Constans lent increased development to the separation which the division of the Empire had commenced. The rapid growth of the New Rome founded on the shores of the Bosporus gave to the East a political metropolis which rendered it independent of the power of Rome, and the patriarchate there erected absorbed to itself the supremacy of the old Apostolic Sees, which had previously divided the ecclesiastical strength of the East. In the West, the Bishop of Rome was unquestionably the highest dignitary, and the separation relieving him of the rivalry of prelates equal in rank, he was enabled to acquire an authority over the churches of the Occident undreamed of in previous ages. As yet, however, there was little pretension of extending that power over the East, and though the ceaseless quarrels on points of doctrine which raged in Antioch, Constantinople, and Alexandria enabled him frequently to intervene as arbiter, still he had not yet assumed the tone of a judge without appeal or of an autocratic lawgiver.

Though five hundred years were still to pass before the Greek schism formally separated Constantinople from the communion of Rome, yet already, by the close of the fourth century, the characteristics which ultimately led to that schism were beginning to develop themselves with some distinctness. The sacerdotal spirit of the West showed itself in the formalism which loaded religion with rules of observance and discipline enforced with Roman severity. The inquiring

and metaphysical tendencies of the East discovered unnumbered doubtful points of belief, which were argued with exhaustive subtlety and supported by relentless persecution. However important it might be for any polemic to obtain for his favorite dogma the assent of the Roman bishop, whose decisions on such points thus constantly acquired increased authority, yet when the Pope undertook to issue laws and promulgate rules of discipline, whatever force they had was restricted to the limits of the Latin tongue. Accordingly, we find that the decretals of Siricius and Innocent I. produced no effect throughout the East. Asceticism continued to flourish there as in its birthplace, but it was voluntary, and there is no trace of any official attempt to render it universally imperative. The canon of Nicæa of course was law, and the purity of the church required its strict observance, to avoid scandals and immorality;[1] but beyond this and the ancient rules excluding digami and prohibiting marriage in orders no general laws were insisted on, and each province or patriarchate was allowed to govern itself in this respect. How little the Eastern prelates thought of introducing compulsory celibacy is shown by the fact that at the second general council, held at Constantinople in 381, only four or five years before the decretals of Siricius, there is no trace of any legislation on the subject; and this acquires increased significance when we observe that although this council has always been reckoned Œcumenic, and has enjoyed full authority throughout the church universal, yet out of one hundred and fifty bishops who signed the acts, but one—a Spanish prelate—was from the West.

This was not merely an omission of surplusage. Had the

---

[1] The strictness with which the Nicene canon was enforced is shown by an epistle of St. Basil, about the middle of the fourth century, in which he sternly reproves a priest named Paregorius, who at the age of 70 had thought himself sufficiently protected against scandal to allow to his infirmities the comfort of a housekeeper. The unlucky female is ordered to be forthwith immured in a convent, and, until this is accomplished, Paregorius is forbidden to perform his priestly functions. The whole is based on the authority of the council of Nicæa.—"Nec primo nec soli (tibi Paregori) sancivimus, non debere mulierculas cohabitare viris. Lege canonem, a sanctis patribus nostris in Nicæna synodo constitutum: qui manifeste interdixit, ne quis mulierculam subintroductam habeat. Cœlibatus autem honestatem suam in eo habet, si quis a nexu mulieris secesserit."

disposition existed to erect the custom of celibacy into a law, there was ample cause for legislation on the subject. Epiphanius, who died in the year 403 at a very advanced age, probably compiled his "Panarium" not long after this period; he belonged to the extreme school of ascetics, and lost no opportunity of asserting the most rigid rule with regard to virginity and continence, which he considered to be the base and corner-stone of the church. While assuming celibacy to be the rule for all concerned in the functions of the priesthood, he admits that in many places it was not observed, on account of the degradation of morals or of the impossibility of obtaining enough ministers irreprehensible in character to satisfy the needs of the faithful.[1]

That Epiphanius endeavored to erect into a universal canon rules only adopted in certain churches is rendered probable by an allusion of St. Jerome, who, in his controversy with Vigilantius, urged in support of celibacy the custom of the churches of the East (or Antioch), of Alexandria, and of Rome.[2] He thus omits the great exarchates of Ephesus, Pontus, and Thrace, as not lending strength to his argument. Of these the first is perhaps explicable by the latitudinarianism of its metropolitan, Anthony, Bishop of Ephesus. At the council of Constantinople, held in 400, this prelate was accused of many crimes, among which were simony, the conversion to the use of his family of ecclesiastical property and even of the sacred vessels, and further, that after having vowed separation from his wife, he had had children by her.[3] Even

[1] After stating that the church does not admit digami to orders, Epiphanius proceeds: "Quin eum insuper, qui adhuc in matrimonio degit, ac liberis dat operam, tametsi unius sit uxoris vir, nequaquam tamen ad diaconi, presbyteri, episcopi, aut hypodiaconi ordinem admittit. Sed eum duntaxat qui ab unius uxoris consuetudine sese continuerit aut ea sit orbatus; quod in illis locis præcipue fit, ubi ecclesiastici canones accurate servantur. At enim nonnullis adhuc in locis presbyteri, diaconi et hypodiaconi liberos suscipiunt, Respondeo; non illud ex canonis authoritate fieri, sed propter hominum ignaviam, quæ certis temporibus negligenter agere ac connivere solet, ob nimiam populi multitudinem, cum scilicet qui ad eas se functiones applicent non facile reperiuntur."—Hæres. LIX. c. 4.

[2] Quid facient Orientis ecclesiæ? Quid Ægypti et sedis Apostolicæ, quæ aut virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes: aut si uxores habuerint, mariti esse desistunt.—Lib. adv. Vigilant. c. 2.

[3] Sextum, quod cum uxori propriæ abrenuntiasset, rursus illi congressus est, filiosque ex illa procreavit.—Baron. Annal. ann. 400, No. 73.

Egypt, the nursery of monachism, affords a somewhat suspicious example in the person of Synesius, Bishop of Ptolemais. This philosophic disciple of Hypatia, when pressed to accept the bishopric, declined it on various grounds, among which was his unwillingness to be separated from his wife, or to commit what was equivalent to adultery by living with her, the separation being particularly objectionable to him, as interfering with his desire for numerous offspring.[1] Synesius, however, was apparently able to reconcile the incompatibilities, for after accepting the episcopal office, we find, when the Libyans invaded the Pentapolis and he stood boldly forth to protect his flock, that two days before an expected encounter, he confided to his brother's care his children, to whom he asked the transfer of that tender fraternal affection which he himself had always enjoyed.[2]

It is easy to imagine what efforts were doubtless made to extend the rule and to render it as imperative throughout the East as it was becoming in the West, when we read the extravagant laudations of virginity uttered about this time by St. John Chrysostom, who lent the sanction of his great name and authority to the assertion that it is as superior to marriage as heaven is to earth, or as angels are to men.[3] Strenuous as these efforts may have been, however, they have left no permanent record, and their effect was short-lived. Within thirty years of the time when Jerome quoted the example of the eastern churches as an argument against Vigilantius, Socrates chronicles as a novelty the introduction into Thessalia of compulsory separation between married priests and their wives, which he says was commanded by Heliodorus, Bishop of Trica, apparently to compensate for the amatory writings of his youth. The same rule, Socrates informs us, was observed in Greece, Macedonia, and Thessalonica, but throughout the rest of the East he asserts that such separa-

---

[1] Mihi igitur et Deus ipse, et lex, et sacra Theophili manus, uxorem dedit. Quare hoc omnibus prædico ac testor, neque me ab ea prorsus sejungi velle neque adulteri instar cum ea clanculum consuescere. Alterum enim nequaquam pium est, alterum illicitum. Sed hoc utique cupiam ac precabor, plurimos mihi et quam optimos esse liberos.—Synesii Epist. cv.

[2] Ibid. Epist. cviii.

[3] Et si placet, quanto etiam melior sit addam, quanto cœlum terra, quanto hominibus angeli.—Lib. de Virgin. c. x.

tion was purely voluntary, and even that many bishops had no scruple in maintaining ordinary intercourse with their wives.[1]

The influence of Jerome, Chrysostom, and other eminent churchmen, the example of the West, and the efforts of the Origenians in favor of philosophic asceticism, doubtless had a powerful effect during the first years of the fifth century in extending the custom, but they failed in the endeavor to render it universal and obligatory, and the testimony of Socrates shows how soon even those provinces which adopted it in Jerome's time returned to the previous practice of leaving the matter to the election of the individual. The East thus preserved the traditions of earlier times, as recorded in the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons, prohibiting marriage in orders and the ordination of digami, but imposing no compulsory separation on those who had been married previous to ordination.

Even these rules required to be occasionally enunciated in order to maintain their observance. In 530 a constitution of Justinian calls attention to the regulation prohibiting the marriage of deacons and subdeacons, and in view of the little respect paid to it, the Emperor proceeds to declare the children of such unions spurious (not even *nothi* or *naturales*) and incompetent to inherit anything; the wife is likewise incapacitated from inheritance, and the whole estate of the father is escheated to the church—the severity of which may perhaps be a fair measure of the extent of the evil which it was intended to repress.[2] Five years later Justinian recurs to the subject, and lays down the received regulations in all their

[1] Ipse porro in Thessalia aliam consuetudinem invaluisse novi, ut ibi qui clericus sit, si cum uxore quam cum esset laicus ducebat, postquam clericus factus sit, dormierit, clericatu abdicatus sit: id adeo cum omnes illustres presbyteri in Oriente, et episcopi etiam, modo ipsi voluerint, nulla lege coacti ab uxoribus abstineant; nam non pauci illorum dum episcopatum gerunt, etiam liberos ex uxore legitima procreant. Consuetudinis autem in Thessalia observatæ, author fuit Heliodorus Tricæ, quæ est urbs illius regionis: cujus feruntur libri amatorii, quos cum esset adolescens composuit, eosque Æthiopica inscripsit. Eadem consuetudo etiam Thessalonicæ et in Macedonia et in Hellade servatur.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 21.

[2] Constit. 45 Cod. I. 3. This law is preserved by Photius (Nomoc. Tit. IX. c. 29), but Balsamon (Schol. ad loc.) says that it is omitted in the Basilica.

details. Any one who keeps a concubine, who has married a divorced woman or a second wife, is to be held ineligible to the diaconate or priesthood. Any member of those orders or of the subdiaconate who takes a wife or a concubine, whether publicly or secretly, is thereupon to be degraded and to lose all clerical privileges; and though the strongest preference is expressed for those who though married preserve strict continence, the very phrase employed indicates that this was altogether a matter of choice, and that previous conjugal relations were not subject to any legislative interference.[1] These same regulations were repeated some ten years later in a law, promulgated about 545, which was preserved throughout the whole period of Greek jurisprudence, being inserted by Leo the Philosopher in his Basilica, quoted by Photius in the Nomocanon, and referred to as still in force by Balsamon in the thirteenth century.[2] At the same time Justinian tacitly admits the failure of previous efforts when he adds a provision by which an unmarried postulant for the diaconate is obliged to pledge himself not to marry, and any bishop permitting such marriage is threatened with degradation.[3]

Bishops, however, were subjected to the full severity of the Latin discipline. As early as 528, Justinian ordered that no one should be eligible to the episcopate who was burdened with either children or grandchildren, giving as a reason the engrossing duties of the office, which required that the whole mind and soul should be devoted to them, and still more significantly hinting the indecency of converting to the use of the prelate's family the wealth bestowed by the faithful on the church for pious uses and for charity.[4] It is probable that this was not strictly observed, for in 535, when repeating the injunction, and adding a restriction on conjugal inter-

---

[1] "Nihil enim sic in sacris ordinationibus diligimus quam cum castitate viventes, aut cum uxoribus non cohabitantes, aut unius uxoris virum, qui vel fuerit vel sit, et ipsam castitatem eligentem." The lector could, by forfeiting his prospects of promotion, marry a second time, if pressed by overmastering necessity, but he was not allowed, under any excuse, to take a third wife.—Novell. VI. c. 5.—These provisions were repeated the following year in Novell. XXII. c. 42.

[2] Novell. CXXIII. c. 12. Balsamon (Schol. ad Nomoc. Tit. i. c. 23) states that it is inserted in the Basilica, Lib. III. Tit. i. c. 27.

[3] Novell. CXXIII. c. 14.

[4] Const. 42 § 1. Cod. I. 3.

course, he intimates that no inquiry shall be made into infractions previously occurring, but that it shall be rigidly enforced for the future.[1] The decision was final as regards the absence of a wife, for it was again alluded to in 548, and that law is carried through the Nomocanon and Basilica.[2] The absence of children as a prerequisite to the episcopate, however, was not insisted upon so pertinaciously, for Leo the Philosopher, after the compilation of the Basilica, issued a constitution allowing the ordination of bishops who had legitimate offspring, arguing that brothers and other relatives were equally prone to withdraw them from the duties of their position.[3]

It is not worth while to enter into the interminable controversy respecting the council held at Constantinople in 680, the canons of which were promulgated in 692, and which is known to polemics as the *Quinisext in Trullo*. The Greeks maintain that it was Œcumenic, and its legislation binding upon Christendom; the Latins, that it was provincial and schismatic; but whether Pope Agatho acceded to its canons or not; whether a century later Adrian I. admitted them, or whether their authentication by the second council of Nicæa gave them authority over the whole church or not, are questions of little practical importance for our purpose, for they never were really incorporated into the law of the West, and they are only to be regarded as forming a portion of the received ecclesiastical jurisprudence of the East. In one sense, however, their bearing upon the Latin church is interesting, for, in spite of them, Rome maintained communion with Constantinople for more than a century and a half, and the schism which then took place arose from altogether different causes. In the West, therefore, celibacy was only a point of discipline, of no doctrinal importance, and not a matter of heresy, as we shall see it afterwards become under the stimulus afforded by Protestant controversialists.

The canons of the Quinisext are very full upon all the questions relating to celibacy, and show that great relaxation

---

[1] Novell. VI. c. 1.

[2] Novell. CXXXVII. c. 2.—Balsamon. Schol. ad Nomocan. Tit. i. c. 23.

[3] Leonis. Novell. Constit. II.

had occurred in enforcing the regulations embodied in the laws of Justinian. Digami must have become numerous in the church, for the prohibition of their ordination is renewed, and all who had not released themselves from such forbidden unions by June 15th of the preceding year are condemned to suffer deposition. So marriage in orders had evidently become frequent, for all guilty of it are enjoined to leave their wives, when, after a short suspension, they are to be restored to their position, though ineligible to promotion.[1] A much severer punishment is, however, provided for those who should subsequently be guilty of the same indiscretion; for all such infractions of the rule are visited with absolute deposition[2]—thus proving that it had fallen into desuetude, since those who sinned after its restoration were regarded as much more culpable than those who had merely transgressed an obsolete law. Even bishops had neglected the restrictions imposed upon them by Justinian, for the council refers to most pious prelates in Africa, Libya, and elsewhere, who lived openly with their wives; and although this is prohibited for the future under penalty of deposition, and although all wives of those promoted to the episcopate are directed to be placed in nunneries at a distance from their husbands, yet the remarkable admission is made that this is done for the sake of the people, who regarded such things as a scandal, and not for the purpose of changing that which had been ordained by the Apostles.[3]

With regard to the future discipline of the great body of the clergy, the council, after significantly acknowledging that the Roman church required a promise of abstinence from married candidates for the diaconate and priesthood, proceeds to state that it desires to adhere to the Apostolic canon by keeping inviolate the conjugal relations of those in holy orders, and by permitting them to associate with their wives, only stipulating for continence during the time devoted to the ministry of the sacraments. To put an end to all opposi-

---

[1] Quinisext. can. 3.

[2] Ibid. c. 6.

[3] Ibid. can. 12, 48.—"Hoc autem dicimus non ad ea abolenda et evertenda quæ Apostolice antea constituta sunt, sed populorum salutis et ad meliora progressionis curam gerentes, et ne status ecclesiasticus ullo probro efficiatur." The bishops against whom this is directed are styled θεοφιλέστατοι πρόεδροι.

tion to this privilege, deposition is threatened against those who shall presume to interfere between the clergy and their wives, and likewise against all who, under pretence of religion, shall put their wives away. At the same time, in order to promote the extension of the church, in the foreign provinces this latter penalty is remitted, as a concession to the prejudices of the "Barbarians."[1]

The Eastern church thus formally and in the most solemn manner recorded its separate and independent discipline on this point, and refused to be bound by the sacerdotalism of Rome. It thus maintained the customs transmitted from the early period, when asceticism had commenced to complicate the simplicity of Apostolic Christianity, but it shrank from carrying out the principles involved to their ultimate result, as was sternly attempted by the inexorable logic of Rome. The system thus laid down was permanent, for the Quinisext was received unquestioningly as a general council, and its decrees were authoritative and unalterable. It is true that in the confusion of the two following centuries a laxity of practice gradually crept in, by which those who desired to marry were admitted to holy orders while single, and were granted two years after ordination during which they were at liberty to take wives, but this was acknowledged to be an abuse, and about the year 900 it was formally prohibited by a constitution of Leo the Philosopher.[2] Thus restored, the

[1] Quinisext. c. 13, 30.—The thirty-third canon shows how universally sacerdotal marriage was practised in some regions, when we learn that in Armenia the Levitical custom of the Jews was imitated, in the creation of a sacerdotal caste, transmitted from father to son, and confined to the priestly families. This the council condemns, and orders that all worthy of ordination shall be eligible.

[2] Consuetudo quæ in præsenti obtinet, iis quibus matrimonio conjungi in animo est concedit ut antequam uxorem duxerint, sacerdotes fieri possint, et deinde biennium ad perficiendam voluntatem jungi matrimonio volenti præstituit. Id igitur quia indecorum esse videmus, jubemus ut ad vetus ecclesiæ et antiquitus traditum præscriptum dehinc creationes procedant.—Leonis Novell. Constit. III.

It is not improbable that this custom resulted from the iconoclastic schism of Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus which occupied nearly the whole of the eighth century. These emperors found their most unyielding enemies in the monks. In the savage persecutions which disgraced the struggle, Constantine endeavored to extirpate monachism altogether. The accounts which his adversaries have transmitted of the violence and cruelties which he perpetrated are doubtless exaggerated, but there is likelihood that his efforts to discountenance celibacy, as the foundation of the obnoxious institu-

Greek church has preserved its early traditions unaltered to the present day. Marriage in orders is not permitted, nor are digami admissible, but the lower grades of the clergy are free to marry, nor are they separated from their wives when promoted to the sacred functions of the diaconate or priesthood. The bishops are selected from the regular clergy or monks, and, being bound by the vow of chastity, are of course unmarried and unable to marry. Thus the legislation of Justinian is practically transmitted to the nineteenth century.

One branch of the Eastern church, however, relaxed these rules. In 431, Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, was excommunicated for his heretical subtleties as to the nature of the Godhead in Christ. Driven out from the Empire by the orthodox authorities, his followers spread throughout Mesopotamia and Persia, where, by the end of the century, their efforts had gradually converted nearly the whole population. About the year 480, Barsuma, metropolitan of Nisibi, added to his Nestorian heresy the guilt of marrying a nun, when to justify himself he assembled a synod in which the privilege of marriage was granted not only to priests, but even to monks. In 485, Babueus, Patriarch of Seleucia, held a council which excommunicated Barsuma and condemned his licentious doctrines; but, about ten years later, a subsequent patriarch, Babeus, in the council of Seleucia, obtained the enactment of canons conferring the privilege of marriage on all ranks of the clergy, from monk to patriarch. Some forty years later a debate recorded between the Patriarch Mar Aba and King Chosroes shows that repeated marriages were common among all orders, but Mar Aba subsequently issued a canon depriving patriarchs and bishops of the right,

tion, are correctly reported. "Publice defamavit et dehonestavit habitum monachorum in hippodromo, præcipiens unumquemque monachum manutenere mulierem, et taliter transire per hippodromum, sumptis injuriis ab omni populo cumulatis" (Baronii Annal. ann. 766, No. 1). He ejected the monks from the monasteries, which he turned into barracks; some of the monks were tortured, others fled to the mountains and deserts, where they suffered every extremity, while others again succumbed to threats and temptations, and were publicly married—"alii corporeis voluptatibus addicti, suas etiam uxores circumducere non erubescebant" (Ibid. No. 28, 29).

and subjecting them to the rules of the Latin and Greek churches.[1]

The career of the Nestorians shows that matrimony is not incompatible with mission-work, for they were the most successful missionaries on record. They penetrated throughout India, Tartary, and China. In the latter empire they lasted until the thirteenth century; while the Portuguese discoverers in the fifteenth century found them flourishing in Malabar. So numerous were they that during the existence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem they are described, in conjunction with the Monophysite sect of the Jacobines, as exceeding in numbers the inhabitants of the rest of Christendom.[2] That after success so marked they should dwindle to their present insignificant condition, and that so large a portion of mankind should revert to the darkness of Mahometanism and Heathenism after receiving the benefits of even imperfect Christianity, is one of the insoluble problems of Providence.

Another segment of the Eastern church may properly receive attention here. The Abyssinians and Coptic Christians of Egypt can scarcely in truth be considered a part of the Greek church, as they are monophysite in belief, and have in many particulars adopted Jewish customs, such as circumcision, &c. Their observances as regards marriage, however, tally closely with the canons of the Quinisext, except that bishops are permitted to retain their wives. In the sixteenth century, Bishop Zaga Zabo, who was sent as envoy to Portugal by David, King of Abyssinia, left behind him a confession of faith for the edification of the curious. In this document he describes the discipline of his church as strict in forbidding the clericature to illegitimates; marriage is not dissolved by ordination, but second marriage, or marriage in orders, is prohibited, except under dispensation from the Patriarch, a favor occasionally granted to magnates for public reasons. Without such dispensation, the offender is expelled from the

[1] For these details from the collection of Asseman I am indebted to the Abate Zaccaria's Nuova Giustificazione del Celibato Sacro, pp. 129–30.

[2] Hi omnes Nestoriani . . . cum Jacobinis longe plures esse dicuntur quam Latini et Græci.—Jac. de Vitriaco Hist. Hierosol. cap. lxxvi.

priesthood, while a bishop or other ecclesiastic convicted of having an illegitimate child is forthwith deprived of all his benefices and possessions.[1] These rules, I presume, are still in force. A recent traveller in those regions states that "if a priest be married previous to his ordination, he is allowed to remain so; but no one can marry after having entered the priesthood"—while a mass of superstitious and ascetic observances has overlaid religion, until little trace is left of original Christianity.[2]

[1] Calixt. de Conjug. Cleric. p. 415.

[2] Parkyns' Life in Abyssinia, chap. xxxi.—Mr. Parkyns sums up about 260 fast days in the year, most of them much more rigid than those observed in the Catholic church.

VII.

MONACHISM.

The Monastic Orders occupy too prominent a place in ecclesiastical history, and were too powerful an instrument both for good and evil, to be passed over without some cursory allusion, although the secular clergy is more particularly the subject of the present sketch; and the rise and progress of monachism is a topic too extensive in its details to be thoroughly considered in the space which can be allotted to it.

Allusions have been made in a previous section to the vows which, at an early period in the history of the church, had already become common among female devotees. In fact an order of widows, employed in charitable works and supported from the offerings of the faithful, was apparently one of the primitive institutions of the Apostles. To prevent any conflict between the claims of the world and of the church, St. Paul directs that they shall be childless and not less than sixty years of age, so that on the one hand there might be no neglect of the first duty which he recognized as owing to the family, nor, on the other hand, that the devotee should be tempted by the flesh to quit the service which she had undertaken.[1]

This admirable plan may be considered the germ of the countless associations by which the church has in all ages earned the gratitude of mankind by giving to Christianity its truest practical exposition. It combined a refuge for the desolate with a most efficient organization for spreading the faith and admin-

[1] I. Tim. v. 3-14. cf. Act. IX. 39-41. In process of time, it even became a question whether these women were not to be regularly ordained—an error forbidden by the council of Laodicæa (Can. xi.) in 372.—By the council of Chalcedon, however, in 451 (Can. xv.), it appears that deaconesses were then formally ordained by the imposition of hands.

istering charity; and there was no thought of marring its utility by rendering it simply an instrument for exaggerating and propagating asceticism. St. Paul, indeed, expressly commands the younger ones to marry and bring up children;[1] and he could little have anticipated the time when this order of widows, so venerable in its origin and labors, would, by the caprice of ascetic progress, come to be regarded as degraded in comparison with the virgin spouses of Christ, who selfishly endeavored to purchase their own salvation by shunning all the duties imposed on them by the Creator.[2]

In the early church, as has been already shown, all vows of continence and dedication to the service of God were a matter of pure volition, not only as to their inception, but also as to their duration. The male or female devotee was at liberty to return to the world and to marry at any time;[3] although, during the purer periods of persecution, such conduct was doubtless visited with disapprobation and was attended with loss of reputation. As, moreover, there was no actual segregation from the world and no sundering of family ties, there was no necessity for special rules of disci-

---

[1] Volo ergo juniores [viduas] nubere, filios procreare, matresfamilias esse, nullam occasionem dare adversario.—I. Tim. v. 14.

[2] See Leon. I. Epist. lxxxvii. cap. 2. (Harduin. I. 1775.)

[3] If further proof of this be required, beyond what has already been incidentally adduced, it is to be found in the 19th canon of the council of Ancyra, held about the year 314. By this, the vow of celibacy or virginity when broken only rendered the offender incapable of receiving holy orders. He was to be treated as a "digamus," showing evidently that no punishment was inflicted, beyond the disability which attached to second marriages.

In 365 the Emperor Valens ordered the violent removal and restoration to secular life of those who had entered monasteries in order to escape the duties which they owed to the state (see *ante*, p. 59), and in 376 he persecuted those who refused obedience.

Even in the time of St. Augustine monks were frequently married, as we learn from his remarks concerning the heretics who styled themselves Apostolici and who gloried in their superior asceticism—"eo quod in suam communionem non reciperent utentes conjugibus et res proprias possidentes; quales habet Catholica [ecclesia] et monachos et clericos plurimos."—Augustin. de Hæresib. No. XL.

Even Epiphanius, the ardent admirer of virginity, when controverting the errors of the same sect, declares that those who cannot persevere in their vows had better marry and reconcile themselves by penitence to the church rather than to sin in secret—"Melius est lapsum a cursu palam sibi uxorem sumere secundum legem et a virginitate multo tempore pœnitentiam agere et sic rursus ad ecclesiam induci, etc."—Panar. Hæres. LXI.

We shall see hereafter how long it took to enforce the strict segregation of the cenobite from the world.

pline. When, under the Decian persecution, Paul the Thebæan, and shortly afterwards St. Antony, retired to the desert in order to satisfy a craving for ascetic mortification which could only be satiated by solitude, and thus unconsciously founded the vast society of Egyptian cenobites, they gave rise to what at length became a new necessity.[1] The associations which gradually formed themselves required some government, and the institution of monachism became too important a portion of the church, both in numbers and influence, to remain long without rules of discipline to regulate its piety and to direct its powers.

A portion of the church, adhering to ancient tradition, looked reprovingly on these exaggerated pietistic vagaries. Lactantius, for instance, in a passage written subsequent to the conversion of Constantine, earnestly denounces the life of a hermit as that of a beast rather than of a man, and urges that the bonds of human society ought not to be broken, since man cannot exist without his fellows.[2] All such protests, however, were vain. The tide had fairly set in, and we have seen that soon after the middle of the fourth century the increasing multitudes who sought refuge in the cell of the anchorite had already attracted the imperial attention and had called for restrictive measures. It is easy to understand the impulsion which drove so many to abandon the world. No small portion of pastoral duty consisted in exhortations to virginity, the praises of which were reiterated with ever increasing vehemence, and the rewards of which, in this world and the next, were magnified with constantly augmenting promises. Indeed, a perusal of the writings of that age seems to render it difficult to conceive how any truly devout

---

[1] St. Jerome vindicates for Paul the priority which was commonly ascribed to Antony, but he fully admits that the latter is entitled to the credit of popularizing the practice.—"Alii, autem, in quam opinionem vulgus omne consentit, asserunt Antonium hujus propositi caput, quod ex parte verum est: non enim tam ipse ante omnes fuit, quam ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia," etc.—Hieron. Vit. Pauli cap. 1.—Epist. XXII. ad Eustoch. cap. 36.

Jerome also asserts that monachism was unknown in Palestine and Syria until it was introduced there by Hilarion, a disciple of St. Antony.—Vit. Hilarion. cap. 14.

[2] Huic vero qui se ipse dissociat ac secernit a corpore, non ritu hominis sed ferarum more vivendum est. Quod fieri si non potest, retinendum est igitur omni modo vinculum societatis humanæ, quia homo sine homine nullo modo potest vivere. — Instit. Divin. Lib. VI. cap. 10.—Cf. c. 17.

soul could remain involved in worldly duties and pleasures, when the abandonment of all the ties and responsibilities imposed by Providence was represented as rendering the path to heaven so much shorter and more certain, and when every pulpit resounded with perpetual amplifications of the one theme. Equally efficacious with the timid and slothful was the prospect of a quiet retreat from the confusion and strife which the accelerating decline of the empire rendered every day wilder and more hopeless; while the crushing burdens of the state, in spite of all the efforts of the civil power, drove many to seek their escape in the exemptions accorded to those connected with the church. When to these classes are added the penitents—prototypes of St. Mary of Egypt, who retired to the desert as the only refuge from her profligate life, and for seventeen years waged an endless struggle with the burning passions which she could control but could not conquer—it is not difficult to estimate how vast were the multitudes unconsciously engaged in laying the foundations of that monastic structure which was eventually to overshadow all Christendom.[1] Indeed, even the church itself at times became alarmed at the increasing tendency, as when the council of Saragossa, in 381, found it necessary to denounce the practice of ecclesiastics abandoning their functions and embracing the monastic life, which it assumes was done from unworthy motives.[2]

Certain definite rules for the governance of these crowds of all stations, conditions, and characters became of course necessary, but it was long before they assumed an irrevocable and binding force. The treatise which is known as the rule of St. Oriesis is only a long and somewhat mystic exhortation to asceticism. That which St. Pachomius is said to have received from an angel is manifestly posterior to the date of that saint,

---

[1] As early as the commencement of the fourth century, we find Faustus, in his "tu quoque" defence of Manicheism, asserting that in the Christian churches the number of professed virgins exceeded that of women not bound by vows.—Augustin. contra Faust. Manich. Lib. xxx. c. iv.

[2] Propter luxum vanitatemque præsumptam.—Concil. Cæsaraug. I. ann. 381, c. vi.—Disobedience to the prohibition is threatened with prolonged suspension from communion.

and probably belongs to the commencement of the fifth century. Minute as are its instructions, and rigid as are its injunctions respecting every action of the cenobite, yet it fully displays the voluntary nature of the profession and the lightness of the bonds which tied the monk to his order. A stranger applying for admission to a monastery was exposed only to a probation of a few days, to test his sincerity and to prove that he was not a slave; no vows were imposed, his simple promise to obey the rules being only required. If he grew tired of ascetic life, he departed, but he could not be again taken back without penitence and the consent of the archimandrite.[1] Even female travellers applying for hospitality were not refused admittance, and an inclosure was set apart for them, where they were entertained with special honor and attention; a place was likewise provided for them in which to be present at vespers.[2]

A similar system of discipline is manifested in the detailed statement of the regulations of the Egyptian monasteries left us by John Cassianus, Abbot of St. Victor of Marseilles, who died in 448. No vows or religious ceremonies were required of the postulant for admission. He was proved by ten days' waiting at the gate, and a year's probation inside, yet the slender tie between him and the community is shown by the preservation of his worldly garments, to be returned to him in case of his expulsion for disobedience or discontent, and also by the refusal to receive from him the gift of his private fortune—although no one within the sacred walls was permitted to call the simplest article his own—lest he should leave the convent and then claim to revoke his donation, as not unfrequently happened in institutions which neglected this salutary rule.[3] So, in a series of directions for cenobitic life,

---

[1] Regul. S. Pachom. c. 26, 79, 95.—Qui absque ordine fratrum recesserit et postea acta pœnitentia redierit, non erit in ordine suo absque majoris imperio. . . . Si quis promiserit observare regulas monasterii, et facere cœperit, easque dimiserit, postea autem reversus egerit pœnitentiam, obtendens infirmitatem corpusculi, &c.

[2] Ibid. c. 29. This is a particularly striking contrast with mediæval monachism, which, as we shall see hereafter, considered the sacred precincts polluted by the foot of woman.

[3] Cassian. de Cœnob. Instit. Lib. IV. c. 3, 4, 5, 6, 13.—Cassianus declares chastity to be the virtue by which men are rendered most like angels.

How completely the system of reli-

appended to a curious Arabic version of the Nicene canons, the punishment provided for persistent disobedience and turbulence is expulsion of the offender from the monastery.[1]

As a temporary refuge from the trials of life, where the soul could be strengthened by seclusion, meditation, peaceful labor, and rigid discipline, thousands must have found the institution of Monachism most beneficial who had not resolution enough to give themselves up to a life of ascetic devotion and privation. These facilities for entrance and departure, however, only rendered more probable the admission of the turbulent and the worldly; and the want of stringent and effective regulations must have rendered itself every day more apparent, as the holy multitudes waxed larger and more difficult to manage, and as the empire became covered with wandering monks, described by St. Augustine as beggars, swindlers, and peddlers of false relics, who resorted to the most shameless mendacity to procure the means of sustaining their idle and vagabond life.[2]

---

gious asceticism succeeded in its object of destroying all human feeling is well exemplified by the shining example of the holy Mucius, who presented himself for admission in a monastery, accompanied by his child, a boy eight years of age. His persistent humility gained for him a relaxation of the rules, and father and son were admitted together. To test his worthiness, however, they were separated, and all intercourse forbidden. His patience encouraged a further trial. The helpless child was neglected and abused systematically, but all the perverse ingenuity which rendered him a mass of filth and visited him with perpetual chastisement failed to excite a sign of interest in the father. Finally the abbot feigned to lose all patience with the little sufferer's moans, and ordered Mucius to cast him in the river. The obedient monk carried him to the bank and threw him in with such promptitude that the admiring spectators were barely able to rescue him. All that is wanting to complete the hideous picture is the declaration of the abbot that in Mucius the sacrifice of Abraham was completed. (Ibid. Lib. v. c. 27, 28.) This epitomizes the whole system—the transfer to man of the obedience due to God—and shows how little, by this time, was left of the hopeful reliance on a beneficent God which distinguished the primitive church, and which led Athenagoras, in the second century, to argue from the premises "Deus certe ad ea quæ præter naturam sunt neminem movet." The extravagant lengths to which this implicit subjection was habitually carried are further illustrated by Cassianus in Lib. IV. c. 10.

The Rule which passes under the name of John, Bishop of Jerusalem, I believe is universally acknowledged to be spurious, and therefore requires no special reference.

[1] De Monach. Decret. can. x. (Harduin. Concil. I. 498.)

[2] Nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes. Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant; alii fimbrias et phylacteria sua magnificant . . . et omnes petunt, omnes exigunt, aut sumptus lucrosæ egestatis, aut simulatæ pretium sanctitatis etc.—Augustin. de Opere Monachor. cap. 28.

The weaker sex, whether from the greater value attached to the purity of woman or from her presumed frailty, as well as from some difference in the nature of the engagement entered into, was the first to become the object of distinct legislation, and the frequency of the efforts required shows the difficulty of enforcing the rule of celibacy and chastity. Allusion has already been made to a law of Jovian which, as early as 364, denounced the attempt to marry a nun as a capital crime. Subsequent canons of the church show that this was wholly ineffectual. The council of Valence, in 374, endeavored to check such marriages. The synod of Rome, in 384, alludes with horror to these unions, which it stigmatizes as adultery, and, drawing a distinction between virgins professed and those who had taken the veil, it prescribes an indefinite penance before they can be received back into the church, but at the same time it does not venture to order their separation from their husbands.[1] A year later, the bolder Siricius commands both monks and nuns guilty of unchastity to be imprisoned, but he makes no allusion to marriage.[2] Notwithstanding the fervor of St. Augustine's admiration for virginity and the earnestness with which he waged war in favor of celibacy, he pronounces that the marriage of nuns is binding, ridicules those who consider it as invalid, and deprecates the evil results of separating man and wife under such circumstances, but yet his asceticism, satisfied with this concession to common sense, pronounces such unions to be worse than adulterous.[3] From this it is evident that these infractions of

[1] Synod. Roman. ann. 384, c. 1, 2.

[2] Siricii Epist. 1, c. 6.—A rather curious episode in monastic discipline is a law promulgated in 390 by Theodosius the Great prohibiting nuns from shaving their heads under severe penalties. "Fœminæ quæ crinem suum contra divinas humanasque leges instinctu persuasæ professionis absciderint ab ecclesiæ foribus arceantur," and any bishop permitting them to enter a church is threatened with deposition.—Lib. XVI. Cod. Theod. Tit. ii. l. 27.

[3] Proinde qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias sed potius adulteria non mihi videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant . . . Fit autem per hanc minus consideratam opinionem, qua putant lapsarum a sancto proposito fœminarum, si nupserint, non esse conjugia, non parvum malum; ut a maritis separentur uxores, quasi adulteræ sint, non uxores; et cum volent eas separatas reddere continentiæ, faciunt maritos earum adulteros veros, cum suis uxoribus vivis, alteras duxerint. . . . Sed plane non dubitaverim dicere lapsus et ruinas a castitate sanctiore, quæ vovetur Domino, adulteriis esse pejores.

discipline were far from uncommon, and that the stricter churchmen already treated such marriages as null and void, which resulted in the husbands considering themselves at liberty to marry again. This view of monastic vows was not sustained by the authorities of the church, for about the same period Innocent I., like St. Augustine, while condemning such marriages as worse than adulterous, admitted their validity by refusing communion to the offenders until one of the partners in guilt should be dead; and, like the synod of 384, he considered the transgression as somewhat less culpable in the professed virgin than in her who had consummated her marriage with Christ by absolutely taking the veil.[1] The same general principle had been enunciated a few years previous by the first council of Toledo which decided that the nun who married was not admissible to penitence during the life of her husband, unless she separated herself from him.[2]

It is evident from all this that an effort had been made to have such marriages condemned as invalid, and that it had failed. We see, however, that the lines had gradually been drawn more tightly around the monastic order, that the vows could no longer be shaken off with ease, and that there was a

---

—De Bono Viduit. c. 10, 11. It will be seen hereafter that in the twelfth century the church adopted as a rule of discipline the practice condemned by St. Augustine, and that in the sixteenth century the council of Trent elevated it into a point of faith.

[1] Innocent. Epist. ad Victricium, c. 12, 13. The assumed marriage with Christ, a theory which St. Cyprian shows to be as old as the third century, is very strongly stated by Innocent. "Si enim de omnibus hæc ratio custoditur, ut quæcumque vivente viro alteri nupserit habeatur adultera, nec ei agendæ pœnitentiæ licentia concedatur, nisi unus ex eis fuerit defunctus; quanto et illa magis tenenda est, quæ ante immortali se sponso conjunxerat, et postea ad humanas nuptias transmigravit?" It was probably this mystic marriage which rendered the church so much more sensitive to the frailty of their female devotees than to that of the men.

The difficulty of the questions which arose in establishing the monastic system is shown in an epistle of Leo I. to the Mauritanian Bishops concerning some virgins professed who had suffered violence from the Barbarians. He decides that they had committed no sin, and could be admitted to communion if they persevered in a life of chastity and religious observance, but that they could not continue to be numbered with the holy maidens, while yet they were not to be degraded to the order of widows; and he further requires that they shall exhibit their sense of shame and humiliation. The problem evidently was one which transcended the acuteness even of Leo to solve.—Leonis I. Epist. Episcop. per Cæsarien. Mauritan. cap. ii. v. (Harduin. I. 1775–6).

[2] Concil. Toletan. I. c. 16.

growing tendency to render the monastic character ineffaceable when once assumed. Towards the middle of the fifth century, however, a reaction took place, possibly because the extreme views may have been found impracticable. Thus Leo I. treats recalcitrant cenobites with singular tenderness. He declares that monks cannot without sin abandon their profession, and therefore that he who returns to the world and marries must redeem himself by penitence, for however honorable be the marriage tie and the active duties of life, still it is a transgression to desert the better path. So professed virgins, who throw off the habit and marry, violate their duty, and those who in addition to this have been regularly consecrated commit a great crime—and yet no further punishment is indicated for them.[1] It is true that about the same time St. Patrick endeavored to enforce the sterner rule of separation in such cases under penalty of excommunication;[2] but such efforts were futile, and the little respect still paid to the indelible character claimed for monachism is shown by the manner in which the civil power was ready to interfere for the purpose of putting an end to some of the many abuses arising from monastic institutions. In 458 Majorian promulgated a law in which he inveighs with natural indignation against the parents who, to get rid of their offspring, compel their unhappy daughters to enter convents at a tender age, and he orders that, until the ardor of the passions shall be tempered by advancing years, no vows shall be administered. The minimum age for taking the veil is fixed at forty years, and stringent measures are provided for insuring its observance. If infringed by order of the parents, or by an orphan

---

[1] Leo Epist. ad Rusticum c. 12, 13, 14. "Propositum monachi, proprio arbitrio aut voluntate susceptum, deseri non potest absque peccato. . . . Unde qui relicta singularitatis professione, ad militiam vel ad nuptias devolutus est, publicæ pœnitentiæ satisfactione purgandus est; quia etsi innocens militia et honestum potest esse conjugium, electionem tamen meliorum deseruisse transgressio est." So the second council of Arles, in 441 (Can. 52), excommunicates the nun who marries until due penance shall have been performed, but does not indicate separation.

[2] Virgo quæ voverit Deo permanere casta et postea nupserit carnalem sponsum, excommunicationis sit donec convertatur; si conversa fuerit et demiserit adulterum, pœnitentiam agat, et postea non in una domo nec in una villa habitent.—Synod. S. Patricii ann. 456, c. 17.

girl of her own free will, one-third of all the possessions of the offender is confiscated to the state, and the ecclesiastics officiating at the ceremony are visited with the heavy punishment of proscription. A woman forced into a nunnery, if her parents die before she reaches the age of forty, is declared to be free to leave the order and to marry, nor can she be disinherited thereafter.[1] Fruitless as this well-intentioned effort proved, it is highly suggestive as to the wrongs which were perpetrated under the name of religion, the stern efforts felt to be requisite for their prevention, and the power exercised to annul the vows, not yet recognized as indissoluble.

In the East, the tendency was to give a more rigid and unalterable character to the vows, nor is it difficult to understand the cause. Both church and state began to feel the necessity of reducing to subjection under some competent authority the vast hordes of idle and ignorant men who had embraced monastic life. In the West, monachism was as yet in its infancy, and was to be stimulated rather than to be dreaded, but it was far otherwise in the East. The examples of Antony and Pachomius had brought them innumerable followers. The solitudes of the deserts had become peopled with vast communities, and as the contagion spread, monasteries arose everywhere and were rapidly filled and enlarged. The blindly bigoted and the turbulently ambitious found a place among those whose only aim was retirement and peace; while the authority wielded by the superior of each establishment gave him a degree of power which rendered him not only important but dangerous. The monks thus became in time a body of no little weight which it behooved the church to thoroughly control, as it might become efficient for good or evil. By encouraging and directing it, she gained an instrument of incalculable force, morally and physically, to consolidate her authority and extend her influence. How that influence was used, and how the monks became at times a terror even to the state is written broadly on the history of the age. Even early in the fifth century the hordes of savage Nitrian

[1] Novell. Majorian. Tit. vi. This law continued in force for but five years, being abrogated in 463 by Severus.—Novell. Severi. Tit. I.

cenobites were the janizaries of the fiery Cyril, with which he lorded it over the city of Alexandria, and almost openly bade defiance to the imperial authority. The tumult in which Orestes nearly lost his life, the banishment of the Jews, and the shocking catastrophe of Hypatia show how dangerous an element to society they were even then, when under the guidance of an able and unscrupulous leader.[1] So the prominent part taken by the monks in the deplorable Nestorian and Eutychian controversies, the example of the Abbot Barsumas at "the synod of Robbers" in Ephesus, the exploits of Theodosius of Jerusalem and Peter of Antioch, who drove out their bishops and usurped the episcopal chairs, the career of Eutyches himself, the bloodthirsty rabble of monks who controlled the synod of Ephesus and endeavored to overawe that of Chalcedon, and, in the succeeding century, the insurrections against the Emperor Anastasius which were largely attributable to their efforts—all these were warnings not lightly to be neglected. The monks, in fact, were fast becoming not only disagreeable but even dangerous to the civil power; their organization and obedience to their leaders gave them strength to seriously threaten the influence even of the hierarchy, and the effort to keep them strictly under subjection and within their convent walls became necessary to the peace of both church and state.

In 451 the church endeavored to protect itself from these disorders by establishing a rigorous discipline and placing the monastic institutions under the supervision and control of the prelates. The Œcumenic council of Chalcedon in that year adopted a series of canons which declared that monks and nuns were not at liberty to marry; but while excommunication was the punishment provided for the offence, power

---

[1] Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. c. 13, 14, 15.—Even before this, in the province of Africa, the political utility of such enthusiastic disciples had been recognized and acted on. At the council of Carthage, in 411, where the Donatists were condemned, the Imperial Commissioner, in pronouncing sentence, warned the Donatist bishops that they must restrain the turbulent monks within their dioceses —"Ii autem qui in præsidiis suis circumcellionum turbas se habere cognoscunt, sciant nisi eorum insolentiam omnimodis comprimere et refrenare gestierint, maxime ea loca fisco mox occupanda."—Concil. Carthag. ann. 411, Cognit. III. cap. ult. (Harduin. I. 1190.)

was given to the bishops to extend mercy to the offenders. The council deplored the turbulence of the monks who, leaving their monasteries, stirred up confusion everywhere, and it commanded them to devote themselves solely to prayer and fasting in the spot which they had chosen as a retreat from the world. It forbade them to abandon the holy life to which they had devoted themselves, and pronounced the dread sentence of the anathema on the renegades who refused to return and undergo due penance. The whole system was placed under the supervision and control of the bishops. No monastery was to be founded without the license of the bishop of the locality, and he alone could give permission to a monk to leave it for any purpose.[1]

This legislation was well adapted to the end in view, but the evil was too deep-seated and too powerful to be thus easily eradicated. Finding the church unable to enforce a remedy, the civil power was compelled to intervene. As early as 390 Theodosius the Great had ordered the monks to confine themselves strictly to deserts and solitudes.[2] Two years later he repealed this law and allowed them to enter the cities.[3] This laxity was abused, and in 466 the Emperors Leo and Anthemius issued an edict forbidding for the future all monks to go beyond the walls of their monasteries on any pretext, except the apocrisarii, or legal officers, on legitimate business alone, and these were strictly enjoined not to engage in religious disputes, not to stir up the people, and not to preside over assemblages of any nature.[4]

History shows us how little obedience this also received, nor is it probable that much more attention was paid to the imperial rescript when, in 523, Justinian confirmed the legislation of his predecessors, and added provisions forbidding those who had once taken the vows from returning to the world under penalty of being handed over to the *curia* of their municipality, with confiscation of their property, and personal

[1] Concil. Chalced. c. 4, 7, 16.

[2] Quicumque sub professione monachi repperiuntur, deserta loca et vastas solitudines sequi atque habitare jubeantur.—Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. iii. 1.

[3] Lib. xvi. Cod. Theod. iii. 2.

[4] Const. 29, Cod. i. 3.

punishment if penniless.[1] Had the effort then been successful, he would not have been under the necessity of renewing it in 535 by a law making over to the monastery, by way of satisfaction to God, the property of any monk presuming to abandon a life of religion and returning to the cares of the world.[2] The prevalent laxity of manners is further shown by another provision according to which the monk who received orders was not allowed to marry, even if he entered grades in which marriage was permitted to the secular clergy, the penalty for taking a wife or a concubine being degradation and dismissal, with incapacity for serving the state.[3] Ten years later, further legislation was found necessary, and at length the final expedient was hit upon, by which the apostate monk was handed over to the bishop to be placed in a monastery, from which if he escaped again he was delivered to the secular tribunal as incorrigible.[4]

Thus gradually the irrevocable nature of monastic vows became established in the East, more from reasons of state than from ecclesiastical considerations. In the West, matters were longer in reaching a settlement, and the causes operating were somewhat different. Monachism there had not become a terror to the civil power, and its management was left to the church; yet, if its influence was insufficient to excite tumults and seditions, it was none the less disorganized, and its disorders were a disgrace to those on whom rested the responsibility.

The Latin church was not by any means insensible to this disgrace, nor did it underrate the importance of rendering the vows indissoluble, of binding its servants absolutely and forever to its service, and of maintaining its character and influence by endeavoring to enforce a discipline that should insure purity. During the period sketched above, and for the two following centuries, there is scarcely a council which

[1] Const. 53 § 1 Cod. I. 3.

[2] Novell. V. c. 4, 6.

[3] Novell. V. c. 8.

[4] Novell. CXXIII. c. 42. The trouble was apparently incurable. Three hundred and fifty years later, Leo the Philosopher deplores it, and orders all recalcitrant monks to be returned to their convents as often as they may escape.

did not enact canons showing at once the persistent effort to produce these results and the almost insurmountable difficulty of accomplishing them. It would lead us too far to enter upon the minutiæ of these perpetually reiterated exhortations and threats, or of the various expedients which were successively tried. Suffice it to say that the end in view was never lost sight of, while the perseverance of the wrongdoer seems to have rivalled that of the disciplinarian. The anvil bade fair to wear out the hammer, while the confusion and lawlessness of those dismal ages gave constantly increasing facilities to those who desired to escape from the strictness of the ascetic life to which they had devoted themselves. Thus arose a crowd of vagabond monks, *gyrovagi*, *acephali*, *circilliones*, *sarabaitæ*, who, without acknowledging obedience to any superior, or having any definite place of abode, wandered over the face of the country, claiming the respect and immunities due to a sacred calling, for the purpose of indulging in an idle and dissolute life—vagrants of the worst description, according to the unanimous testimony of the ecclesiastical authorities of the period.[1]

Thus, up to the middle of the fifth century, no regular system of discipline had been introduced in the monastic establishments of the church of Rome. About that period Cassianus, the first abbot of St. Victor of Marseilles, wrote out, for the benefit of the ruder monasticism of the West, the details of discipline in which he had perfected himself among the renowned communities of the East. He deplores the absence of any fixed rule in the Latin convents, where every abbot governed on the plan which suited his fancy; where more difficulty was found in preserving order among two or

[1] St. Benedict of Nursia, the real founder of Latin monachism, who quitted the world in 494, thus describes the wandering monks of his time: "Tertium vero monachorum teterrimum genus est Sarabaitarum . . . qui bini aut terni, aut certe singuli sine pastore, non Dominicis sed suis inclusi ovilibus, pro lege eis est desideriorum voluptas; cum quidquid putaverint vel elegerint, hoc dicunt sanctum, et quod noluerint putant non licere. Quartum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et nunquam stabiles, et propriis voluptatibus et gulæ illecebris servientes, et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis: de quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui."—Regul. S. Benedicti c. 1.

three monks than the Abbot of Tabenna in the Thebaïd experienced with the flock of five thousand committed to his single charge; and where each individual retained his own private hoards, which were carefully locked up and sealed to keep them from the unscrupulous covetousness of his brethren.[1] How little all these efforts accomplished is clearly manifested when, in 494, we find Gelasius I. lamenting the incestuous marriages which were not uncommon among the virgins dedicated to God, and venturing only to denounce excommunication on the offenders, unless they should avert it by undergoing public penance. As for widows who married after professing chastity, he could indicate no earthly chastisement, but only held out to them the prospect of eternal reward or punishment, and left it for them to decide whether they would seek or abandon the better part.[2]

A new apostle was clearly needed to aid the organizing spirit of Rome in her efforts to regulate the increasing number of devotees, who threatened to become the worst scandal of the church, and who could be rendered so efficient an instrument for its aggrandizement. He was found in the person of St. Benedict of Nursia, who, about the year 494, at the early age of sixteen, tore himself from the pleasures of the world, and buried his youth in the solitudes of the Latian Apennines. A nature that could wrench itself away from the allurements of a splendid career dawning amid the blandishments of Rome was not likely to shrink from the austerities which awe and attract the credulous and the devout. Tempted by the Evil Spirit in the guise of a beautiful maiden, and finding his resolution on the point of yielding, with a supreme effort Benedict cast off his simple garment and threw himself into a thicket of brambles and nettles, through which he rolled until his naked body was lacerated from head to foot. The experiment, though rude, was eminently successful; the flesh was effectually conquered, and Benedict was never again tormented by rebellious desires.[3] A light so shining was not

---

[1] Cassiani de Cœnob. Instit. Lib. II. c. 3; Lib. V. c. 1, 15.

[2] Gelasii PP. I. Epist. IX. cap. XX., XXI.

[3] Greg. Mag. Vit. S. Benedicti c. 2. —Juan Cirita, a Spanish saint of the twelfth century, was exposed to the same temptation as St. Benedict, the devil visiting him in the shape of a

created for obscurity. Zealous disciples assembled around him, attracted from distant regions by his sanctity, and after various vicissitudes he founded the monastery of Monte Cassino, on which for a thousand years were lavished all that veneration and munificence could accumulate to render illustrious the birthplace and capital of the great Benedictine Order.

The rule promulgated by Benedict, which virtually became the established law of Latin Monachism, shows the more practical character of the western mind. Though pervaded by the austerest asceticism, yet labor, charity, and good works occupy a much more prominent place in its injunctions than in the system of the East. Salvation was not to be sought simply by abstinence and mortification, and the innate selfishness of the monastic principle was relaxed in favor of a broader and more human view of the duties of man to his Creator and to his fellows. This gave to the institution a firmer hold on the affections of mankind and a more enduring vitality, which preserved its fortunes through the centuries, in spite of innumerable aberrations and frightful abuses.

Still there were as yet no formal vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience exacted of the novice. After a year of probation he promised, before God and the Saints, to keep the Rule under pain of damnation, and he was then admitted with imposing religious ceremonies. His worldly garments were, however, preserved, to be returned to him in case of expulsion, to which he was liable if incorrigibly disobedient. If he left the monastery, or if he was ejected, he could return

lovely woman who sought refuge from her pursuers in his cell. During a sleepless night, feeling his resolution giving way, he roused his fire and with a glowing brand burned his arm to the bone, whereupon the devil vanished, loading him with reproaches (Henriquez Vit. Joannis Cirita cap. ii.). Legends of this nature are not uncommon, nor are there wanting those of another class in which the immediate and visible agency of the Evil Spirit is not called into play. Thus the holy Godric, a Welsh saint of the twelfth century, endeavored to subdue his rebellious flesh in the manner which St. Benedict found so effectual, but without success. He then buried a cask in the earthen floor of his cell, filled it with water and fitted it with a cover, and in this receptacle he shut himself up whenever he felt the titillations of desire. In this manner, varied by occasionally passing the night up to his chin in a river of which he had broken the ice, he finally succeeded in mastering his fiery nature.—Girald. Cambrens. Gemm. Eccles. Div. II. c. x.

twice, but after the third admission, if he again abandoned the order, he was no longer eligible.[1] Voluntary submission was thus the corner-stone of discipline, and there was nothing irrevocable in the engagement which bound the monk to his brethren.

Contemporary with St. Benedict was St. Cæsarius of Arles, whose Rule has been transmitted to us by his nephew, St. Tetradius. It is very short, but is more rigid than that of Benedict, inasmuch as it requires from the applicant the condition of remaining for life in the convent, nor will it permit his assumption of the habit until he shall have executed a deed bestowing all his property either on his relatives or on the establishment of his choice, thus insuring the rule of poverty, and depriving him of all inducement to retire.[2]

The Rule of St. Benedict, however, overcame all rivalry, and was at length universally adopted. Under it were founded the innumerable monasteries which sprang up in every part of Europe, and were everywhere the pioneers of civilization; which exercised a more potent influence in extending Christianity over the Heathen than all other agencies combined; which carried the useful arts into barbarous regions, and preserved to modern times whatever of classic culture has remained to us. If they were equally efficient in extending the authority of the Popes, and in breaking down the independence of local and national churches, it is not to be rashly assumed that even that result was a misfortune, when the anarchical tendencies of the Middle Ages were to be neutralized principally by the humanizing force of religion, and consolidation was requisite to carry the church through the wilderness. Until the thirteenth century the Benedictines were practically without rivals, and their numbers and holiness may be estimated by the fact that in the fifteenth century one of their historians computed that the order had furnished fifty-five thousand five hundred and five blessed members to the calendar of saints.[3]

---

1 Regul. S. Benedicti c. 58, 28, 29.

2 Tetrad. Regul. c. 1.

3 Quinquaginta quinque millia quingenta quinque
Omnes canonizati a te sunt translati.
Est monachus sanctus. Caput vero Benedictus.—
(Birck de Monast. Campidonens. c. 25.)

Bishop Trithemius is more mode-

Yet it could not but be a scandal to all devout minds that a man who had once devoted himself to religious observances should return to the world. Not only did it tend to break down the important distinction now rapidly developing between the clergy and the laity, but the possibility of such escape interfered with the control of the church over so large a class of its members, and diminished their utility in aiding the progress of its aggrandizement. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that within half a century after the death of St. Benedict, among the reforms energetically inaugurated by St. Gregory the Great, in the first year of his pontificate, was that of commanding the forcible return of all who abandoned their profession—the terms of the decretal showing that no concealment had been thought necessary by the renegades in leading a secular life and in publicly marrying.[1] Equally determined were his efforts to reform the abuses which had so relaxed the discipline of some monasteries that women were allowed perfect freedom of access, and the monks contracted such intimacy with them that they openly acted as godfathers to their children;[2] and when, in 601, he learned that the monks of St. Vitus, on Mount Etna, considered themselves at liberty to marry, apparently without leaving their convent, he checked the abuse by the most prompt and decided commands to the ecclesiastical authorities of Sicily.[3]

By the efforts of Gregory the monk was thus, in theory at least, separated irrevocably from the world, and committed to

---

rate, his estimate amounting to only 15,559. (Miræi Orig. Benedict.)

[1] Et quia aliquos monachorum usque ad tantum nefas prosiliisse cognovimus, ut uxores publice sortiantur; sub omni eos vigilantia requiras et inventos digna coercitione in monasteriis quorum monachi fuerunt, retransmittas.—Gregor. I. Lib. I. Epist. 42. Six years later he had to repeat his commands in stronger terms. (Cf. Lib. VII. Epist. 35. Lib. II. Epist. 28. Lib. IV. Epist. 27. Lib. X. Epist. 8.) Yet when the offender was a man of rank and power, as in the case of Venantius, Patrician of Syracuse, Gregory could lay aside the tone of lofty command and condescend to tender entreaty and earnest exhortation (Lib. I. Epist. 34), without even a threat of excommunication, and remain for years on the friendliest terms with him (Lib. XI. Epist. 30, 35, 36), showing that the rule was as yet by no means firmly established. In another case, however, nothing can be more indignant and peremptory than his commands. (Lib. VIII. Epist. 8, 9.)

[2] Gregor. I. Lib. IV. Epist. 42.

[3] Gregor. I. Lib. X. Epist. 22, 23.—He states "ut etiam monachis ibidem degentibus mulieribus sejungere sine metu sit licitum" which he characterizes as "res . . omnino detestabilis et nefanda."

an existence which depended solely upon the church. Cut off from family and friends, the door closed behind him forever, and his only aspirations, beyond his own personal wants and hopes, could but be for his abbey, his order, or the church, with which he was thus indissolubly connected. Such was the theory, and it worked as designed, although it was too much in opposition to the immutable tendencies of human nature to be universally enforced without a struggle which lasted for nearly a thousand years.[1]

To follow out in detail the vicissitudes of this struggle would require too much space. Its nature will be indicated by occasional references in the following pages, and meanwhile it will be sufficient to show how little was accomplished in his own age by the energy and authority even of Gregory. It was only a few years after his death that the council of Paris, in 615, shows us that residence in monasteries was not considered necessary for women who took the vows, and that the civil power had to be invoked to prevent their marriage.[2] Indeed, it was not uncommon for men to turn their houses, nominally at least, into convents, living there surrounded with their wives and families, and deriving no little worldly profit from the assumption of superior piety, to the scandal of the truly religious.[3] St. Isidor of Seville, about the same period, copies the words of St. Augustine in describing the wandering monastic impostors who lived upon the credulous charity of the faithful;[4] and he also enlarges upon the dis-

[1] There was one exception, however, to this general rule. No married man was allowed to become a monk unless his wife assented, and likewise became a nun. The marriage tie was too sacred to be broken, unless both parties agreed simultaneously to embrace the better life. Thus, on the complaint of a wife, Gregory orders her husband to be forcibly removed from the monastery which he had entered and to be restored to her. (Gregor. I. Lib. XI. Epist. 50.) We shall see hereafter how entirely the church in time outgrew these scruples, and how insignificant the sacrament of marriage became in comparison with that of ordination or the vow of religion.

[2] Concil. Parisiens. V. ann. 615, c. xiii.—In the decree of Clotair II., confirming the acts of this council, we find—"Puellas et viduas religiosas, aut sanctimoniales, quæ se Deo voverunt, tam quæ in propriis domibus resident, quam quæ in monasteriis positæ sunt, nullus nec per præceptum nostrum competat, nec trahere nec sibi in conjugio sociare penitus præsumat etc."—Edict. Chlot. II. ann. 615, c. xviii. (Baluze).

[3] S. Fructuosi Bracarens. Regul. Commun. cap. 1.

[4] De Ecclesiast. Offic. Lib. II. cap. xvi. § 7.

graceful license of the *acephali*, or clerks bound by no rule, whose vagabond life and countless numbers were an infamy to the western kingdoms which they infested.[1] The quotation of this passage by Louis-le-Débonnaire, in his attempt to reform the church, shows that these degraded vagrants continued to flourish unchecked in the ninth century;[2] and, indeed, Smaragdus, in his Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict, assures us that the evil had rather increased than diminished.[3]

Monachism was but one application of the doctrine of justification by works, which, by the enthusiasm and superstition of ages, was gradually built into a vast system of sacerdotalism. Through it were eventually opened to the medieval church sources of illimitable power and wealth by means of the complicated machinery of purgatory, masses for the dead, penances, indulgences, &c., under the sole control of the central head, to whom were committed the power of the keys and the dispensation of the exhaustless treasure of salvation bestowed on the church by the Redeemer. To discuss these collateral themes, however, would carry us too far from our subject, and I must dismiss them with the remark that at the period now under consideration there could have been no anticipation of these ulterior advantages to be gained by assuming to regulate the mode in which individual piety might seek to propitiate an offended God. Sufficient motives for the assumption existed in the evils and aspirations of the moment without our anticipating others which only received their fullest development under the skilful logic of the Thomists.

---

[1] Solutos atque oberrantes, sola turpis vita complectitur et vaga, . . . quique dum, nullum metuentes, explendæ voluptatis suæ licentiam consectantur, quasi animalia bruta, libertate ac desiderio suo feruntur, habentes signum religionis, non religionis officium, hippocentauris similes, neque equi neque homines, . . . quorum quidem sordida atque infami numerositate satis superque nostra pars occidua pollet.—Ibid. Lib. II. c. iii.

[2] Ludov. Pii de Reform. Eccles. cap. 100. (Goldast. Const. Imp. III. 199.)

[3] Smaragd. Comment. in Regul. Benedict. c. 1.

VIII.

THE BARBARIANS.

WHILE the Latin church had thus been engaged in its hopeless combat with the incurable vices of a worn-out civilization, it had found itself confronted by a new and essentially different task. The Barbarians who wrenched province after province from the feeble grasp of the Cæsars had to be conquered, or religion and culture would be involved in the wreck which blotted out the political system of the Empire. The destinies of the future hung trembling in the balance, and it might not be an uninteresting speculation to consider what had been the present condition of the world if Western Europe had shared the fate of the East, and had fallen under the domination of a race bigoted in its own belief and incapable of learning from its subjects. Fortunately for mankind the invaders of the West were not semi-civilized and self-satisfied; their belief was not a burning zeal for a faith sufficiently elevated to meet many of the wants of the soul; they were simple barbarians, who, while they might despise the cowardly voluptuaries on whom they trampled, could not fail to recognize the superiority of a civilization awful even in its ruins. Fortunately, too, the Latin church was a more compact and independently organized body than its Eastern rival, inspired by a warmer faith and a more resolute ambition. It faced the difficulties of its new position with consummate tact and tireless energy; and whether its adversaries were Pagans like the Franks, or Arians like the Goths and Burgundians, by alternate pious zeal and artful energy it triumphed where success seemed hopeless, and where bare toleration would have appeared a sufficient victory.

While the celibacy, which bound every ecclesiastic to the church and dissevered all other ties, may doubtless be credited

with a share in this result, it introduced new elements of disorder where enough existed before. The chaste purity of the Barbarians at their advent aroused the wondering admiration of Salvianus, as that of their fathers four centuries earlier had won the severe encomium of Tacitus;[1] but the virtue which sufficed for the simplicity of the German forests was not long proof against the allurements accumulated by the cynicism of Roman luxury. At first the wild converts, content with the battle-axe and javelin, might leave the holy functions of religion to their new subjects, their strength scarcely feeling the restraint of a faith which to them was little more than an idle ceremony; but as they gradually settled down in their conquests, and recognized that the high places of the church conferred riches, honor, and power, they coveted the prizes which were too valuable to be monopolized by an inferior race. Gradually the hierarchy thus became filled with a class of warrior bishops, who, however efficient in maintaining and extending ecclesiastical prerogatives, were not likely to shed lustre on their order by the rigidity of their virtue, or to remove, by a strict enforcement of discipline, the scandals inseparable from endless civil commotions.

Reference has been made above to the perpetual iteration of the canon of celibacy, and of ingenious devices to prevent its violation, by the numerous councils held during this period, showing at once the disorders which prevailed among the clergy and the fruitlessness of the effort to repress them. The history of the time is full of examples illustrating the various phases of this struggle.

The episcopal chair, which at an earlier period had been filled by the votes of the people, and which subsequently came under the control of the Papacy, was at this time a gift in the hands of the untamed Merovingians, who carelessly

---

[1] Quamquam severa illic matrimonia; nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris, nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt. . . Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria; quorum pœna præsens et maritis permissa. . . Plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonæ leges. —De Mor. German. c. 18, 19.

It is a little singular that Salvianus names the Alamanni as the only exception to the character for chastity which he bestows on the Barbarians in general.

bestowed it on him who could most lavishly fill the royal coffers, or who had earned it by courtly subservience or warlike prowess. The supple Roman or the turbulent Frank, who perchance could not recite a line of the Mass, thus leaped at once from the laity through all the grades;[1] and as he was most probably married, there can be no room for surprise if the rule of continence, thus suddenly assumed from the most worldly motives, should often prove unendurable for those untrained to self-command. When a man of repute like Genebaldus, married to the niece of the holy St. Remy, and placed in the see of Laon, could not restrain his passions until after the appearance of a son and daughter, whom he named Latro and Vulpecula in confession of his sin,[2] it was scarcely to be expected that the illiterate and untutored nominees of a licentious court could overcome the temptations which it required the virtue of a Felix of Nantes to surmount—virtue which must have been somewhat uncommon to attract attention and merit special record.[3] That in fact they could not or did not is indicated by the frequent injunctions of the councils that bishops must regard their wives as sisters; while a canon promulgated by the council of Macon, in 581, ordering that no woman should enter the chamber of a bishop without two priests, or at least two deacons, in her company, shows how little hesitation there was in publishing to the world the

[1] From such chance allusions as are made by Gregory of Tours, this would almost seem to be the general rule, and not the exception. Thus he mentions that Apollinaris obtained the see of Rhodez at the solicitation of his wife and sister (Hist. Franc. Lib. III. c. 2), and shortly afterwards the same episcopate is filled by the appointment of "Innocentius Gabalitanorum comes" (Ibid. Lib. VI. c. 38). Sulpitius, when nominated to that of Bourges, "ad clericatum deductus, episcopatum . . . suscepit" (Ibid. Lib. VI. c. 39). Badegisilus, Clotair's mayor of the palace, received the bishopric of Le Mans "qui tonsuratus, gradus quos clerici sortiuntur ascensus," was duly installed (Ibid. Lib. VI. c. 9). Indeed, in his catalogue of the Bishops of Tours, Gregory specifies of Euphronius, the eighteenth bishop, that he was "ab ineunte ætate clericus," showing how unusual it was to be regularly bred to the church.

[2] Hincmari Vit. S. Remig. c. 42.

[3] The wife of Felix, banished from his bed on his elevation to the episcopate, rebelled against the separation. Finding her husband obdurate to her enticements, she was filled with jealousy, believing that only another attachment could account for his coldness. Hoping to detect his infidelity, she stole into the chamber where he was sleeping, and saw on his breast a lamb shining with heavenly light, indicative of the peaceful repose which had taken the place of all earthly passions in his heart.—Greg. Turon. de Glor. Confess. c. 78.

suspicions that were generally entertained.[1] How the rule was sometimes obeyed by the wild prelates of the age, while trampling upon other equally well-known canons, is exemplified by the story of Macliavus of Britanny. Conon, Count of Britanny, had made way with three of his brothers; the fourth, Macliavus, after an unsuccessful conspiracy, sought safety in flight, entered the church, and was created Bishop of Vannes. On the death of Conon, he promptly seized the vacant throne, left the church, threw off his episcopal robes, and took back to himself the wife whom he had quitted on obtaining the see of Vannes—for all of which he was duly excommunicated by his brother prelates.[2]

When such was the condition of morals and discipline in the high places of the church, it is not to be wondered at if the second council of Tours, in 567, could declare that the people suspect, not indeed all, but many of the arch-priests, vicars, deacons, and subdeacons, of maintaining improper relations with their wives, and should command that no one in orders should visit his own house except in company with a subordinate clerk, without whom, moreover, he was never to sleep; the clerk refusing the performance of the duty to be whipped, and the priest neglecting the precaution to be deprived of communion for thirty days. Any one in orders found with his wife was to be excommunicated for a year, deposed, and relegated among the laity; while the arch-priest who neglected the enforcement of these rules was to be imprisoned on bread and water for a month. An equally suggestive illustration of the condition of society is afforded by another canon, directed against the frequent marriages of nuns, who excused themselves on the ground that they had taken the veil to avoid the risk of forcible abduction. Allusion is made to the laws of Childebert and Clotair, maintained in vigor by Charibert, punishing such attempts severely, and girls who anticipate them are directed to seek temporary asylum in the church until their kindred can protect them under the royal authority, or find suitable husbands for them.[3]

---

[1] Concil. Matiscon. I. c. 3.

[2] Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. Lib. IV. c. 4.

[3] Concil. Turon. II. c. 19, 20.

That morals were not much better among the Arian Wisigoths of Spain than among the true believers of France is shown by the proceedings of the third council of Toledo, held in 589 to confirm the reunion of that kingdom with the orthodox church. It complains that the converted bishops, priests, and deacons are found to be publicly living with their wives, which it forbids for the future under threat of degrading all recalcitrants to the rank of lector.[1] The conversion of the kingdom to Catholicism did not improve matters. The clergy continued not only to associate with their wives, but also to marry openly, for the secular power was soon afterwards forced to interfere, and King Recared I. issued a law directing that any priest, deacon, or subdeacon connecting himself with a woman by marriage or otherwise, should be separated from his guilty consort by either the bishop or judge, and be punished according to the canons of the church, while the unfortunate woman was subjected to a hundred lashes and denied all access to her husband. To insure the enforcement of the edict, the heavy mulct of two pounds of gold was levied on any bishop neglecting his duty in the premises.[2] Recared also interposed to put a stop to the frequent marriages of nuns, whose separation from their husbands and condign punishment were decreed, with the enormous fine of five pounds of gold exacted of the careless ecclesiastic who might neglect to carry the law into effect—a fair measure of the difficulties experienced in enforcing the rule of celibacy.[3] This legislation had little effect, for a half century later the eighth council of Toledo, in 653, shows us that all ranks of the clergy, from bishops to sub-deacons, had still no scruple in publicly maintaining relations with wives and concubines;[4]

---

[1] Concil. Toletan. III. c. 5. Priestly marriage formed no part of the Arian doctrine, but as the heresy originated prior to the council of Nicæa, and professed no obedience to that or any other council or decretal, it was left entirely to such influence as individual asceticism might exercise. Having no acknowledged head to promulgate canons or to cause their observance, no rule of the kind, even if theoretically admitted, could be generally enforced.

[2] L. Wisigoth. Lib. III. Tit. iv. l. 18. This law is preserved in the Fuero Juzgo, or medieval Romance version of the code (Lib. III. Tit. iv. ley 18).

[3] L. Wisigoth. Lib. III. Tit. v. I. 2.

[4] Concil. Toletan. VIII. ann. 653, can. iv. v. vi.—These measures were

and, despite these well-meant efforts, clerical morals went from bad to worse until the licentious reign of King Witiza broke down all the accustomed barriers. According to the monkish chroniclers, that reckless prince issued, in 706, a law authorizing not only polygamy but unlimited concubinage to both laity and clergy; a privilege of which it is not unreasonable, from what we have seen, to suppose that they largely availed themselves.[1] There seems to be no record of any remonstrance on the part of the Gothic prelates, and when, three years later, Pope Constantine took cognizance of the innovation, and threatened Witiza with dethronement if he should not abrogate his iniquitous legislation, the monarch retorted with a promise to repeat the exploits of his predecessor Alaric, in sacking and plundering the Apostolic city. It is a little singular, however, that one of the first acts of the usurper, Don Roderic, in 711, was the repeal of this obnoxious law.[2] If he had any intentions of undertaking the reform of his subjects' morals, however, his adventure with Count Julian's daughter and the Saracenic invasion caused its indefinite postponement.

Italy was almost equally far removed from the ideal purity of Jerome and Augustine. Nothing can be more suggestive of the demoralization of her church than the permission granted about the year 580 by Pelagius II. for the elevation to the diaconate of a clerk at Florence, who while a widower had had children by a concubine. What renders the circumstance peculiarly significant is the fact that the Pope pleads the degeneracy of the age as his apology for this laxity.[3]

---

as fruitless as the preceding. Cf. Concil. Toletan. IX. ann. 655, can. x.

[1] Rex Witiza se effrenate præcepitans per omne genus flagitii, legem nequissimam tulit; ut more sara-(ce)-norum cuilibet laico et clerico liceret, quotquot posset alere, uxores et concubinas impune domi suæ retinere.—Liutprandi Chron. No. 174, ann. 706.

[2] Ibid. No. 181 ann. 709; No. 188 ann. 711. Without entering into the question of the correctness with which this chronicle has been attributed to Liutprand of Cremona, I may say that it has every appearance of being an authentic remnant of antiquity. (Cf. Antonii Biblioth. Hispan. I. 585.)

[3] Defectus temporum nostrorum, quibus non solum merita sed corpora ipsa hominum defecerunt.—Pelagii PP. II. Epist. xiv.

Such was the condition of the Christian world when Gregory the Great, in 590, ascended the pontifical throne. He was too devout a churchman and too sagacious a statesman not to appreciate thoroughly the importance of the canon in all its various aspects—not only as necessary to ecclesiastical purity according to the ideas of the age, but also as a prime element in the influence of the church over the minds of the people, as well as an essential aid in extending ecclesiastical power, and in retaining undiminished the enormous possessions acquired by the church through the munificence of the pious. The prevailing laxity, indeed, was already threatening serious dilapidation of the ecclesiastical estates and foundations. How clearly this was understood is shown by Pelagius I. in 557, when he refused for a year to permit the consecration of a bishop elected by the Syracusans. On their persisting in their choice he wrote to the Patrician Cethegus, giving as the reason for his opposition the prelate's wife and children, by whom, if they survive, the substance of the church is wont to be jeopardized;[1] and his consent was finally given only on the condition that the bishop elect should provide competent security against any conversion of the estate of the diocese for the benefit of his family, a detailed statement of the property being made out in advance to guard against attempted infractions of the agreement. That this was not a merely local abuse is evident from a law of the Wisigoths, which provides that on the accession of any bishop, priest, or deacon, an accurate inventory of all church possessions under his control shall be made by five freemen, and that after his death an inquest shall be held for the purpose of making good any deficiencies out of the estate of the decedent, and forcing the restoration of anything that might have been alienated.[2]

There evidently was ample motive for a thorough reformation, and Gregory accordingly addressed himself energetically to the work of enforcing the canons. In his decretals there

[1] Superstes uxor aut filii, per quos ecclesiastica solet periclitari substantia.—Pelagii PP. I. Cethego Patricio.

[2] L. Wisigoth. Lib. v. Tit. i. l. 2.

are numerous references to the subject, showing that he lost no opportunity of reviving the neglected rules of discipline regarding the ordination of digami,[1] the residence of women, and abstinence from all intercourse with the sex.[2] In his zeal he even went so far as to decree that any one guilty of even a single lapse from virtue should be forever debarred from the ministry of the altar[3]—a law nullified by its own severity, which rendered its observance impossible. There is not much trace in contemporary history of any improvement resulting from these efforts, and towards the very close of his pontificate, in 602, we find him entreating Queen Brunhilda to exercise her power in restraining the still unbridled license of the Frankish clergy—a task which he assures her is essential if she desires to transmit her possessions in peace to her posterity.[4] He also endeavored to reform the perennial abuse of the residence of women, a reform which the church has been vainly attempting ever since the canon of Nicæa.[5] That Gregory's zeal, however, exercised some influence is manifested by the fact that tradition in the Middle Ages occasionally associated his name with the introduction of celibacy in the church. The impression which he produced is shown by the wild legend which relates that, soon after issuing and strictly enforcing a decretal on the subject, he happened to have his fish-ponds drawn off, when the heads of no less than six thousand infants were found in them—the offspring of eccle-

---

[1] Gregor. I. Lib. XIII. Epist. vi.—This rule had come to be very generally neglected. The importance attached to it, however, by strict disciplinarians is well illustrated in the firmness displayed by John, Patriarch of Alexandria, a contemporary of Gregory, whose bountiful charity had earned for him the title of Eleemosynarius. In a time of extreme famine, a wealthy aspirant offered him 200,000 bushels of corn and 100 pounds of gold for the grade of deacon. He had unluckily been twice married, and John refused the dazzling bribe, although the episcopal treasury had been exhausted in relieving the necessities of the suffering people. (Thomassin, Discip. de l'Eglise, Pt. II. Liv. 3, c. 15.)

[2] Gregor. I. Lib. XIII. Epist. 35, 36.

[3] Gregor. I. Lib. IV. Epist. 26; Lib. V. Epist. 3; Lib. VIII. Epist. 24.—Similar attempts had previously been made by sundry provincial councils. In the case of Andrew, Bishop of Tarentum, who was accused of maintaining relations with a former concubine, Gregory, recognizing the impossibility of obtaining proofs, leaves it to his own conscience. If he has had any commerce with her since his ordination, he is commanded at once to resign his position as the only mode of insuring his salvation. (Gregor. Lib. III. Epist. 45, 46.)

[4] Gregor. I. Lib. XI. Epist. 69.

[5] Ibid. Lib. IX. Epist. 106.

siastics, destroyed to avoid detection—which filled him with so much horror that he abandoned the vain attempt.[1] Yet in Italy the residence of wives was still permitted to those in orders, under the restriction that they should be treated as sisters;[2] and Gregory relates as worthy of all imitation the case of a holy priest of Nursia who, following the example of the saints in depriving himself of even lawful indulgences, had persistently relegated his wife to a distance. When at length he lay on his death-bed, to all appearance inanimate, the wife came to bid him a last farewell, and placed a mirror to his lips, to see whether life was yet extinct. Her kindly ministrations roused the dominant asceticism in his expiring soul, and he gathered strength enough to exclaim, "Woman, depart! Take away the straw, for there is yet fire here"—which supreme effort of self-immolation procured him on the instant a beatific vision of St. Peter and St. Paul, during which he lapsed ecstatically into eternity.[3]

In considering so thoroughly artificial a system of morality, it is perhaps scarcely worth while to inquire into the value of a virtue which could only be preserved by shunning temptation with so scrupulous a care.

---

[1] Udalric. Bamberg. Cod. Lib. II. Epist. 10.

[2] Gregor. I. Lib. I. Epist. 52; Lib. IX. Epist. 60.

[3] Gregor. I. Dial. Lib. IV. cap. xi.

IX.

THE CARLOVINGIANS.

EVEN the energy and authority of Gregory the Great were powerless to restore order in the chaos of an utterly demoralized society. In Spain, the languishing empire of the Wisigoths was fast sinking under the imbecility which invited the easy conquest of the Saracens. In France, Brunhilda and Fredegonda were inflaming the fierce contentions which eventually destroyed the Merovingian dynasty, and which abandoned the kingdom at once to the vices of civilization and the savage atrocities of barbarism.[1] In Italy, the Lombards, more detested than any of their predecessors, by their ceaseless ravages made the Ostrogothic rule regretted, and gleaned with their swords such scanty remnants of plunder as had escaped the hordes which had successively swept from the gloomy forests of the North across the rich valleys and fertile plains of the mistress of the world. Anarchy and confusion everywhere scarce offered a field for the exercise of the humbler virtues, nor could the church expect to escape the corruption which infected every class from which she could draw her recruits. Still, amid the crowd of turbulent and worldly ecclesiastics, whose only aim was the gratification of the senses or the success of criminal ambition, some holy men were to be found who sought the mountain and forest as a refuge from the ceaseless and all-pervading disorder around them. St. Gall and St. Columba, Willibrod and Boniface, were types of these. Devoted to the severest asceticism, burying

---

[1] In 649 we find Amandus, Bishop of Maestricht, resigning his office on account of the impossibility of enforcing the canons among his priests and deacons. Martin I. endeavored to dissuade him from his purpose, and urged his proceeding with the utmost rigor against all transgressors. (Hartzheim Concil. German. I. 28.)

themselves in the wilderness and subsisting on such simple fare as the labor of their hands could wring from a savage land, the selfishness of the anchorite did not extinguish in them the larger aims of the Christian, and by their civilizing labors among the heathen they proved themselves worthy disciples of the Apostles.

Thicker grew the darkness as Tarik drove the Gothic fugitives before him on the plains of Xeres, and as the house of Pepin d'Heristel gradually supplanted the long-haired descendants of Clovis. The Austrasian Mayors of the Palace had scanty reverence for mitre and crozier, and it is a proof how little hold the clergy had earned upon the respect and affection of the people, when the usurpers in that long revolution did not find it necessary to conciliate their support. In fact, the policy of those shrewd and able men was rather to oppress the church and to parcel out its wealth and dignities among their warriors, who made no pretence of piety nor deigned to undertake the mockery of religious duties. Rome could interpose no resistance to these abuses, for, involved alternately in strife with the Lombards and the Iconoclastic Emperors, the Popes implored the aid of the oppressor himself, and were in no position to protest against the aggressions which he might commit at home.

In Italy, the condition of discipline may be inferred from the fact that, in 721, Gregory II. considered it necessary to call a synod for the special purpose of condemning incestuous unions and the marriages of nuns, which he declared were openly practised,[1] and the canons then promulgated received so little attention that they had to be repeated by another synod in 732.[2] In France, of course, it was even worse. For eighty years scarce a council was held; no attempts were made to renew or enforce the rules of discipline, and the observances of religion were at length well nigh forgotten. In 726, Boniface even felt scruples as to associating in ordinary intercourse with men so licentious and depraved as the

---

[1] Hinc namque est quod ingemiscens dico, quia populi Christiani aliquos per provinciam Italiam commorantes, audio temere contra Catholicam fidem et patrum statuta patrare, ita ut Deo sacratas fœminas ducere præsumant mulieres, et propinquas in conjugio socient.—Concil. Roman. ann. 721.

[2] Chron. Gradensis Supplement.

Frankish bishops and priests, and he applied to Gregory II. for the solution of his doubts. Gregory, in reply, ordered him to employ argument in endeavoring to convince them of their errors, and by no means to withdraw himself from their society,[1] a politic toleration of vice contrasting strangely with his fierce defiance of the iconoclastic heresy of Leo the Isaurian, when he risked the papacy itself in his eagerness to preserve his beloved images.

When, however, the new dynasty began to assume a permanent position, it sought to strengthen itself by the influence of the church. Like the modern Charlemagne, it saw in a restoration of religion a means of assuring its stability by linking its fortunes with those of the hierarchy. A radical in opposition becomes of necessity a conservative in power; and the arts which had served to supplant the hereditary occupants of the throne were no longer advisable after success had indicated a new line of policy. As Clovis embraced Christianity in order to consolidate his conquests into an empire, so Carloman and Pepin-le-Bref sought the sanction of religion to consecrate their power to their descendants, and the Carlovingian system thenceforth became that of law and order, organizing a firm and settled government out of the anarchical chaos of social elements.

It was the pious Carloman who first saw clearly how necessary was the aid of the church in any attempt to introduce civilization and subordination among his turbulent subjects. Immediately on his accession, he called upon St. Boniface to assist him in the work, and the Apostle of Germany undertook the arduous task. How arduous it was may be conceived from his description of the utterly demoralized condition of the clergy, when he appealed to Pope Zachary for advice and authority to assist in eradicating the frightful promiscuous licentiousness which was displayed with careless cynicism throughout all grades of the ecclesiastical body.[2]

---

[1] Gregor. PP. II. Epist. 14 cap. 12.

[2] Modo autem maxima ex parte episcopales sedes traditæ sunt laicis cupidis ad possidendum, vel adulteratis clericis, scortatoribus et publicanis sæculariter ad perfruendum . . . Si invenero inter illos diaconos quos nominant, qui a pueritia sua semper in stupris, semper in adulteriis et in omnibus semper spurcitiis vitam du-

The details are too disgusting for translation, but the statement can readily be believed when we see what manner of men filled the controlling positions in the hierarchy.

Charles Martel had driven out St. Rigobert, Archbishop of Rheims, and had bestowed that primatial see on one of his warriors named Milo, who soon succeeded in likewise obtaining possession of the equally important archiepiscopate of Trèves.[1] He is described as being a clerk in tonsure, but in every other respect an irreligious laic, yet Boniface, with all the aid of his royal patrons, was unable to oust him from his inappropriate dignities, and in 752, ten years after the commencement of his reforms, we find Pope Zachary, in response to an appeal for advice, counselling him to leave Milo and other similar wolves in sheep's clothing to the divine vengeance.[2] These men openly defied all attempts to remove them. One, who is described as "pugnator et fornicator," gave up, it is true, the spiritualities of his see, but held to the temporalities with a gripe that nothing could loosen; another utterly disregarded the excommunications launched at his head, and Zachary and Boniface at last were fain to abandon him to his evil courses.[3] Somewhat more success, indeed, he had with Servilio, son and successor to Geroldus, Bishop of Mainz.

---

centes, sub tali testimonio venerunt ad diaconatum, et modo in diaconatu concubinas quatuor vel quinque vel plures noctu in lecto habentes, evangelium tamen legere et diaconos se nominare non erubescunt, nec metuunt: et sic in talibus incestis ad ordinem presbyteratus venientes, in iisdem peccatis perdurantes, et peccata peccatis adjicientes, presbyteratus officio fungentes, dicunt se pro populo posse intercedere, et sacras oblationes offerre. Novissime, quod pejus est, sub talibus testimoniis per gradus singulos ascendentes, ordinantur et nominantur episcopi. Si usquam tales invenero inter illos, rogo ut habeam præceptum et conscriptum auctoritatis vestræ, quid de talibus diffiniatis, et per responsum Apostolicum convincantur et arguantur peccatores.—Bonifacii Epist. 132.

[1] Milo quidam, tonsura clericus, moribus, habitu, et actu irreligiosus laicus, episcopia Remorum ac Trevirorum usurpans insimul, per multos annos pessumdederit. — Hincmar. Epist. xxx. c. 20.—Sola tonsura clerico, qui secum processerat ad bellum.—Flodoard. Hist. Remens. Lib. II. c. 12.—It was for this especially, among his numerous similar misdeeds, that Charles Martel was condemned to eternal torture. St. Eucherius in a vision saw him plunged into the depths of Hell, and on consulting St. Boniface and Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis, it was resolved to open Charles' tomb. The only tenant of the sepulchre was found to be a serpent, and the walls were blackened as though by fire, thus proving the truth of the revelation and holding out an awful warning to similar wrong doers for the future. (Flodoard. loc. cit.)

[2] Bonifacii Epist. 142.

[3] Ibid.

The latter, accompanying Carloman in an expedition against the Saxons, was killed in battle. Bishop Servilio, in another foray, recognized his father's slayer, invited him to a friendly interview, and treacherously stabbed him, exclaiming, in the rude poetry of the chronicler "Accipe jam ferrum quo patrem vindico carum." This act of filial piety was not looked upon as unclerical, until Boniface took it up; Servilio was finally forced to abandon the see of Mainz, and it was given to Boniface himself.[1] When such were the prelates, it is not to be supposed that rules of abstinence and asceticism received much attention from their subordinates. Boniface admits, in an epistle to King Ecgberht, that, in consequence of the universal licentiousness, he was compelled to restore the guilty to their functions after penitence, as the canonical punishment of dismissal would leave none to perform the sacred offices.[2]

How much of this was indiscriminate concubinage, and how much was merely intercourse with legitimate wives, we have no means of ascertaining. The latter Boniface succeeded in suppressing, for the church could control her sacraments.[3] The former was beyond his power.

Armed with full authority from Pope Zachary, Carloman and Boniface commenced the labor of reducing to order this chaos of passion and license. Under their auspices a synod was held April 23, 742, in which all unchaste priests and deacons were declared incapable of holding benefices, were degraded and forced to do penance. Bishops were required to have a witness to testify to the purity of their lives and doctrines, before they could perform their episcopal functions. For all future lapses from virtue, priests were to be severely whipped and imprisoned for two years on bread and water, with prolongation of the punishment at the discretion of their bishops. Other ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, were to be whipped thrice and similarly imprisoned for one year, besides

---

[1] Othlon. Vit. S. Bonifac. Lib. I. c. 44.

[2] Bonifacii Epist. 85.

[3] Et tam laicorum injusta concubinarum copula partim exhortante sancto viro separata est, quam etiam clericorum nefanda cum uxoribus conjunctio sejuncta ac separata.—Willibald. Vit. S. Bonifac. c. 9.

the stigma of having the head shaved. All monasteries, moreover, were to adopt and follow rigidly the rule of St. Benedict.[1]

The stringency of these measures shows not only the extent of the evil requiring such means of cure, but the fixed determination of the authorities to effect their purpose. The clergy, however, did not submit without resistance. It is probable that they stirred up the people, and that signs of general disapprobation were manifested at a rigor so extreme in punishing faults which for more than two generations had passed wholly unnoticed, for during the same year Zachary addressed an epistle to the Franks with the object of enlisting them in the cause. The ill-success of their arms against the Pagans he attributes to the vices of their clergy, and he promises them that if they show themselves obedient to Boniface, and if they can enjoy the prayers of pure and holy priests, they shall in future have an easy triumph over their heathen foes.[2] Yet many adulterous priests and bishops, noted for the infamy of their lives, pretended that they had received from Rome itself dispensations to continue in their ministry—an allegation which Zachary of course repelled with indignation.[3]

Carloman, however, pursued his self-imposed task without flinching. On March 1st, 743, he held another synod at Leptines, where the clergy promised to observe the ancient canons, and to restore the discipline of the church. The statutes enacted the previous year were again declared to be in full vigor for future offences; while for previous ones penitence and degradation were once more decreed.[4]

These regulations affected only Austrasia, the German portion of the Frankish empire, ruled by Carloman. His brother, Pepin-le-Bref, who governed Neustria, or France, was

---

[1] Capit. Caroloman. ann. 742 c. 1, 3, 6.

[2] Et dum hæc ita sint, et tales in vobis fuerint sacerdotes, quomodo victores contra vestros inimicos esse poteritis? Nam si mundos et castos ab omni fornicatione et homicidio liberos habueritis sacerdotes, ut sacri præcipiunt canones, et nostra vice prædicat præfatus Bonifacius, frater noster, et ei in omnibus obedientes extiteritis, nulla gens ante conspectum vestrum stabit, sed corruent ante faciem vestram omnes paganæ gentes, et eritis victores.—Bonifacii Epist. 137.

[3] Ibid. Epist. 132, 142.

[4] Capit. Caroloman. ann. 743 c. 1.

less pious, and had not apparently as yet recognized the policy of reforming out of their possessions the warrior vassals whom his father had gratified with ecclesiastical benefices. At length, however, he was induced to lend his aid, and in 744 he assembled a synod at Soissons for the purpose. So completely had the discipline of the church been neglected and forgotten, that Pepin was obliged to appeal to Pope Zachary for an authoritative declaration as to the grades in which marriage was prohibited.[1] Yet his measures were but lukewarm, for he contented himself with simply forbidding unchastity in priests, the marriage of nuns, and the residence of stranger women with clerks, no special punishment being threatened, beyond a general allusion to existing laws.[2]

Thus assailed by both the supreme ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, the clergy still were stubborn. Some defended themselves as being legitimately entitled to have a concubine—or rather, we may presume, a wife. Among these we find a certain Bishop Clement described as a pestilent heresiarch, with followers who maintained that his two children, born during his prelacy, did not unfit him for his episcopal functions; and a synod held in Rome, October 31st, 745, was required for his condemnation, the local authorities apparently proving powerless. Even this was not sufficient, for in January, 747, we find Zachary directing Boniface to bring him before a local council, and if he still proved contumacious, to refer the matter again to Rome.[3] Others, again, unwilling to forego their secular mode of existence, or to abandon the livelihood afforded by the church, were numerous and hardy enough to ask Pepin and Carloman to set apart for them churches and monasteries in which they could live as they were accustomed to do. So nearly did they succeed in this attempt, that Boniface found it necessary to appeal to Zachary to prevent so flagrant an infraction of the canons, and Zachary wrote to the princes with instructions as to the mode of answering the petition.[4] Others, still more audacious, assailed

[1] Zachar. PP. Epist. 8, c. 11, 18.

[2] Pippini Capit. ann. 744 c. 4, 8, 9.

[3] Bonifac. Epist. 135, 139 (Zachar. PP. Epist. 9).

[4] Othlon. Vit. S. Bonif. Lib. II. c. 11.

Boniface in every way, endeavored to weary him out, and even, rightly regarding him as the cause of their persecution and tribulations, made attempts upon his life.[1]

That he should have escaped, indeed, is surprising, when the character of the age is considered, and the nature of the evils inflicted on those who must have regarded the reform as a wanton outrage on their rights. As late as 748, Boniface describes the false bishops and priests, sacrilegious and wandering hypocrites and adulterers, as much more numerous than those who as yet had been forced to compliance with the rules. Driven from the churches, but supported by the sympathizing people, they performed their ministry among the fields and in the cabins of the peasants, who concealed them from the ecclesiastical authorities.[2] This is not a description of mere sensual worldlings, and it is probable that by this time persecution had ranged the evil-disposed on the winning side. Those who thus exercised their ministry in secret and in wretchedness, retaining the veneration of the people, were therefore men who believed themselves honorably and legitimately married, and who were incapable of sacrificing wife and children for worldly advantage or in blind obedience to a rule which to them was novel, unnatural, and indefensible.

Boniface, however, escaped from the vengeful efforts of those who suffered from his zeal, to fall, in 755, under the sword of the equally ungrateful Frisians. It is probable that up to the time of his death he was occupied with the reformation of the clergy in conjunction with his missionary labors, for in 752 we still find him engaged in the hopeless endeavor to eject the unclerical prelates, who even yet held

---

[1] Bonifacii Epist. 135.—S. Ludgeri Vit. S. Bonifacii.

[2] Eos autem quos reperisse affata est fraternitas tua pseudosacerdotes multo majores numeri quam Catholicos, erroneos simulatores sub nomine episcoporum vel presbyterorum, qui nunquam ab episcopis Catholicis fuerunt ordinati, illudentes populo et ministeria ecclesiæ confundentes et conturbantes, aut falsos, gyrovagos, adulteros, sacrilegos, hypocritas et multos servos tonsuratos. . . Qui sine episcopo, proprio arbitrio viventes, populares defensores habentes, contra episcopos, ut sceleratos mores eorum non confringant, seorsum populum consentaneum congregant, et illud erroneum ministerium, non in ecclesia Catholica, sed per agrestia loca, per cellas rusticorum, ubi eorum imperita stultitia celari episcopos possit, perpetrant, &c."—Bonifacii Epist. 140.

over from the iron age of Charles Martel. His disappearance from the scene, however, made but little change in the movement which had owed so much to his zeal.

In 747 Carloman's pious aspirations had led him from a throne to a cloister, and the monastery of Monte Cassino welcomed its most illustrious inmate. Pepin received the whole vast kingdom, and his ambitious designs drew him daily closer to the church, the importance of whose support he commenced to appreciate. His policy, in consolidating the power of his house and in founding a new dynasty, led him necessarily to reorganize the anarchical elements of society. As an acknowledged monarch, a regularly constituted hierarchy and recognized subordination to the laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, were requisite to the success of his government and to the establishment of his race. Accordingly, we find him carrying out systematically the work commenced by Carloman and Boniface, to which at first his support had been rather negative than positive.

Six weeks after the martyrdom of Boniface, Pepin held a synod in his royal palace of Verneuil, in which this tendency is very apparent. Full power was given to the bishops in their respective dioceses to enforce the canons of the church on the clergy, the monks, and the laity. The monasteries were especially intrusted to the episcopal care, and means were provided for reducing the refractory to submission. The rule of Benedict was proclaimed as in force in all conventual establishments, and cloistered residence was strictly enjoined. All ecclesiastics were ordered to pay implicit obedience to their bishops, and this was secured by the power of excommunication, which was no longer, as in earlier ages, the simple suspension from religious privileges, but was a ban which deprived the offender of all association with his fellows, and exposed him, if contumacious, to exile by the secular power. By the appointment of metropolitans, a tribunal of higher resort was instituted, while two synods to be held each year gave the opportunity both of legislation and of final judgment. Submission to their decisions was insured

by threatening stripes to all who should appeal from them to the royal court.[1]

Such are the main features, as far as they relate to our subject, of this Capitulary, which so strikingly reveals the organizing system of the Carlovingian polity. Carried out by the rare intelligence and vigor of Charlemagne, it gave a precocious development of civilization to Europe, transitory because in advance of the age, and because it was based on the intellectual force of the ruler, and not on the virtue and cultivation of a people as yet too barbarous to appreciate it.

For a century we hear nothing more of sacerdotal marriage—and yet it may be doubted whether clerical morality had really been improved by the well-meant reforms of Boniface. These were followed up by Charlemagne with all of his resistless energy, and the importance which he attached to the subject is shown by an epistle of Adrian I. denying certain assertions made to the Frankish sovereign, inculpating the purity of the Roman clergy. Adrian, in defending his flock, assumes that the object of the slanders can only have been to produce a quarrel between himself and Charlemagne, who must evidently have made strong representations on the subject to the Pontiff.[2] Under such pressure perhaps there was something less of shameless licentiousness; the episcopal chairs were no longer defiled by the cynical lubricity of unworthy prelates; but in the mass of the clergy the passions, deprived of all legitimate gratification, could not be restrained

---

[1] Capit. Pippini ann. 755.

In these efforts Pepin doubtless received efficient aid from his cousin, St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, whose lofty rank and eminent piety gave him wide influence. Chrodegang virtually founded the order of Canons, by the Rule for their government which he promulgated in 762, and which became generally accepted. In this he strictly forbids all intercourse with women, and punishes transgressions with stripes, incarceration, and deposition. (Reg. S. Chrodeg. cap. xxix. lvi. lxviii. lxx.) This device of Chrodegang, by converting the cathedral clergy into monks bound to implicit obedience towards their superiors, gave no little increase of power to the bishops, and enabled them to extend their authority and influence. It is no wonder, therefore, that the institution spread rapidly and was adopted in most of the dioceses.

[2] Cod. Carolini Epist. lxiv. (Patrolog. T. 98 p. 319). Yet even in 772 we find that a council in [illegible] found it neces[illegible] marriage of [illegible] ving. car[illegible] man. I.

in a race so little accustomed to self-control, and unchastity remained a corroding ulcer which Charlemagne and Louis-le-Débonnaire vainly endeavored to eradicate.

It would be an unprofitable task to recapitulate the constantly repeated legislation prohibiting the residence of women with the clergy and repressing the disorders and irregularities of the monastic establishments. It would be but a reiteration of the story already related in previous centuries, and its only importance would be in showing by the frequency of the edicts how utterly ineffectual they were. When Louis-le-Débonnaire, in 826, decreed that the seduction of a nun was to be punished by the death of both the partners in guilt; that the property of both was to be confiscated to the church, and that the count in whose district the crime occurred, if he neglected its prosecution, was to be degraded, deprived of his office, undergo public penance, and pay his full wehr-gild to the fisc,[1] the frightful severity of the enactment is the measure of the impossibility of effecting its purpose, and of the inefficiency of the reformation so elaborately prepared and so energetically promulgated by Louis in 817.[2]

But perhaps the most convincing evidence of the debased morality of the clergy, and of the low standard which even the most zealous prelates were forced to adopt, is to be found in a curious fabrication by the authors of the False Decretals. The collection of decretals which they put forth in the names of the early Popes embodied their conception of a perfect church establishment, as adapted to the necessities and aspirations of the ninth century. While straining every point to throw off all subjection to the temporal power, and to obtain for the hierarchy full and absolute control over all ecclesiastical matters and persons, they seem to have felt it necessary to relax in an important point the rigor of the canons respecting sacerdotal purity. Gregory the Great had proclaimed in the clearest and most definite manner the rule that a single lapse from virtue condemned the sinner to irrevocable degra-

---

Ingelenheim. Capitulary regulating monastic life
... generally adopted as a supple-
... rule of Benedict. (Leo.
... on. Cassinens. Lib. I. c.

dation, and rendered him forever unfit for the ministry of the altar.[1] Yet "Isidor Mercator" added to a genuine epistle of Gregory a long passage elaborately arguing the necessity of forgiveness for those who expiate by repentance the sin of impurity, "of which, among many, so few are guiltless."[2] The direct testimony is notable, but not less so is the indirect evidence of the prevalent laxity which could induce such a bid for popularity on the part of high churchmen like those concerned in the Isidorian forgeries.

Evidence, also, is not wanting, that the denial of the appropriate and healthful human affections led to the results which might be expected of fearful and unnatural crimes. That the inmates of monasteries, debarred from female society, occasionally abandoned themselves to the worst excesses, or, breaking through all restraint, indulged in less reprehensible but more open scandals, is proclaimed by Charlemagne, who threatened to vindicate the outrage upon religion with the severest punishment.[3] Nor were the female convents more successfully regulated, for the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, states that in many places they were rather brothels than houses of God; and it shows how close a supervision over the spouses of Christ was thought requi-

---

[1] See ante, p. 127. Cf. Pseudo-Hormisdæ Epist. Encyc. (Migne's Patrol. T. LXIII. p. 527.)

[2] Quid enim est gravius carnale delictum admittere *sine quo in multis pauci inveniuntur*, an Dei filium timendo negare? in quo uno ipsum beatum Petrum apostolorum principem, ad cujus nunc corpus indigni sedemus, lapsum esse cognoscimus, sed post negationem pœnitentia secuta, et post pœnitentiam misericordia data. — Pseudo-Gregor. Epist. ad Secundinum.

It is not easy to explain the manufacture of two canons, one prohibiting bishops from celebrating the marriage of nuns under seventy years of age; the other forbidding priests from marrying, under a penalty of ten years' suspension, with a threat of perpetual deprivation for contumacy. (Constit. Pseudo-Sylvestri cap. x. xix.) The denial of marriage was too generally recognized to render forgery requisite to strengthen it, and I can only suggest, from the peculiarity of the rules enunciated, that these canons may have been genuine ones, borrowed from some forgotten council of the sixth or seventh century.

[3] Nam pervenit ad aures nostras opinio perniciosissima, in fornicatione et abominatione et immunditia multos jam in monasteriis esse deprehensos . . . ut inde maximam spem salutis omnibus Christianis oriri crederent, id est de vita et castitate monachorum, in tantum ut aliquis ex monachis sodomitas esse auditum. . . . certe amplius quid tale ad aures nostras pervenerit, non solum in eos, sed etiam et in ceteros qui talia consentiant, talem ultionem facimus ut nullus Christianus qui hoc audierit nullatenus tale quid perpetrare amplius præsumpserit. — Capit. Carol. Mag. I. ann. 802 c. 17.

site when it proceeds to direct that nunneries shall be so built as to have no dark corners in which scandals may be perpetrated out of view.[1] The effect of these efforts may be estimated from a remark in a collection of laws which bears the name of Erchenbald, Chancellor of Charlemagne, but which is rather attributable to the close of the ninth century, that these disorders commonly resulted in a worse crime—infanticide.[2] As regards the secular clergy, even darker horrors are asserted by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, and other prelates, who forbade to their clergy the residence of mother, aunt, and sister, in consequence of the crimes so frequently perpetrated with them at the instigation of the devil;[3] and the truth of this hideous fact is unfortunately confirmed by the declarations of councils held at various periods.[4]

---

[1] De monasteriis puellarum quæ in quibusdam locis lupanaria potius videntur esse quam monasteria.—Concil. Aquisgran. ann. 836, de vit. et doc. infer. ordin. can. xii., xiv.

[2] Et notandum quod in illo scelere aliud immane flagitium subterlatet, id est homicidium. Quia dum illæ meretrices, sive monasteriales sive sæculares, male conceptas soboles in peccatis genuerunt, sæpe maxima ex parte occidunt.—Capitul. add. IV. cap. clx. (Baluze, I. 1227).

[3] Quia, instigante diabolo, etiam in illis scelus frequenter perpetratum invenitur, aut etiam in pedisequis earum. Nec igitur matrem, neque amitam, neque sororem permittimus ultra habitare in domo una cum sacerdote.—Theodulf. Aurelian. Capit. Secund. (Baluz. et Mansi II. 99.)

He had previously (Epist. c. 12) promulgated the prohibition, assigning for it the more decent reason, in imitation of St. Augustine, of the danger arising from female attendants. In this he was imitated, about 850, by Rodolf of Bourges (Capit. Rodulf. Bituricens. c. 16), and about 871 by Walter of Orleans (Capit. Walteri Aurelian. c. 3).

In 889, however, Riculfus of Soissons declares the lamentable truth without reserve: "Nos vero etiam a matribus, amitis, sororibus vel propinquis cavendum dicimus, ne forte illud eveniat quod in sancta scriptura legitur de Thamar sorore Absalon . . . de Loth etiam. . . . Quod si aliquis vestrum matrem, sororem vel amitam ad convescendum vocaverit, expleto convivio ad domos suas vel ad hospitia a domo presbyteri remota, cum luce diei eas faciat remeare; periculosum quippe est ut vobiscum habitent."—Riculfi Suess. Const. c. 14.

[4] Thus the council of Mainz in 888—"Quod multum dolendum est, sæpe audivimus per illam concessionem plurima scelera esse commissa, ita ut quidam sacerdotum, cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generassent, et idcirco constituit hæc sancta synodus, ut nullus presbyter ullam fœminam secum in domo propria permittat, quatenus occasio malæ suspicionis vel facti iniqui penitus auferatur" (Concil. Mogunt. ann. 888, c. 10). In the same year the third canon of the council of Metz repeats the prohibition; while in 895 the council of Nantes declares—"Sed neque illas quas canones concedunt; quia instigante diabolo, etiam in illis scelus frequenter perpetratum reperitur, aut etiam in pedissequis illarum, scilicet matrem, amitam, sororem."—Concil. Namnetens. ann. 895, c. 3.

It is true that some authorities,

If, under the external polish of Carlovingian civilization, such utter demoralization existed, while the laws were enforced by the stern vigor of Charlemagne, or the sensitive piety of Louis-le-Débonnaire, it is easy to understand what was the condition of society when the sons of the latter involved the whole empire in a ceaseless tumult of civil war. Not only was the watchful care of the first two emperors withdrawn, but the state was turned against itself, and rapine and desolation became almost universal. The royal power was parcelled out, by the rising feudal system, among a crowd of nobles whose energies were solely directed to consolidating their position, and was chiefly employed, as far as it affected the church, in granting abbeys and other ecclesiastical dignities to worthless laymen, whose support could only be secured by bribes which the royal fisc could no longer supply. Pagan Danes and infidel Saracens were ravaging the fairest provinces of the empire, and their blows fell with peculiar weight on the representatives of a hated religion. For seventy years previous to the treaty of Clair-sur-Epte no mass resounded in the walls of the cathedral church of Coutances, so fierce and unremitting had been the incursions of the Northmen.

During this period of anarchy and lawlessness, the church was skilfully emancipating itself from subjection to the temporal power, and was laying the foundation of that supremacy which was eventually to dominate Christendom. While its aspirations and ambitions were thus worldly, and its ranks were recruited from a generation trained under such influences, it is easy to believe that the disorders which even Charlemagne could not repress, grew more and more flagrant. Even the greatly augmented power of the Papacy added to the increasing license, for the appellate jurisdiction claimed by Rome gave practical immunity to those against whom the enforcement of the canons was attempted. About the year

including the great name of Pagi, attribute to this council of Nantes the date of 660, but this is unimportant as regards the canon in question, for its necessity during the period under consideration is shown by its insertion in the Capitularies of Benedict the Levite (Lib. VII. c. 376), and in the collection of Regino of Pruhm (Lib. I. c. 104).

876, Charles-le-Chauve, in a spirited argument against the pretensions of the Popes, calls attention specially to the exemption thus afforded to unchaste priests, who, after due conviction by their bishops, obtained letters from Rome overruling the judgments; the distance and dangers of the journey precluding the local authorities from supporting their verdicts by sending commissioners and witnesses to carry on a second trial beyond the Alps.[1]

This shows that the effort to enforce purity was not as yet abandoned, however slender may have been the success in eradicating an evil so general and so deeply rooted. The nominal punishment for unchastity—loss of benefice and deposition—was severe enough to induce the guilty to hide their excesses with care, when they chanced to have a bishop who was zealous in the performance of his duties. Efforts at concealment, moreover, were favored by the forms of judicial procedure, which were such as to throw every difficulty in the way of procuring a conviction, and to afford, in most cases, practical immunity for sin, unless committed in the most open and shameless manner. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, the leading ecclesiastic of his day, whose reputation for learning and piety would have rendered him one of the lights of the church, had not his consistent opposition to the innovations of the papacy caused his sanctity to be questioned in Rome, has left us elaborate directions as to the forms of prosecution in such matters. Notwithstanding his earnest exhortations and arguments in favor of the most ascetic purity, he discourages investigation by means of neighbors and parishioners, or irreverent inquiries on the subject. Only such testimony was admissible as the laws allowed, and the laws were very strict as to the position and character of witnesses. In addition to the accusers themselves, seven witnesses were necessary. Of these, one was required to substantiate the oaths of the rest by undergoing the ordeal, thus exposing himself and all his fellows to the heavy penalties visited on perjury, upon the chance of the red-hot iron or cold-water trial, administered, perhaps, by those interested in shielding the guilty. If, as

[1] Hincmari Epist. xxxii. c. 20.

we can readily believe was generally the case, these formidable difficulties could not be overcome, and the necessary number of witnesses were not ready to sacrifice themselves, then the accused could purge himself of the sins imputed to him by his own oath, supported by one, three, or six compurgators of his own order; and Hincmar himself bears testimony to the associations which were formed among the clergy to swear each other through all troubles.[1]

Under these regulations, Hincmar orders an annual investigation to be made throughout his province, but the results would appear to have been as unsatisfactory as might have been expected. In 874, at the Synod of Rheims, he complains that his orders have been neglected and despised, and he warns his clergy that proof of actual criminality will not be required, but that undue familiarity with women, if persisted in, will be sufficient for condemnation when properly proved.[2]

In the presence of facilities for escape such as were afforded by the practice of ecclesiastical law as constructed by the decretalists, and as expounded by Hincmar himself, the threats in which he indulged could carry but little terror. We need not wonder, therefore, if we meet with but slender indications of priestly marriage during all this disorder, for there was evidently little danger of punishment for the unchaste priest who exercised ordinary discretion in his amours, while the penalties impending over those who should openly brave the canonical rules were heavy, and could hardly be avoided by

---

[1] Hincmari Capit. Presbyteris data. cap. xxi.-xxv.—"Proinde de concubitu presbyterorum cum fœminis per parochianos vel vicinos cujuscumque presbyteri inquirere non laborabimus . . . Non igitur de hoc inverecunde quæremus."

Hincmar repeats his instructions, with some amplifications, in another document, in which he declares them to be the received traditional rules—"a majoribus nostris accepimus" (De Presbyt. criminos. c. xi.-xviii.). That they were generally practised is shown in their almost literal repetition by the council of Trosley in 909—with the exception that in some cases fourteen or twenty-one witnesses were required for conviction. (Concil. Troslei. c. ix.)

No doubt the rule was already in force, enunciated by Gratian, rejecting the testimony of the woman with whom the accused had been guilty, although her confession was good as against herself—"Quia ergo ista de se confitetur super alienum crimen ei credi non oportet; sed contra eam sua confessio interpretanda est."—Caus. xv. q. 3, Comment. in can. 5.)

[2] Capit. Synod. Remens. ann. 874, c. 3.

any one who should dare to unite himself publicly to a woman in marriage. Every consideration of worldly prudence and passion therefore induced the priest to pursue a course of illicit licentiousness—and yet, as the century wore on, traces of entire neglect or utter contempt of the canons began to manifest themselves. How little the rule really was respected by the ecclesiastical authorities, when anything was to be gained by its suppression, is shown in the decision made by Nicholas I., the highest of high churchmen, when encouraging the Bulgarians to abandon the Greek church, although the separation between Rome and Constantinople was not, as yet, formal and complete. To their inquiry whether married priests should be ejected, he replied that though such ministers were objectionable, yet the mercy of God was to be imitated, who causes his sun to shine on good and evil alike, and as Christ did not dismiss Judas, so they were not to be dismissed. Besides, laymen were not to judge priests for any crime, nor to make any investigation into their lives, such inquiries being reserved for bishops.[1] As no bishops had yet been appointed by Rome, the answer was a skilfully tacit permission of priestly marriage, while avoiding an open avowal.

It need awaken no surprise if those who united recklessness and power should openly trample on the canons thus feebly supported. A somewhat prominent personage of the period was Hubert, brother of Teutberga, Queen of Lotharingia, and his turbulent conduct was a favorite theme for animadversion by the quiet monastic chroniclers. That he was an abbot is perhaps no proof of his clerical profession, but when we find his wife and children alluded to as a proof of his abandoned character, it shows that he was bound by vows or ordained within the prohibited grades, and that he publicly violated the rules and defied their enforcement.[2]

The earliest absolute evidence that has reached us, however, of marriage committed by a member of the great body

[1] Nicholai I. Respons. ad Consult. Bulgar. c. 70.

[2] Efficitur ad hæc uxorius, liberos procreans, et ad suæ damnationis cumulum nil sibi clericale præter tonsuram præferens.—Folcuin. de Gest. Abbat. Laubiens. c. 12.

of the plebeian clergy, subsequent to the reforms of Boniface, occurs about the year 893. Angelric priest of Vasnau appealed to the synod of Chalons, stating that he had been publicly joined in wedlock to a woman named Grimma. Such an attempt by a priest, the consent of the woman and her relatives, and the performance of the ceremony by another priest all show the prevailing laxity and ignorance, yet still there were found some faithful and pious souls to object to the transaction, and Angelric was not allowed to enjoy undisturbed the fruits of his sin. Yet even the synod was perplexed, and unable to decide what ought to be done. It therefore only temporarily suspended Angelric from communion, while Mancio, his bishop, applied for advice to Fulk of Rheims, metropolitan of the province, and the ignorance and good faith of all parties are manifested by the fact that Angelric himself was sent to Fulk as the bearer of the letter of inquiry.[1]

With the ninth century the power, the cultivation, and the civilization of the Carlovingians may be considered virtually to disappear, though for nearly a hundred years longer a spectral crown encircled the brows of the ill-starred descendants of Pepin. Centralization, reudered impossible in temporal affairs by feudalism, was transferred to the church, which, thenceforth, more than ever independent of secular control, became wholly responsible for its own shortcomings; and the records of the period make only too plainly manifest how utterly the power, so strenuously contended for, failed to overcome the ignorance and the barbarism of the age.

---

[1] Mantion. Episc. Catalaun. Epist. ad Fulc. Remens. (Migne's Patrol. T. 131, p. 23).

X.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

THE tenth century, well characterized by Cave as the "Sæculum Obscurum," is perhaps the most repulsive in Christian annals. The last vestiges of Roman culture have disappeared, while the dawn of modern civilization is as yet far off. Society, in a state of transition, is painfully and vainly seeking some form of security and stability. The marauding wars of petty neighboring chiefs become the normal condition, only interrupted when two or three unite to carry destruction to some more powerful rival. Though the settlement of Normandy relieved Continental Europe to a great extent from the terror of the Dane, yet the still more dreaded Hun took his place and ravaged the nations from the Danube to the Atlantic, while England bore the undivided fury of the Vikings, and the Saracen left little to glean upon the shores of the Mediterranean.

When brutal ignorance and savage ferocity were the distinguishing characteristics of the age, the church could scarce expect to escape from the general debasement. It is rather a matter of grateful surprise that religion itself was not overwhelmed in the general chaos which engulfed almost all the previously existing institutions. When the crown of St. Peter became the sport of barbarous nobles, or of a still more barbarous populace, we may grieve, but we cannot affect astonishment at the unconcealed dissoluteness of Sergius III., whose bastard, twenty years later, was placed in the pontifical chair by the influence of that embodiment of all possible vices, his mother Marozia.[1] The last extreme of depravity

[1] Quo mortuo, ipsius Marotiæ filium Johannem nomine, quem ex Sergio papa meretrix ipsa genuerat, papam constituunt. — Liutprand. Antapod. Lib. III. c. 43.

would seem attained by John XII., but as his deposition in 963 by Otho the Great loosened the tongues of his accusers, it is possible that he was no worse than some of his predecessors. As for him, no extreme of wickedness was beyond his capacity; the sacred palace of the Lateran was turned into a harem; incest gave a flavor to crime when simple profligacy palled upon his exhausted senses, and the honest citizens of Rome complained that the female pilgrims who formerly crowded the holy fanes were deterred from coming through fear of his promiscuous and unbridled lust.[1]

With such corruption at the head of the church, it is lamentably ludicrous to see the popes inculcating lessons of purity, and urging the maintenance of canons which they set the example of disregarding so utterly. The clergy were now beginning to arrogate to themselves the privilege of matrimony, and marriage, so powerful a corrective of indiscriminate vice, was regarded with peculiar detestation by the ecclesiastical authorities, and awoke a far more energetic opposition than the more dangerous and corrupting forms of illicit indulgence. The pastor who intrigued in secret with his penitents and parishioners was scattering the seeds of death in place of the bread of life, and was abusing his holy trust to destroy the souls confided to his charge, but this worked no damage to the temporal interests of the church at large. The priest who, in honest ignorance of the canons, took to himself a wife, and endeavored faithfully to perform the duties of his humble sphere, could scarcely avoid seeking

[1] In the council which condemned John, the accusers stated—"De adulterio dixerunt quod oculis non viderent, sed certissime scirent, viduam Rainerii et Stephanam patris concubinam, et Annam viduam cum nepte sua abusum esse, et sanctum palatium lupanar et prostibulum fecisse" (Liutprand. Hist. Otton. c. 10). So the Romans in their address to Otho—"Testis est Stephana ejus amita, quæ in effusione quod ex eo conceperat recens hominem exivit. Quid si cuncta taceant, Lateranense palatium, sanctorum quoudam hospitium, nunc prostibulum meretricum, non silebit, amitam conjugem, Stephaniæ alterius concubinæ sororem. Testis omnium gentium præter Romanarum absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratia timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos hunc audierint conjugatas, viduas, virgines vi oppressisse." (Ibid. c. 4.)

Equally suggestive, though more reticent, is the character given of him by another contemporary—"Diligebat collectio feminarum. . . . Tanta denique libidine sui corporis exarsit, quanta nunc possumus enarrare."—Chron. Benedict. S. Andreæ Monach. c. 35.

the comfort and worldly welfare of his offspring, and this exposed the common property of all to dilapidation and embezzlement. Disinterested virtue perhaps would not be long in making a selection between the comparative evils, but disinterested virtue was not a distinguishing characteristic of the age.

Yet a motive of even greater importance than this rendered matrimony more objectionable than concubinage or licentiousness. By the overruling tendency of the age, all possessions previously held by laymen on precarious tenure were rapidly becoming hereditary. As the royal power slipped from hands unable to retain it, offices, dignities, and lands became the property of the holders, and were transmitted from father to son. Had marriage been openly permitted to ecclesiastics, their functions and benefices would undoubtedly have followed the example. An hereditary caste would have been established, who would have held their churches and lands of right; independent of the central authority, all unity would have been destroyed, and the collective power of the church would have disappeared. Having nothing to gain from obedience, control would have become impossible, and, laymen in all but name, the ecclesiastics would have had no incentive to perform their functions, except what little influence, under such circumstances, might have been retained over the people by maintaining the sacred character thus rendered a mockery.

In an age when everything was unsettled, yet with tendencies so strongly marked, it thus became a matter of vital importance to the church to prevent anything like hereditary occupation of benefices or private appropriation of property, and against these abuses its strongest efforts were directed. The struggle lasted for centuries, and it is indeed most fortunate for our civilization that sacerdotalism triumphed, even at the expense of what at the moment may appear of greater importance. I cannot here pause to trace the progress of the struggle in its long and various vicissitudes. It will be found constantly reappearing in the course of the following pages, and for the present it will suffice to group together a

few evidences to show how rapidly the hereditary tendency developed itself in the period now under consideration.

The narrowness of the escape from ecclesiastical feudalization is well illustrated by an incident at the council of Tours, in 925, where two priests, *father and son*, Ranald and Raymond, appeared as complainants, claiming certain tithes detained from them by another priest. They gained the suit, and the tithes were confirmed to them and their successors forever.[1] Even more suggestive is the complaint, some thirty years later, of Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, who objects strenuously to the ordination of the children sprung from these illegal marriages, as each successive father made his son a priest, thus perpetuating the scandal indefinitely throughout the church; and as he sorrowfully admits that his clergy could not be restrained from marriage, he begs them at least to bring their children up as laymen.[2] This, however, by his own showing, would not remove the material evil, for in another treatise he states that his priests and deacons divided the church property between them, that they might have lands and vineyards wherewith to provide marriage portions for their sons and daughters.[3] This system of appropriation also forms the subject of lamentation for Atto, Bishop of Vercelli, whose clergy insisted on publicly keeping concubines—as he stigmatizes those who evidently were wives—to whom they left by will everything that they could gather from the possessions of the church, from the alms of the pious, or from any other source, to the ruin of ecclesiastical property and to the deprivation

---

[1] Rainaldo et filio suo Raimoni in synodali conventu talem notitiam accipere, quo neque suo neque successorum suorum tempore, aliqua contentio pro ipsis decimis posset oriri.—Concil. Turon. ann. 925. (Mart. et Dur. IV. 73.)

[2] Presbyter vero aut diaconus uxorem legitimam non possit habere. Si filium de ipsa fornicatione, vel quod pejus est, adulterio, genitum facit presbyterum, ille alterum de se similiter genitum facit presbyterum; ille iterum suum, suum alter iterum; pullulans illud usque in finem sæculi taliter adulterium, cujus est nisi illius qui illud primitus seminavit? Quocirca monendi et obsecrandi fratres, ut quia prohiberi, proh dolor! a mulieribus valetis nullo modo, filios de vobis generatos dimitteretis saltem esse laicos, filias laicis jungeretis, ut vel in fine saltem vestro terminaretur, et nusquam in finem sæculi duraret adulterium vestrum.—Ratherii de nuptu cujusdam illicito c. 4.

[3] Ut ditati videlicet . . . habeant quoque unde filiis uxores, filiabus acquirant maritos, vineas et campos.—Ratherii de contemptu canon. P. I. c. 4.

of the poor.[1] The same complaint was uttered among the Anglo-Saxons. "It is all the worse when they have it all, for they do not dispose of it as they ought, but decorate their wives with what they should the altars, and turn everything to their own worldly pomp. . . Let those who before this had the evil custom of decorating their women as they should the altars, refrain from this evil custom, and decorate their churches, as they best can; then would they command for themselves both divine counsel and worldly worship. A priest's wife is nothing but a snare of the devil, and he who is ensnared thereby on to his end, he will be seized fast by the devil."[2]

It will be observed that, as the century advanced, sacerdotal marriage became more and more common. Indeed, in 966, Ratherius not only intimates that his clergy all were married, but declares that if the canon prohibiting repeated marriages were put in force, only boys would be left in the church, while even they would be ejected under the rule which rendered ineligible the offspring of illicit unions.[3] It was not that the ancient canons were forgotten,[4] nor that strenuous efforts were not made to enforce them, but that the temper of the times created a spirit of personal independence so complete that the power of the ecclesiastical authorities seemed utterly inadequate to control the growing license. About the year 938, Gerard, Archbishop of Lorsch and Papal Legate for

---

[1] Præterea quod dicere pudet, tacere autem periculum, quidam in tantum libidine mancipantur, ut obscœnas meretriculas sua simul in domo secum habitare, una cibum sumere, ac publice degere permittant. Quarum illecebris illecti, suæ domui cunctæque familiæ ac supellectili eas præesse dijudicant, suumque post obitum scortum hæredem constituunt, et quidquid de facultatibus ecclesiæ, vel eleemosynis, sese undecunque acquirere possunt, hujusmodi manibus distrahendum relinquunt. . . . Et unde meretrices ornantur, ecclesiæ vastantur, pauperes tribulantur.—Atton. Vercell. Epist. ix.

[2] Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical, c. 19, 23 (Thorpe, Ancient Laws, &c. of England, II. 329, 337).

[3] Rursum si lectum impleretur "Si quis presbyter uxorem duxerit, deponatur;" magis autem pelli debet si adulterium perpetraverit; quis ex vobis indepositus esset? . . . Si multinubos a clericatu repellerem, quem nisi puerulos in ecclesia relinquerem? Si manzeres abjicerem, quem ex eisdem puerulis stare in choro permitterem? —Ratherii Itinerar. c. 5.

[4] Gunzo the Grammarian, in his learned treatise, makes use of the recognized celibacy of the clergy as a comparison. "Non enim una eademque res bona, licet æque omnibus conceditur. Siquidem nuptiæ, laicis concessæ, sacris ordinibus denegantur." —Gunzonis Epist. ad Augienses.

Southern Germany, laid before Leo VII. a series of questions relating to various points in which the ancient canons were set at naught throughout the region under his supervision. Leo answered by a decretal addressed to all the princes and potentates of Europe, in which he laments over Gerard's statement of the public marriages of priests, and replies to his inquiry as to the capacity of their children for ecclesiastical promotion. The first he pronounces forbidden by the canons, and those guilty of it he orders to be deprived of their benefices. As for the offspring of such marriages, however, he says that they are not involved in the sins of their parents.[1]

The unusual liberality of this latter declaration, however, was not a precedent. The church always endeavored to prevent the ordination of the children of ecclesiastics, and Leo, in permitting it, was only yielding to a pressure which he could not withstand. It was a most dangerous concession, for it led directly to the establishment of the hereditary principle. An effort was soon after made, by an appeal to the temporal power, to recover the ground lost, and about the year 940 Otho the Great was induced to issue an edict prohibiting the sons of deacons, priests, and bishops from occupying the positions of notary, judge, or count[2]—the bare necessity of which shows how numerous and powerful the class had already become.

Although, as early as 925, the council of Spalatro seemed to find nothing to condemn in a single marriage, but threatened excommunication against those who so far forgot themselves as to contract a second,[3] and though by the middle of the

---

[1] Dehinc intulit lamentabile et nimis lugendum, ut Domini sacerdotes publice ducant uxores, et si filii eorum valeant promoveri? Quod scelus . . . juxta sacros canones modis omnibus prohibemus . . . Et qui in tali scelere fuerint reperti nostra apostolica auctoritate ab omni priventur honore. Filii vero eorum immunes ab eorum peccato sunt, dicente propheta: filius non portabit iniquitatem patris, et in sacro baptismate omnia dimittuntur peccata.—Leon. PP. VII. Epist. 15.

[2] Diaconorum episcoporum presbyterorum filios, notarios sculdasios comites judices fieri, omnibus modis prohibemus.—Constit. Otton. ann. 940, c. 12.

[3] Quod si sacerdotes incontinenter propter ipsam continentiam primam quam sortitus est, separati a consortio cellæ, teneat uxorem; si vere aliam duxerit, excommunicetur. — Concil. Spalatens. ann. 925, c. 15.

The passage is evidently corrupt, but its intention is manifest. The reading

century the practice had become generally established, yet some rigid prelates continued to keep alive the memory of the ancient canons by fruitless protests and ineffectual efforts at reform. In 948, the synod of Engelheim, under the presidency of Marino, Bishop of Ostia and Papal Vicar, condemned such marriages as incestuous and unlawful.[1] In 952, at the council of Augsburg, the assembled German and Italian prelates made a further and more desperate effort. Deposition was pronounced against the subdeacon, deacon, priest, or bishop who should take to himself a wife; separation of those already married was ordered, and even the lower grades of the clergy, who had not previously been subjected to any such rule, were commanded to observe the strictest continence. An attempt was also made to prevent concubinage by visiting suspected women with stripes and shaving; but there evidently was some difficulty anticipated in enforcing this, for the royal power is invoked to prevent secular interference with the sentence.[2]

This stringent legislation of course proved utterly nugatory, but, futile as it was, it yet awakened considerable opposition. St. Ulric, in whose episcopal town of Augsburg the council was held, addressed a long epistle to the Pope, remonstrating against his efforts to enforce the rule of celibacy, and arguing the question, temperately but forcibly, on the grounds both of scriptural authority and of expediency. He pointed out how much more obnoxious to Divine wrath were the promiscuous and nameless crimes indulged in by those who were foremost in advocating the reform, than the chaste and single marriages of the clergy; and the violent distortion of the sacred texts by those who sought authority to justify the canon he not unhappily characterized as straining the breast of Scripture until it yielded blood in place of milk.[3]

---

suggested by Batthyani may be reasonably accepted. "Quod si sacerdotes incontinentes propter ipsam continentiam quam quis primam sortitus est, separati a consortio cellæ, teneant uxorem, tolerantur; si vero aliam duxerint, excommunicentur." (Batthyani, Legg. Eccles. Hungar. I. 333-4.)

[1] Reliquis autem diebus decretum est de incestis et illicitis presbyterorum conjugiis.—Richeri Hist. Lib. II. c. 81. The canons of the council, however, as they have reached us, are silent on the subject.

[2] Concil. Augustan. ann. 952, c. 1, 4, 11.

[3] In nimirum non recte intellexe-

Despite the inefficiency of these attempts, the clergy were not allowed to enjoy their unlawful domestic ties in peace, and, where the votaries of asceticism were bold and determined, the contest was sometimes severe. The nature of the struggle is well illustrated by the troubles which arose between Ratherius of Verona and the ecclesiastics of his diocese. In April, 967, John XIII. held a council at Ravenna which commanded those who were in holy orders to give up at once either their wives or their ministry, and Otho the Great was induced to issue a precept confirming this peremptory decree. Ratherius had long been vainly wishing for some authority on the subject more potent than the ancient and now obsolete canons;[1] and on his return from Ravenna he summoned a synod for the purpose of promulgating the new regulations. His clergy got wind of his intention; very few of them obeyed the summons, and those who came boldly declared that they would neither be separated from their wives nor abandon their functions; in fact, they did not scruple to maintain that marriage was not only permissible, but even necessary to protect the

---

runt Scripturam, cujus mammillam qui durius presserint sanguinem pro lacte biberunt. . . Quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui eorum vel episcopi videlicet et archidiaconi ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria neque incestus, neque masculorum proh pudor! turpissimos sciant abhorrere concubitus, quod casta clericorum conjugia sibi dicunt fœtere, et ab eis non veræ justitiæ compassione, sed falsæ justitiæ dedignatione clericos . . . ut servos jubeant vel cogant abstinere.—Cod. Bamberg. Lib. II. Epist. 10.

St. Ulric is noteworthy as the first subject of papal canonization, having been enrolled in the calendar by the council of Rome in 993. That priestly marriage should be advocated by so pious and venerable a father was of course not agreeable to the sacerdotal party, and his evidence against celibacy has not infrequently been ruled out of court by discrediting the authenticity of the epistle. The compiler of the collection containing it, made in 1125, prefixed the name of Nicholas as that of the pope to whom it was addressed, and as St. Ulric was about equidistant between Nicholas I. in the ninth, and Nicholas II. in the eleventh century, it has been suggested that the epistle was addressed to the latter, on the occasion of his reforms in 1059, the use of St. Ulric's name being assumed as a mistake of the compiler. That this is not so is shown by the fact that already in 1079 it was known as St. Ulric's, being condemned as such in that year by Gregory VII.—"scriptum quod dicitur sancti Oudalrici ad papam Nicholaum, de nuptiis presbiterorum" (Bernald. Constant. Chron. ann. 1079). The authenticity of the document, I believe, is generally admitted by unprejudiced critics.

[1] The previous year (966) Ratherius had issued an elaborate series of precepts to his clergy, in which he had only ventured to prohibit them from conjugal intercourse during the periods forbidden likewise to laymen, in Advent, Christmas, Lent, &c. (Ratherii Synodica c. 15.)

church from the most hideous vices.[1] Ratherius had passed through too many vicissitudes in his long and agitated career to shrink from the collision, now that he was backed by both the papal and imperial authority. He promptly threw the recalcitrant pastors into prison, declaring that they should lie there until they paid a heavy fine for the benefit of the cathedral of the Virgin, and he further commanded the presence of those who had failed to appear. The clergy of the diocese, finding that the resistance of inertia was unavailing, took more decided steps, and appealed for protection to the temporal power, in the person of Nanno, Count of Verona. He promptly espoused their cause, and his *missus* Gilbert forbade their obedience to the summons of their bishop for a year. Ratherius remonstrated vehemently against the assumption of Nanno that the priests were his vassals, subject to his jurisdiction, and entitled to his protection. He therefore invoked the power of Otho, in a letter to Ambrose, the Imperial Chancellor.[2] The clergy were too powerful; the imperial court decided against the bishop, and before the end of the year Ratherius was forced to withdraw from the unequal contest and to take refuge in the peaceful abbey of Lobbes, whence he had been withdrawn a quarter of a century before to fill the see of Verona. Three times had he thus been driven from that city, and an intermediate episcopate of Liége, with which one of his periods of exile was gratified, had been terminated in the same abrupt manner by the unruly clergy, unable to endure the severity of his virtue.[3] How great was the revolution to which he sacrificed his life is shown by his declaration that ecclesiastics differed from laymen only in

[1] Putent adeo fieri non modo licere sed etiam oportere, ut nemo hoc facere devitans videatur eis pessimo illo . . . scelere posse carere. . . Quam perdita tonsuratorum universitas tota, si nemo in eis qui non aut adulter aut sit arsenoquita. Adulter enim nobis est qui contra canones uxorius est.—Ratherii Discordia, c. 1.

Some, indeed, professed that their poverty did not permit them to live without the assistance of their wives, and asserted their readiness for a separation if a regular stipend could be assured to them. (Ibid. c. 6.)

[2] Ratherii Epist. XI., XII.—His letter to the Empress Adelaide, announcing his willingness to retire from the contest, and to seek the congenial shades of a monastery, is most uncourtly. (Epist. XIII.)

[3] Ruotgeri Vit. S. Brunonis c. 38.—Ratherius consoled himself epigrammatically by condensing his misfortunes in the Leonine verse—"Veronæ præsul, sed ter Ratherius exsul."

shaving and the tonsure, in some slight fashioning of their garments, and in the careless performance of the church ritual.[1]

That the Veronese clergy were not alone in obtaining from the secular potentates protection against these efforts on the part of reforming bishops, is evident from the lamentations of Atto of Vercelli. That estimable prelate deplores the blindness of those who, when paternally warned to mend their evil ways, refuse submission, and seek protection from the nobles. If we may believe him, however, they gained but little by this course, for their criminal lives placed them at the mercy of the secular officials, whose threats to seize their wives and children could only be averted by continual presents. Thus they not only plundered the property of their churches, but forfeited the respect and esteem of their flocks; all reverence for them was thereby destroyed, and, living in perpetual dread of the punishment due to their excesses, in place of commanding obedience, they were exposed to constant oppression and petty tyranny.[2]

When prelates so sincere and so earnest as Ratherius and Atto were able to accomplish so little, it is easy to understand what must have been the condition of the dioceses intrusted to the great mass of bishops, who were rather feudal nobles than Christian prelates. St. Wolfgang of Ratisbon might issue thousands of exhortations to his clergy, inculcating chastity as the one indispensable virtue, and might laboriously reform his monasteries in which monks and nuns led a life almost openly secular;[3] but he was well nigh

---

[1] De Contempt. Canon. P. II. c. 2. This was written in 964. The progress of sacerdotal marriage during the preceding quarter of a century is shown by a similar comparison drawn by Ratherius some thirty years before, in which matrimony is included among the few points of difference, along with shaving and the tonsure. (Præloquiorum Lib. V. c. 18.)

The existing confusion is well exemplified by another remark. "Expertus sum talem qui ante ordinationem adulterium perpetravit, postea quasi continenter vixit; alterum qui post ordinationem uxorem duxit; et iste illum, ille istum carpebat."—De Contempt. Canon. P. I. c. 11.

[2] Atton. Vercell. Epist. 9. In another epistle (No. 10) Atto congratulates himself on the reform of some of his clergy, and threatens the contumacious with degradation.

[3] Othloni Vit. S. Wolfkangi, c. 15, 16, 17, 23. Præ omnibus ut castitatem sequerentur milies inculcavit.

powerless for good compared with the potentiality of evil conveyed by the example of such a bishop as Segenfrid of Le Mans, who, during an episcopate which lasted for thirty-three years, took to himself a wife named Hildeberga, and who stripped the church for the benefit of his son Alberic, the sole survivor of a numerous progeny by her whom he caused to be reverenced as his *Episcopissa*.[1] Guarino of Modena might hope to stem the tide of license by refusing preferment to all who would not agree to hold their benefices on a sort of feudal tenure of chastity;[2] but he had much less influence on his age than such a man as Alberic of Marsico, whose story is related as a warning by Peter Damiani. He was married (for, in the language of Damiani, "obscæna meretricula" may safely be translated a wife), and had a son to whom he transferred his bishopric, as though it had been an hereditary fief. Growing tired of private life, however, he aspired to the abbacy of Monte Casino. That humble foundation of St. Benedict had become a formidable military power, of which its neighbors the Capuans stood in constant dread. Alberic leagued with them, and a plot was laid by which the reigning abbot's eyes were to be plucked out, and Alberic placed in possession, for which service he agreed to pay a heavy sum, one-half in advance, and the rest when the abbot's eyes should be delivered to him. The deed was

---

[1] "Ad cumulum damnationis suæ, accepit mulierem, nomine Hildeburgam, in senectute, quæ, ingresso illo ad se, concepit et peperit filios et filias, &c." The chronicler makes the end of this aged sinner an example of poetical justice such as may frequently be found in the monkish annals of those times—"Qui dum esset flebotomatus, nocte insecuta dormivit cum Episcopissa; qua de re vulnus cœpit intumescere, et dolor usque ad interiora cordis devenire." Finding his end approaching, he assumed the monastic habit and took the vows, after which he immediately expired.—Act. Pontif. Cenoman. c. 29 (Dom Bouquet, X. 384–5).

Fulbert of Chartres has left us a lively sketch of the military bishops of the period.—"Tyrannos potius appellabo, qui bellicis occupati negotiis, multo stipati latus milite, solidarios pretio conducunt, ut nullos sæculi reges aut principes noverim adeo instructos bellorum legibus, totam armorum disciplinam in procinctu militiæ servare, digerere turmas, ordines componere, ad turbandam ecclesiæ pacem, et Christianorum, licet hostium, sanguinem effundendum."—Fulbert. Carnot. Epist. 112.

[2] This singular oath has been published by Muratori (Antiq. Ital. Diss. xx.).—"Ego Andrea presbiter promitto coram Deo et omnibus sanctis, et tibi Guarino episcopo, quod carnalem commistionem non faciam; et si fecero, et onoris mei et beneficio ecclesiæ perdam."

accomplished, but while the envoys were bearing to Alberic the bloody tokens of success, they were met by tidings of his death, and on comparing notes they found that he had expired at the very moment of the perpetration of the atrocious crime.[1]

So St. Abbo of Fleury might exhaust his eloquence in inculcating the beauty and holiness of immaculate purity, and might pile authority on authority to demonstrate the punishments which, in this world and the next, attended on those who disobeyed the rule;[2] yet when he endeavored, in the monastery of La Réole, a dependency on his own great abbey of Fleury, to put his precepts into practice, the recalcitrant monks flew to arms and murdered him in the most brutal manner, not even sparing the faithful Adalard, who was reverently supporting the head of his beloved and dying master.[3] How little disposed were the ecclesiastical authorities in general to sustain the efforts of puritans like St. Abbo was clearly shown in the council of St. Denis, convened in 995 for the purpose of restoring the neglected discipline of the church, which, passing over the object of its assembling, devoted its whole attention to the more practically interesting question of tithes.[4]

All prelates, however, were not either feudal chiefs or

---

[1] S. Petri Damiani Epist. Lib. IV. Epist. 8.—Leo Marsicanus (Chron. Cassinens. Lib. II. c. 16) asserts that in his youth he himself had seen and conversed with a priest who had been one of the eye-bearers.

[2] Abbon. Floriac. Epist. 14.

[3] Although Aimoin, who was an eye-witness, does not specially mention the cause that excited the monks to ungovernable fury, yet a casual allusion shows that women were responsible for it.—"Cæterum, tantæ cladis compilatores certissime agnoscentes beatum obiisse Abbonem, certatim cuncti in fugam vertuntur, ita ut, terris reddito die, ne mulieres quidam in universis forensibus ipsius villæ invenirentur domibus"—(Abbon. Floriac. Vit. c. xx.)—and the day after his death "una ex his mulieribus quæ clamore suo seditionem concitaverant" became suddenly mad, and was struck with incurable leprosy —(Aimoin. Mirac. S. Abbonis, c. 2).

Damiani might well exclaim, when bewailing the unfortunate fate of abbots, on whom was thrown the responsibility of the morals of their communities—

Phinees si imitatur,
Fugit vel expellitur;
Si Eli, tunc irridetur
Atque parvipenditur;
Odiosus est, si fervens,
Et vilis, si tepidus.—Carm. ccxxi.

[4] Qui, cum de fidei puritate, de corrigendis tam suis quam subditorum pravis moribus sermocinari debuissent, juxta vulgare proverbium cunctum suum sermonem ad decimas verterunt ecclesiarum.—Aimoin. Vit. S. Abbonis, c. 9.

ascetic puritans. Some, who were pious and virtuous, had so far become infected with the prevailing laxity that they regarded the stricter canons as obsolete, and offered no opposition to the domestic aspirations of their clergy. Thus Constantine, Abbot of the great house of St. Symphorian of Metz, in his life of Adalbero II., who was Bishop of Metz from 984 to 1005, actually praises him for his liberality in not refusing ordination to the sons of priests, and attributes discreditable motives to those bishops who insisted on the observance of the canons prohibiting all such promotions.[1] As Constantine was a monk and a disciple of Adalbero, the tone which he adopts shows that the higher prelates and the regular clergy were beginning to recognize sacerdotal marriage as a necessity of the age. This view is strengthened by the fact that no effort to reform an abuse so universal was made at the great synod of Dortmund, held in 1005 for the special purpose of restoring the discipline of the church.[2]

How completely, indeed, marriage came to be regarded as a matter of course is manifest when in 1019 an assembly of German bishops, with the Emperor St. Henry at their head, gravely deliberated over the knotty question whether, when a noble permitted his serf to enter into holy orders, and the serf, presuming upon his new-born dignities and the wealth of his benefices, married a free woman and endeavored to withhold his children from the servitude which he still owed to his master, such infraction of his master's rights could be permitted out of respect to his sacerdotal character. Long and vehement was the argument among the learned prelates, until finally St. Henry decided the point authoritatively by pronouncing in favor of the servitude of the children.[3]

But perhaps the most instructive illustration of the character and temper of the age may be found in the three prelates who for more than a century filled the rich and powerful

[1] Episcopi sui temporis aliqui fastu superbiæ, aliqui simplicitate cordis, filios sæcularium sacerdotum ad sacros ordines admittere dedignabantur, nec ad clericatum eos recipere volentes; hic vero beatus, neminem despiciens, neminem spernens, passim cunctos recipiebat. — Constant. S. Symphon. Vit. Adalbero. II. c. 24.

[2] Dithmar. Merseberg. Lib. VI. c. 24.

[3] S. Heinrici Sentent. de Conjug. Cleric. (Patrologiæ T. 140, p. 231).

archiepiscopal see of Rouen. Hugh, whose episcopate lasted from 942 to 989, was nominated at a period when William Longsword, Duke of Normandy, was contemplating a retirement from the world to shroud his almost regal dignity under the cowl of the monk, yet what little is known of his archbishop is that, though he was a monk in habit, he was an habitual violator of the laws of God[1]—in short, we may presume, a man well suited to the wild half-pagan times which witnessed the assassination of Duke William and the minority of Richard the Fearless. On his death in 989, Duke Richard, whose piety was incontestably proved by the liberality of his monastic foundations and by his zeal for the purity of his monkish protégés,[2] filled the vacant see with his son Robert, who held the position until 1037. Robert was publicly and openly married, and by his wife Herleva he had three sons, Richard, Rodolf, and William, to whom he distributed his vast possessions. Ordericus, the conscientious cenobite of the twelfth century, looks, in truth, somewhat askance at this disregard of the rules accepted during the latter period,[3] yet no blame seems to have attached to Robert in the estimation of his contemporaries. The family chronicler characterizes him as "Robert bons clers, honestes hom," and assures us that he was highly esteemed as a wise and learned prelate

Li secunz fu genz e aperz
Et si fu apelez Roberz.
Clerc en firent, mult aprist bien,
Si fi sage sor tote rien;

---

[1] A nullo scriptorum qui de illo sive de episcopio ejus locuti sunt, laudatus est. Palam memorant quod habitu non opere monachus fuerit.

Successit Hugo, legis Domini violator
Clara stirpe satus, sed Christi lumine cassus.—
Order. Vital. Lib. v. c. 10 § 41.

[2] About the year 990, for instance, we find Duke Richard reforming the celebrated Abbey of Fécamp and replacing with Benedictines the former occupants — canons whose secular mode of life outraged his pious sensibilities — "contigit Fiscannenses canonicos aliorum canonicorum mores imitari, latas perditionis vias ingredi, et rerum temporalium luxus et desidias voluptuose sectari." — Anon. Fiscannens. c. 17.

[3] Nam conjugem nomine Herlevam, ut comes, habuit, ex qua tres filios, Richardum, Radulfum et Guillelmum genuit; quibus Ebroicensem comitatum et alios honores amplissimos secundum jus sæculi distribuit.— Orderic. Vital. Lib. v. c. 10 § 42.

So in the Normanniæ Nova Chronica, published by Chéruel in 1850, "Iste Robertus fuit uxoratus, et ex Herleva conjuge sua tres filios habuit, Richardum, Radulfum et Willelmum."

De Roem out l'arcevesquié
Honoré fu mult e preisié.[1]

His successor, Mauger, son of Duke Richard II., and archbishop from 1037 to 1054, was worthy of his predecessors. Abandoned to worldly and carnal pleasures, his *legitimate* son Michael was a distinguished knight, and half a century later stood high in the favor of Henry I. of England, in whose court he was personally known to the historian.[2] The times were changing, however, and Mauger felt the full effects of reformatory zeal, for he was deposed in 1054; the see was bestowed on Maurilio, a Florentine abbot, who had been driven out by his monks on account of the severity of his rule, and the Norman clergy, as we shall see hereafter, experienced their share of suffering in the mutation of discipline.

Notwithstanding this all-pervading laxity, the canons of the church remained unaltered, and their full force was theoretically admitted. Hopeless efforts, moreover, were occasionally made to re-establish them, as in the council of Anse in 990, which reminded the clergy that intercourse with wives after ordination was punishable with forfeiture of benefice and deprivation of priestly functions;[3] and in that of Poitiers about the year 1000, which prohibited concubines under pain of degradation.[4] In a similar spirit, a Penitential of the period recapitulates the severe punishments of a former age, involving degradation and fearfully long terms of penance.[5]

---

[1] Bénoit, Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, v. 32427, 24912. We may fairly conclude from these expressions that Robert was educated for the priesthood.

[2] Voluptatibus carnis mundanisque curis indecenter inhæsit, filiumque nomine Michaelem probum militem et legitimum genuit, quem in Anglia jam senem rex Henricus honorat et diligit.—Orderic. Vital. Lib. v. c. 10, § 43.

[3] Concil Ansan. ann. 990, c. 5.

[4] Concil. Pictaviens. c. ann. 1000. c. 3.

[5] Si clericus superioris gradus, qui uxorem habuit, et post confessionem vel honorem clericatus iterum eam cognoverit, sciat sibi adulterium commisisse, sicut superiore sententia unusquisque juxta ordine suo pœniteat [i. e. diaconus et monachi VII. (annos) III. ex his pane et aqua. Presbyter X. Episcopus XII., V. ex his pane et aqua.] . . . Si quis clericus aut monachus postquam se devoverit ad sæcularem habitum iterum reversus fuerit aut uxorem duxerit, X. annos pœniteat, III. ex his in pane et aqua, nunquam postea in conjugium copuletur.—Judicium Pœnitentis, ex Sacrament. Rhenaug.

All this, however, was practically a dead letter. The person who best represents the active intelligence of the age was Gerbert of Aurillac, the most enlightened man of his time, who, after occupying the archiepiscopal seats of Rheims and Ravenna, finally became pope under the name of Sylvester II. The lightness with which he treats the subject of celibacy is therefore fairly a measure of the views entertained by the ruling spirits of the church, beyond the narrow bounds of cloistered asceticism. Gerbert, describing in a sermon the requisites of the episcopal and sacerdotal offices, barely refers to the "unius uxoris vir," which he seems to regard in an allegorical rather than in a literal sense; he scarcely alludes to chastity, while he dilates with much energy on simony, which he truly characterizes as the almost universal vice of his contemporaries.[1] So when, in 997, he convened the council of Ravenna to regulate the discipline of his church, he paid no attention whatever to incontinence, while strenuously endeavoring to root out simony.[2] At an earlier period, while Abbot of Bobbio, in an epistle to his patron, the Emperor Otho II., refuting various calumnies of his enemies, he alludes to a report of his having a wife and children in terms which show how little importance he attached to the accusation.[3]

Such, at the opening of the eleventh century, was the condition of the church as regards ascetic celibacy. Though the ancient canons were still theoretically in force, they were practically obsolete everywhere. Legitimate marriage or promiscuous profligacy was almost universal, in some places unconcealed, in others covered with a thin veil of hypocrisy, according as the temper of the ruling prelate might be indulgent or severe. So far, therefore, Latin Christianity had gained but little in its struggle of six centuries with human nature. Whether the next eight hundred

---

[1] Gerberti Sermo de Informat. Episcopor.

[2] Gerberti Opp. p. 197 sqq. (Ed. Migne).

[3] "Taceo de me quem novo locutionis genere equum emissarium susurrant, uxorem et filios habentem, propter partem familiæ meæ de Francia recollectam."—Gerberti Epist. Sect. I. No. xi.—Gerbert's reputation for sanctity is not such as to render scandalous the suspicion that the family thus gathered around him might afford legitimate occasion for gossip, notwithstanding his abbacy and the fact that he had been bred in a convent.

years will show a more favorable result, remains for us to develop.

Before proceeding, however, to discuss the events of the succeeding century, it will be well to cast a rapid glance at a portion of Christendom, the isolation of which has thus far precluded it from receiving attention.

XI.

SAXON ENGLAND.

WHATEVER of virtue or purity may have distinguished the church of Britain under Roman domination was speedily extinguished in the confusion of the Saxon occupation. Gildas, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century, describes the clergy of his time as utterly corrupt.[1] Under Saxon rule, Christianity was probably well-nigh trampled out, except in the remoter mountain districts, to be subsequently restored in its sacerdotal form under the direct auspices of Rome.

Meanwhile, the British Isles were the theatre of another and independent religious movement. While the Saxons were subverting Christianity in Britain, St. Patrick was successfully engaged in laying the foundations of the Irish church.[2] We have seen that he apparently hesitated in establishing compulsory celibacy for his sacerdotal class; but this was of comparatively little moment, for he took the strictest views as to monastic asceticism,[3] and the church which he founded was peculiarly monastic in its character. That the principles which he established were long preserved is evident from a curious collection of Hibernian canons, made in the eighth century, of which selections have been published by d'Achery and Martène. Some of these are credited by the compilers to Gildas, and thus show the discipline of the early British as well as of the Irish church.[4] Their tendency is

---

[1] Ita ut clerici (quod non absque dolore cordis fateor) impudici, bilingues, ebrii, turpis lucri cupidi, habentes fidem, et ut verius dicam, infidelitatem, in conscientia impura, non probati in bona, sed in malo opere præsciti ministrantes, et innumera crimina habentes, sacro ministerio adsciscantur.—Gildæ de Excid. Britan. Pt. III. cap. 23—Cf. cap. 1, 2, 3.

[2] Modern criticism has raised doubts as to the existence of St. Patrick. Whether they are well-grounded or not is a matter of little importance here, as we are concerned only with the institutions bearing his name, *which institutions* undoubtedly did exist. Meanwhile I may add that few remote events appear to rest on better authority than the conversion of the Gaeidhil, about the year 438, by a person known to his contemporaries as Patraic, or Patricius; and the name of Cain Patraic applied to the secular code attributed to him, dates from a very high antiquity.—See Senchus Mor, Hancock's Ed. Dublin, 1865.

[3] Synod. S. Patricii I. can. 17. Synod. II. can. 17.

[4] Abedoc et Ethelvolfi Canon. Lib. XXXVIII. cap. 7. (D'Achery).—Præfat. Gildæ de Pœnitent. cap. 1. (Martene et Durand. IV. 7.)

towards the purest asceticism. A penance of forty days was even enjoined on the ecclesiastic who, without thought of evil, indulged in the pleasure of converse with a woman.[1] So in Ireland, a council held in 672 decrees that a priest guilty of unchastity, although removable according to the strict rule of discipline, may be allowed, if truly contrite, to retain his position on undergoing ten years of penitence[2]—an alternative, one might think, rather of severity than of mercy.

The missionary career by which the Irish church repaid the debt that it owed to Christianity is well known, but the form of faith which it spread was almost exclusively monastic. Luanus, one of the monks of Benchor, is said to have founded no less than a hundred monasteries;[3] and when Columba established the Christian religion in Scotland, he carried with him this tendency to asceticism and inculcated it among his Pictish neophytes. His Rule enjoins the most absolute purity of mind as well as body;[4] and that his teachings were long obeyed is evident when we find that, a hundred and fifty years later, his disciples are praised for the chastity and zeal of their self-denying lives by the Venerable Bede, who was fully alive to the importance of the rule, and who would have wasted no such admiration on the Culdees had they lived in open disregard of it.[5] Equally convincing is the fact that Scotland and the Islands were under the supremacy of the see of York, and that during the long controversy requisite

[1] Lib. de Remed. Peccat. cap. de Fornicat. (Martene IV. 23). — Cf. Synod. Aquilon. Britan. cap. 1. (Ibid. p. 9.)

[2] In this long course of penance, three months were to be spent in solitary confinement, with bread and water at night; then eighteen months in fasting on bread and water; then bread and water three days in the week for five years and three months; then bread and water on Fridays for the remaining three years.—Gratian. Dist. LXXXII. c. 5.

[3] Bernardi Vit. S. Malachiæ, cap. vi.

[4] S. Columbani Regul. cap. vi.

[5] Reliquit (Columbanus) successores magna continentia ac divino amore regularique institutione insignes . . . pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes. (Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. c. 4, cf. also c. 26.) Bede's orthodoxy on the subject is unquestionable: "Sacerdotibus ut semper altari queant assistere, semper ab uxoribus continendum, semper castitas observanda præcipitur." (In Lucæ Evang. Exposit. Lib. I. cap. 1.)—"Quanta sunt maledictione digni qui prohibent nubere et dispositionem cœlestis decreti quasi a diabolo repertam condemnant? . . . sed magis honoranda, majore est digna benedictione virginitas." (Hexæmeron. Lib. I. sub tit. Benedixitque illis.)

to break down their schismatic notions respecting the date of Easter and the shape of the tonsure, not a word was said that can lead to the supposition that they held any unorthodox views on the far more important subject of sacerdotal purity.[1]

When, a hundred and fifty years after the Anglo-Saxon conquest, Gregory the Great undertook the conversion of the islanders, the missionaries whom he despatched under Augustine of course carried with them the views and ideas which then held undisputed sway in Rome. Apparently, however, asceticism found little favor at first with the new converts, rendering it difficult for Augustine to obtain sufficient co-laborers among his disciples, for he applied to Gregory to learn whether he might allow those who could not restrain their passions to marry and yet remain in the ministry. To this Gregory replied evasively, stating, what Augustine already knew, that the lower grades might marry, but making no reference whatever to the higher orders.[2] He apparently did not wish to assume the responsibility of relaxing the rule, while willing perhaps to connive at its suspension in order to encourage the infant Anglican church. If so, the indulgence was but temporary.

The attempt has been made to prove that marriage was permitted in the early Saxon church, and support for this supposition has been sought from a clause in the Dooms of King Ina, of which the date is about the year 700, fixing the wehr-gild of the son of a bishop. But the caption of the law shows that it refers rather to a godson;[3] and even if it were not so, we have already seen how often in France, at the same period, the episcopal office was bestowed on eminent or

[1] See, for instance, the proceedings of the synod of Whitby in 664, where the differences between the Scottish and Roman observances were fully discussed (Spelman. Concil. I. 145). So when, in 633, Honorius I. addressed the Scottish clergy, reproving their false computation of Easter and their Pelagianism, he made no allusion to any want of clerical purity.—(Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 19.)

[2] Opto enim doceri an clerici continere non valentes, possint contrahere; et si contraxerint, an debeant ad sæculum redire — to which Gregory responds with a long exhortation as to the duties of the "clerici extra sacros ordines constituti."—Gregor. I. Regist. Lib. XI. Epist. lxiv. Respons. 2.

[3] Si episcopi filius sit, sit dimidium hoc (Leg. Inæ c. LXXVI.). The rubric of the law is "De occidente filiolum vel patrinum alicujus" (Thorpe, Ancient Laws of England, II. 472).

influential laymen, who were obliged on its acceptance to part with their wives. The Magdeburg Centuriators, indeed, describe a council held in London in 712 or 714, by which image-worship was introduced and separation between priests and their wives was decreed,[1] but there is no authority cited, nor is such an assembly elsewhere alluded to, even Cave pronouncing it evidently supposititious.[2]

These speculations are manifestly groundless. The celebrated Theodore, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690, in his *Liber Pœnitentialis*, expresses the rule in the most positive and unequivocal form;[3] nor can we suppose that his vigorous primacy would allow these canons to be wholly inoperative in a church sufficiently enlightened to produce the learning and piety of men like Bede and St. Aldhelm; where the admiration of virginity was as great as that which finds utterance in the writings of these fathers,[4] and the principles of asceticism were so influential as to lead a powerful monarch like Ina to retire with his queen, Ethelberga, from the throne which he had gloriously filled, to the holy restrictions of a monastic life.

Ecgberht, who was Archbishop of York from 735 to 766,

---

[1] Denique promulgatur decretum . . . de abdicandis sacerdotum uxoribus.—Spelman. Concil. I. 216.

[2] Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. pp. 424-5 (Ed. 1705).

[3] Theodor. Lib. Pœnitent. cap. xviii. § 5. Si quis clericus vel superioris gradus qui uxorem habuit, et post conversionem vel honorem clericatus iterum eam cognovit, sciat sibi adulterium commisisse; sicut superiori sententia, unusquisque juxta ordinem suum pœniteat.—§ 6. Presbyter vel diaconus, si uxorem extraneam duxerit, in conscientia populi deponatur. Si vero adulterium perpetraverit cum illa, et in conscientia populi devenit, projiciatur extra ecclesiam, et pœniteat inter laicos quamdiu vixerit.

Cap. xviii. § 16. Si quis clericus aut monachus, postquam se Deo voverit . . . uxorem duxerit, x. annos pœniteat, III. ex his in pane et aqua, et nunquam postea in conjugio copuletur.

So also in his "Capitula et Fragmenta": "Episcopus aut presbyter aut diaconus, qui in fornicatione aut perjurio aut furto lapsus est, deponatur." (Thorpe, II. 74.)

[4] See, for instance, St. Aldhelm's rhapsodies, "De laudibus virginitatis" and "De laudibus virginum." The orthodoxy of Bede on this question has already been alluded to.

According to the legend, St. Aldhelm tried his virtue by the same crucial experiments as those resorted to by some of the ardent devotees of the third century, concealing his motive in order that his humility might enjoy the benefit of undeserved reprobation. "Sancti Aldelmi Malmesburiensis, qui inter duas puellas, unam ab uno latere, alteram ab altero, singulis noctibus ut ab hominibus diffamaretur, a Deo vero cui nota fuerat conscientia ipsius et continentia copiosius in futurum remuneraretur, jacuisse describitur."—Girald. Cambrens. Gemm. Eccles. Dist. II. cap. xv.

is no less peremptory than Theodore, and the prominence which he gives to the various canons respecting sacerdotal purity shows the importance attached to the subject in the discipline of his church.[1] It is also probable that even the Britons, who derived their Christianity from the older and purer sources of the primitive church, preserved the rule with equal reverence. At the request of a national council, St. Aldhelm addressed an epistle to the Welsh king, Geruntius, to induce him to reform his church so as to bring it within the pale of Catholic unity. To accomplish this, he argues at length upon the points of difference, discussing the various errors of faith and discipline, such as the shape of the tonsure, the date of Easter, &c., but he is silent with regard to marriage or concubinage.[2] Had the Welsh church been schismatic in this respect, so ardent a celibatarian as Aldhelm would certainly not have omitted all reference to a subject of so much interest to him. The inference is therefore justifiable that no difference of this nature existed.

We may fairly conclude that the discipline of the church in these matters was reasonably well maintained by the Saxon clergy, with the exception of the nunneries, the morals of which institutions appear to have been deplorably and incurably lax. St. Boniface, whose zeal on the subject has already been sufficiently made manifest, about the year 746 paused in his reformation of the French priesthood to urge upon Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, the necessity of repressing the vices of the Saxon ecclesiastics. He dwells at considerable length upon their various crimes and misdemeanors—drunkenness, unclerical garments, neglect of their sacred functions, &c.—but he does not accuse them of unchastity, which he could not well have avoided doing had there been colorable grounds for such a charge. In fact, the only allusion connected with the question in his epistle is a request that some restrictions should be laid upon the permissions granted to women and nuns for pilgrimage to Rome, on account of the attendant dangers to their virtue; in illus-

[1] Ecgberti Excerption. c. 15.—Confessional. c. 3, 4, 8, 12, 13, 19.—Pœnitential. Addit. c. 28.

[2] Epist. ad Geruntium.—Aldhelmi Opp. p. 83 (Ed. Oxon. 1844).

tration of which he states the lamentable fact that scarcely a city in Lombardy, France, or the Rhinelands but had Saxon courtesans derived from this source, to the shame and scandal of the whole church.[1]

Pope Zachary seconded these representations, and in 747 Cuthbert, yielding to the impulsion, held the celebrated council of Clyff, which adopted thirty canons on discipline, to remedy the disorders enumerated by Boniface. Among these, the only ones directed against unchastity relate solely to the nunneries, which are represented as being in a condition of gross immorality.[2] The council does not spare the vices of the secular clergy, and its silence with respect to their purity fairly permits the inference that there was not much to correct with regard to it, for had licentiousness been so prevalent that Cuthbert had feared to denounce it, or had sacerdotal marriage been passed over as lawful, the zeal of St. Boniface would have led to an explosion, and Zachary would not have sanctioned the proceedings by his approval.

The same argument is applicable to the council of Calchuth, held in 787 by the legates of Adrian I., under the presidency of Gregory, Bishop of Ostia. The vices and shortcomings of the Anglican church were there sharply reproved, but no allusion was made to any unchastity prevailing among the priesthood, with the exception, as before, of nuns, on whom we may infer that previous reformatory efforts had been wasted.[3] That this reticence did not arise from any license

---

[1] Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum, quod scandalum est et turpitudo totius ecclesiæ. —Bonifacii Epist. 105.

[2] Can. 20 directs greater strictness with regard to visitors, "unde non sint sanctimonialium domicilia turpium confabulationum, commessationum, ebrietatum, luxuriantiumque cubilia." Can. 28 orders that nuns after taking the veil shall not wear lay garments; and can. 29 that clerks, monks, and nuns shall not live with the laity. (Spelman. Concil. I. 250–4.)

This demoralization of the nunneries is not to be wondered at when Boniface, in reproving Ethelbald, King of Mercia, for his evil courses, could say, "Et adhuc, quod pejus est, qui nobis narrant adjiciunt: quod hoc scelus maxime cum sanctis monialibus et sacratis Deo virginibus per monasteria commissum sit."—Bonifacii Epist. 19.

[3] Thus the council, in disinheriting illegitimate children, considered it necessary to declare (can. 16)—"Adulterinos namque filios ac sanctimonialium, authoritate apostolica, spuria ac adulteros judicamus. Virginem namque, quæ se Deo voverit, et ad instar sanctæ Mariæ vestem induerit, sponsam Christi vocitare non dubitamus." (Spelman. Concil. I. 298.)

granted for marriage is conclusively shown by the interpolation of the word *laicus* in the text I. Cor. VII. 2, which is quoted among the canons adopted.[1] To the same effect are the canons of the council of Celichyth, in 816, in which the only allusion to such matters is a provision to prevent the election of unfit persons to abbacies, and to punish monks and nuns who secularize themselves.[2]

On the other hand, it is true that about this time St. Swithin, after obtaining orders, was openly married; but his biographer states that he had a special dispensation from Leo III., and that he consented to it because, on the death of his parents, he was the sole representative of his family.[3] As Swithin was tutor to Ethelwulf, son of King Ecgberht, the papal condescension is by no means impossible.

Such was the condition of the Anglo-Saxon church at this period. During the century which follows, the materials for tracing the vicissitudes of the question before us are of the scantiest description. The occasional councils which were held have left but meagre records of their deliberations, with few or no references to the subject of celibacy. It is probable, however, that a rapid deterioration in the strictness of discipline occurred, for even the power of the great Bretwalda Ecgberht was unequal to the task of repressing effectually the first invasions of the Northmen, and under his feebler successors they grew more and more destructive, until they culminated in the anarchy which gave occasion to the romantic adventures of Alfred.

It is to this period of darkness that we must attribute the introduction of sacerdotal marriage, which became so firmly established and was finally so much a matter of course that it attracted no special attention, until the efforts made for its abrogation late in the succeeding century. When Alfred undertook to restore order in his recovered kingdom, the

---

[1] Propter fornicationem fugiendam unusquisque *laicus* suam uxorem legitimam habeat.—Concil. Calchuth. can. 16.

[2] Concil. Celicyth. can. 4, 8.

[3] De gradu in gradum . . . ad sacerdotii honorem provectus est . . . patre ejus decedente, cum præter eum nullus alius hæres superesset, Leone pontifice dispensante, uxorem duxit.—Goscelini Vit. S. Swithuni c. 1, 2.

body of laws which he compiled contains no allusion to celibacy, except as regards the chastity of nuns. The same may be said of the constitutions of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, to which the date of 943 is attributed, although they contain instructions as to the conduct of bishops, priests, and clerks[1]—whence we may infer that the marriage even of consecrated virgins was not uncommon, and that it was the only infraction of the rule which aroused the opposition of the hierarchy. Simple immorality called forth an occasional enactment, as in the laws of Edward and Guthrun about the year 906, and in those of Edmund I. in 944,[2] yet even to this but little attention seems to have been attracted, until St. Dunstan undertook a reformation which was sorely needed.

St. Dunstan himself, although regularly bred to the church, with the most brilliant prospects both from his distinguished abilities and his powerful kindred, betrothed himself in marriage after receiving the lower orders. His uncle, St. Elphegus, Bishop of Winchester—apparently a churchman of the stricter school—vehemently opposed the union, but Dunstan was immovable in his determination. Elphegus, finding his worldly wisdom set at naught, appealed to the assistance of heaven. His prayer was answered, and Dunstan was attacked with a mysterious and loathsome malady, under which his iron resolution gave way. He sought Elphegus, took the monastic vow (the only inseparable bar to matrimony), and was ordained a priest.[3] This stern experience might have taught him charity for the weakness of natures less unbending than his own, but his temperament was not one to pause half way. If, too, religious conviction urged him to the task of restoring the forgotten discipline of the church, worldly ambition might reasonably claim its share in his motives. He could not but feel that his authority would be vastly enhanced by rendering

[1] Leg. Aluredi c. 8, 18.—Constit. Odon. Cantuar. c. 7.

[2] Leg. Edwardi et Guthrun c. 3.—Leg. Eadmund. Eccles. c. 1.

[3] Bridfrit. Vit. S. Dunstan. c. 5, 7. Bridfrith was a disciple of St. Dunstan, and composed his biography but a few years after the death of his patron. He does not state what was the position of Dunstan at the time of his betrothal; but Osbern, a hundred years later, asserts that he had acquired the lower orders only, and that he received the priesthood and took the monastic vows simultaneously.—Osberni Vit. S. Dunstan. c. 8, 12.

the great ecclesiastical body dependent entirely upon him as the representative of Rome, and by sundering the ties which divided the allegiance due wholly to the church.

The opportunity to effect a reformation presented itself when the young king, Edgar the Pacific, in 963 violated all the dictates of honor and religion in his adventure with the nun at Wilton. Her resistance attested her innocence, and the birth of a daughter did not prevent her subsequent canonization as St. Wilfreda; but Edgar's crime and remorse were only the more heightened. When the terror-stricken king sought pardon and absolution, Dunstan was prepared with his conditions. Seven years of penitence, during which he was to abstain from wearing the crown, was the personal infliction imposed on him, but the most important portion of the sentence was that by which the vices of the king were to be redeemed by the enforced virtues of his subjects. He promised the founding of monasteries and the reformation of the clergy; and his implicit obedience to the demands of his ghostly judge is shown, perhaps, less in the fact that his coronation did not take place until 973, than in the active measures immediately set on foot with respect to the morals of the ecclesiastics.[1]

That their morals, indeed, needed reformation is the unanimous testimony of all the chroniclers of the period. Among all the monasteries of England, formerly so noted for their zeal and prosperity, only those of Abingdon and Glastonbury were inhabited by monks.[2] The rest had fallen into ruin, or were occupied by the secular clergy, with their wives, or worse, and were notorious as places of the most scandalous dissipation and disorder.[3] So low was the

---

[1] Osbern. Vit. S. Dunstan. c. 35.—Florent. Wigorn. ann. 964, 973.—Matt. Westmonast. ann. 963.

[2] Nam hactenus in gente Anglorum ea tempestate non habebantur monachi nisi in Glastonia et Abendonia.—Vit. S. Æthelwoldi c. 14.

[3] Si ista solerti scrutinio curassetis, non tam horrenda et abominanda ad aures nostras de clericis pervenissent . . . dicam dolens quo modo diffluant in commessationibus, in ebrietatibus, in cubilibus et impudicitiis, ut jam domus clericorum putentur prostibula meretricum, conciliabulum histrionum . . . Ad hoc ergo exhauserunt patres nostri thesauros suos? ad hoc fiscus regius, detractis redditibus multis elargitus est? ad hoc ecclesiis Christi agros et possessiones regalis munificentia contulit, ut deliciis clericorum meretrices ornentur? luxuriosæ convivæ præparentur? canes ac aves

standard of morality that priests even scrupled not to put away the wives of whom they grew tired, and to form new connections, of open and public adultery;[1] and so common had this become that a code of ecclesiastical law, probably drawn up about this time, reproves this systematic bigamy, and appears to tacitly authorize marriage as legitimate and honorable.[2] One author declares that none but paupers could be found willing to bind themselves by monastic vows;[3] and another asserts, with every show of reason, that the clergy were not only not superior to the laity in any respect, but were even far worse in the scandals of their daily life.[4]

When King Edgar made his peace with the church by consenting to the vicarious penitence of the priesthood, three rigid and austere monks were the ardent ministers of the royal determination. Of St. Dunstan, the primate of England, I have already spoken. St. Ethelwold, his pupil, Abbot of Abingdon, was elevated to the see of Winchester, and commenced the movement by expelling the occupants of the monastery there. A few who consented to take monastic vows were allowed to remain, and the remainder were replaced by monks; but even St. Ethelwold's rigor had to bend

---

et talia ludicra comparentur? Hoc milites clamant, plebs submurmurat, mimi cantant et saltant, et vos negligitis, vos parcitis, vos dissimulatis.—Oratio Edgari ann. 969 (Spelman. Concil. I. 477).

[1] Erat autem tunc in veteri monasterio (Wintonensi) ubi cathedra episcopalis habebatur malemorigerati clerici, elatione et insolentia ac luxuria præventi, adeo ut nonnulli eorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare; repudiantes uxores (quas illicite duxerant) et alias accipientes, gulæ et ebrietati jugiter dediti.—Vit. S. Æthelwold. c. 12.—This biography was written by St. Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a contemporary.

[2] "Gif preorst cwenan forlæte and oðre nime, anaþema sit" (Leg. Presbyt. Northumbriens. c. 35). Spelman's translation of this "Si presbyter concubinam suam dimiserit et aliam acceperit, anathema sit" (Concil. I. 498) is perhaps hardly correct. Cwene can be interpreted in either a good or a bad sense, as a wife or a mistress; and the terms of the law show that the connection was a recognized one, the sin consisting in disregarding it. If the priest's companion were only a concubine, his guilt would not be measurably increased by merely changing his unlawful consort.

[3] In his diebus corrupta erat tota religio Angliæ, propter incursionem paganorum, et propter austeritatem regulæ S. Benedicti, ita quod vix aliquis susciperet monachatum nisi pauper.—Chron. de Abbat. Abbendoniæ. (Chron. Abingdon. II. 279.)

[4] Interea tanta clericalis ordo quibusdam in locis confusione agebatur, ut non solum a vita sæcularium excellentius nihil haberet, verum etiam improbis actibus longe inferior jaceret.—Osberni Vit. S. Dunstan. c. 36.

to the depravity of the age, and he was forced to relax the rigidity of the rule in order to obtain recruits of a better class.[1] The difficulties he encountered are indicated by the legend which relates that he was poisoned in his wine and carried from table to his couch in excruciating torment, where he lay hopeless till, reproaching himself with want of faith, he repeated the text—"Et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebitur," and was cured on the instant.[2] That his canons were quite capable of such an attempt may be assumed from the description given of them in the bull procured by Dunstan from John XIII., authorizing their ejection by the king. The pope does not hesitate to stigmatize them as vessels of the devil, hateful to all good Christians on account of their inveterate and ineradicable wickedness.[3]

The third member of the reforming triumvirate was St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, who undertook a similar transformation of the clergy occupying the monastery of St. Mary in his cathedral city. Many promises they made to conform to his wishes, and many times they eluded the performance, till, losing patience with the prolonged procrastination, he one day entered the chapel with a quantity of monkish habits as they were vigorously chanting "Servite Domino in timore," when he made practical application of the text by forcing them to put on the garments and take the vows on the spot, under the alternative of instant expulsion.[4]

These proceedings met the unqualified approbation of Edgar, who in 964, by his "Charter of Oswalde's Law," confirmed the ejection of the recreants who refused to part with their wives, and transferred all their rights and possessions to the newcomers. In the same document he boasted that he had instituted forty-seven abbeys of monks and nuns, and that he hoped to increase the number to fifty.[5] The same year a similar summary process was carried out in the convents of

[1] Et ideo ut divites attraheret, instituit . . . et relaxavit quæ non sunt in regula S. Benedicti.—Chron. de Abbat. Abbendon. *loc. cit.*

[2] Vit. S. Æthelwold. c. 14, 15.

[3] Joannis PP. XIII. Epist. xxii.

[4] Concil. sub Dunstano (Spelman. I. 480).

[5] Ædgari Charta de Oswalde's Law (Spelman. I. 433).

Chertsey and Winchester;[1] and in 966 Edgar was able to boast of the numerous religious houses throughout England which he had purified by replacing lascivious clerks with pious monks.[2]

These efforts, however, only tended to restore the monastic foundations to their original position, and left the secular clergy untouched, except in so far as a few of them were deprived of the comfortable quarters which they had usurped in the abbeys. This immunity it was no part of Dunstan's plan to permit, and accordingly Edgar issued a series of laws restoring the obsolete ecclesiastical discipline throughout his kingdom. By this code a lapse from virtue on the part of a priest or monk was visited with the same penalty as homicide, with a fast of ten years; for a deacon the period of penitence was seven years; for the lower grades, six years. The monk, priest, or deacon who maintained relations with his wife was subjected to the same punishment; but there is no mention of degradation or deprivation of benefice.[3]

The struggle was long, and at one time the three reformers seem to have grown wearied with the stubborn resistance which they met, while the zeal of King Edgar grew more fiery as, with the true spirit of the huntsman, he followed up the prey, his ardor increasing as the chase grew more difficult. In 969 he eloquently addressed Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald, blaming their lukewarmness in the good cause, and promising them every support and assistance in removing this opprobrium from the church.[4] Stimulated by these reproaches, Dunstan summoned a council which adopted a canon depriving unchaste priests of their benefices.[5] Still the conflict continued, and a charter dated in 974, the last year of Edgar's reign, shows that he persevered to the end with unabated zeal.[6]

The contumacious clerks may have been silenced; they

---

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chron. ann. 964.

[2] Monach. Hydens. Leg. c. 8, 9 (Spelman. I. 438).

[3] Canon. sub Edgaro—Mod. imponend. Pœnitent. c. 28, 29 (Thorpe, II. 273).

[4] Oratio Edgari (Spelman, I. 476).

[5] Spelman, I. 479.

[6] Guillel. Malmesbur. Lib. II. c. 8.

were not subdued, and they but waited their opportunity. It came in 975, with the early death of Edgar and with the dissensions caused by his widow, Elfritha, who endeavored to deprive of the succession his eldest son, the youthful Edward, fruit of a former marriage. During the confusion, the ejected priests banded together and bribed Elfhere, the powerful Ealdorman of Mercia, together with some other magnates, to espouse their cause. In many abbeys the regulars were expelled and the priests with their wives were reinstated. In East Anglia, however, the nobles took sides with the monks, and, rising in arms, valiantly defended the monasteries. At length, on the accession of Edward, a council was assembled to make final disposition of the question. The married priests were present, and promised amendment; their noble protectors plead earnestly for them; the boy-king was moved, and was about to pronounce in their favor, when a miracle preserved the purity of the church. The council was sitting in the refectory of the monastery of Hyde, the headquarters of the ascetic party; Edward and Dunstan were enthroned separately from the rest, with their backs to a wall on which, between them, hung a small crucifix. At the critical moment, just as the king was yielding, the crucifix spoke, in a low tone inaudible to all save Edward and the primate, "Let not this thing be done"—the mandate was imperative, and the married clergy lost their cause.[1]

Still the stubborn priests and their patrons held out, and another miracle was necessary—this time a more impressive one. A second council was called to discuss the matter, and was held at Calne in 978. During the heat of the argument the floor gave way, carrying with it the whole assembly, except St. Dunstan, who remained triumphantly and miraculously perched upon a joist, while his adversaries lay groaning below, in every variety of mutilation.[2] His triumph,

---

[1] Florent. Wigorn. ann. 975.—Matt. Westmonast. Lib. III. c. 18.—Chron. Winton. (Spelman. I. 490-2).

[2] Matt. Westmonast. Lib. III. c. 18. Henry of Huntingdon, however (Lib. V. ann. 978), who, as a secular priest and the son of a priest, did not look upon the labors of St. Dunstan with much favor, insinuates that the accident was intended to foreshow that the assembled wisdom and power of England were about to fall similarly from the grace of God.

however, was but short. The same year the pious child Edward perished through the intrigues of Elfritha, whose son, Ethelred the Unready, succeeded to the throne. The mixed political and religious character of these events is shown by the canonization of Edward, who, though yet a child, was regarded as a martyr by the church whose cause he had espoused.

As Elfritha had evidently sought the alliance of the secular clergy to strengthen her party, her success proved disastrous to the cause of reform. The respite of peace, too, which had blessed the island during the vigorous reigns of Athelstan the Magnificent and Edgar the Pacific, gave place to the ravages invited by the feeble and vacillating policy of Ethelred the Unready; the incursions of the pagan Danes became more and more frequent and terrible; and what little respect had been inculcated for the strictness of discipline was speedily forgotten in the anarchy which ensued.

How thoroughly the work of Dunstan and Edgar was undone is sufficiently indicated by the efforts made not long after, with the consent of Ethelred, to introduce some feeble restraints upon the prevailing immorality. About the year 1006 we find the chief monastery of England, Christ Church at Canterbury, in full possession of the secular clergy, whose irregularities were so flagrant that even Ethelred was forced to expel them, and to fill their places with monks.[1] What was the condition of discipline among the secular priests may be guessed from the reformatory efforts of St. Ælfric, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1006. In his series of canons the first eight are devoted to inculcating the necessity of continence; after quoting the Nicene canon, he feels it to be so much at variance with the habits and customs of the age, that he actually deprecates the surprise of his clergy at hearing a rule so novel and so oppugnant to the received practice, "as though there was no danger in priests living as married men;" he anticipates the arguments which they will bring against him, and refutes them with

[1] Privileg. Reg. Ethelredi (Spelman I. 504).

more gravity than success.[1] There is also extant, under the name of St. Ælfric, a pastoral epistle, which is regarded as supposititious by some critics; but its passages on this subject are too similar in spirit to the canons of Ælfric to be reasonably rejected. They show how hopeless was the effort to maintain the purity desired by the ecclesiastical authorities, and that entreaties and exhortations were uttered merely from a sense of duty, and with hardly an expectation of commanding attention. "This, to you priests, will seem grievous, because ye have your misdeeds in custom, so that it seems to yourselves that ye have no sin in so living in female intercourse as laymen; and say that Peter the Apostle had a wife and children. . . . Beloved, we cannot now forcibly compel you to chastity, but we admonish you, nevertheless, that ye observe chastity, so as Christ's ministers ought, in good reputation, to the pleasure of God, &c."[2]

That these well-meant homilies effected little in reforming the hearts of so obdurate a generation becomes manifest by the proceedings of the council of Enham, held by King Ethelred in 1009. The priests are there entreated, by the obedience which they owe to God, to observe the chastity which they know to be due. Yet so great was the laxity prevailing that some are stated to have two or more wives, and many to be in the habit of changing their spouses at pleasure, in violation of all Christian law. The council was apparently, however, powerless to repress these scandals by any adequate punishment, and contented itself with promising to those who lived chastely the privileges and legal status of nobles, while the vicious were vaguely threatened with the loss of the grace of God and man.[3]

---

[1] Ælfrici Canon. c. i.–viii. (Thorpe, II. 345). "Quasi periculosum non esset sacerdotem vivere more conjugati. Sed dicetis eum haud posse carere muliebribus servitiis. Respondeo, quonam pacto vitam transegerunt sancti olim viri absque fœmina vel uxore," &c. (Spelman I. 573).—Spelman's MS. was defective; that in Thorpe is perfect.

[2] Ælfric's Pastoral Epistle, c. 32, 33 (Thorpe, II. 377).

[3] Omnes ministros Dei, præsertim sacerdotes, obsecramus et docemus, ut Deo obedientes, castitatem colant, et contra iram Domini se hoc modo muniant et tueantur. Certius enim norint quod non habeant debite ob aliquam coitus causam uxoris consortium. In more tamen est, ut quidam duas, quidam plures habeat; et nonnullus quamvis eam dimiserit quam nuper habuit, aliam tamen, ipsa vivente, accipit, quod nulla Chris-

The injunctions of the council as regards the regulars, though not particularly specific in their nature, show that even the monks had not responded to the benefits conferred upon them by Edgar the Pacific, nor fulfilled the expectations of the pious Dunstan. An expression employed, indeed, leads the learned Spelman to suggest that there possibly were two orders of monks, the one married and the other unmarried; but this is probably without foundation.[1]

Such was the condition of the church when the increasing assaults of the Northman finally culminated in overthrowing the house of Cerdic, and placing the hated Dane upon the throne of England. Cnut's long and prosperous reign, and his earnest veneration for the church, as shown by his pilgrimage to Rome, may perhaps have succeeded in removing some of the grosser immoralities of the clergy, but that marriage was still openly and unrestrainedly practised by those in orders, I think is evident. The ecclesiastical laws of Cnut exhort priests to chastity in precisely the same words, and with the same promises as the canons of the council of Enham, but do not allude to the habit of keeping a plurality of wives; while, in the same chapter, a warning to the whole people against unlawful concubinage would seem to indicate

tianorum lege est permissum. Dimittens autem et castitatem recolens, e cœlo assequetur misericordiam, in mundo etiam venerationem, adeo ut juribus et tributis habeatur Thaini dignus cum in vita tum in funere. Qui autem ordinis sui regulam abdicaverit, omni cum apud Deum tum apud homines gratia exuatur.—Concil. Ænham. c. 2. (Spelman. I. 514–5).

I give the translation of Spelman, as being more faithful in spirit, although less literal than that of Thorpe; for though the expression "wifes gemanan" may not be especially limited to wifely relations, yet the whole tenor of the passage shows that the women concerned were not merely concubines, but were entitled to the consideration of legal wives.

The thane-right promised to those who should reform their lives was one of the recognized privileges of the church. In a list of wehr-gilds, anterior to the period under consideration by about a century, the wehrgild for the priest—"mæsse-þegnes" is the same as that for the secular noble —"woruld-þegnes" (Thorpe, I. 187).

[1] "Munecas and mynecena canonicas and nunnan" (Concil. Ænham. c. 1). Spelman thinks that the mynecena were perhaps the wives or concubines of monks (Concil. I. 530). Mynecen is merely the feminine of munuc, a monk; Thorpe translates it as "mynchens," and suggests that the "mynecena" were merely the younger nuns, not quite so strictly governed as the elder "nunnan." To this opinion Bosworth (Dictionary, s. v. *nunne*) seems to incline. It would appear to be so from chapter xv. (be Myncenan) of the "Institutes of Polity" (Thorpe, II. 322).

that clergy and laity were bound by rules identical in strictness.[1]

That the rule of celibacy was recognized as only binding on the regulars, or monks, and that the secular priesthood were at full liberty to marry is evident from the system of purgation enjoined on them by the same code. The priest, who was also a monk (sacerdos regulariter vivens—sacerd þe regollice libbe), could clear himself from an accusation in a simple suit by merely saying mass, and taking the communion, while the secular priest (plebeius sacerdos—mæssepreorst þe regol-lif næbbe) is only equal to the deacon-monk (diaconus regularis—diacon þe regollice libbe), requiring two of his peers as compurgators.[2] The significance of the distinction thus drawn is rendered clear by the version of a curious Latin text of the code published by Kolderup-Rosenvinge. The chapter is divided into two, the first one with the rubric "De Sacerdotibus," and commencing "Si contigerit presbyterum regulariter et caste viventem," &c., while the second is headed "De vulgare sacerdote *non casto*," the meaning of which is defined in the expression "Si vulgaris presbyter qui non regulariter vivit."[3] It is thus evident that purity was expected from those only who had entered into the obligations of monastic life, and also that the reforms of Dunstan had caused the ministers of the altar to be, in a great degree, selected from among the monks.

To this period are also, in all probability, to be attributed the "Institutes of Polity, civil and ecclesiastical," to which

---

[1] Cnutes Domas c. vi. (Thorpe, I. 364).

[2] Cnutes Domas c. v. (Thorpe, I. 362). To appreciate the full weight of the privileges thus distributed, we should bear in mind how completely, in those times, the various classes of society were distinguished by the facilities afforded them of acquittal in cases of accusation, and by the graduated scale of fines established for injuries inflicted on them. These were most substantial advantages when the wehr-gild, or blood-money, was the only safeguard guaranteed by law for life and limb, and were most important privileges of the aristocracy. This constitutes the thane-right alluded to in the council of Enham, and retained by the laws of Cnut, as attaching to priests who preserve their chastity. Thus, "sacramentum presbyteri regulariter viventis tantumdem valeat sicut liberalis hominis" (Cnuti Leg. Sæcul. c. 128—ed. Kolderup-Rosenvinge) — the expression "liberalis homo" being, in this version, used for the "taynus" or thane of the other texts.

[3] Cnuti Leg. Eccles. c. 8, 9. (Kolderup-Rosenvinge, Hauniæ, 1826, p. 12).

reference has been made in the preceding section as blaming priests for decorating their wives with the ornaments belonging to their churches. Unable to denounce efficient penalties for the prevention of such evil practices, the author is obliged to content himself with invoking future punishment from heaven, in vague and meaningless threats—"A priest's wife is nothing but a snare of the devil, and he who is ensnared thereby on to his end, he will be seized fast by the devil."[1]

From all this it is evident that the memory of the ancient canons was not forgotten, and that their observance was still urged by some ardent churchmen, but that the customs of the period had rendered them virtually obsolete, and that no sufficient means existed of enforcing obedience. If open scandals and shameless bigamy and concubinage could be restrained, the ecclesiastical authorities were evidently content. Celibacy could not be enjoined as a law, but was rendered attractive by surrounding it with privileges and immunities denied to him who yielded to the temptations of the flesh, and who thus in some degree assimilated his sacred character to that of the laity.

The Saxon church thus was utterly regardless of the rule of celibacy when Edward the Confessor ascended the throne. The ascetic piety of that prince, and his Norman education alike led him to abhor the sensual indulgences in which he found his subjects plunged, and he attached himself almost exclusively to the horde of Norman monks who flocked to his court from across the channel. Their influence was all-powerful, and though reasons of the highest state necessity forced him to ally himself in marriage with Edith, daughter of the puissant Duke Godwin, whom Edward hated with all the energy of his feeble nature, it was not difficult for his artful ghostly counsellors to persuade him that a vow of virginity, taken and kept amid the seductions of a throne, would insure his glory in this world and his salvation in the next. A minstrel historian describes at length the engagement of

[1] Institutes of Polity, &c., c. 16, 19, 23 (Thorpe, II. 325, 329, 337). It is observable that the words *wif* and *cwene* are used interchangeably to denote the consorts of priests.

perpetual chastity entered into between Edward and Edith at their marriage, and though he mentions the popular derision to which this exposed the royal monk at the hands of a gross and brutal generation, he is firmly persuaded that the crown of martyrdom was worthily won and worn—

> Par veincre charnel desir,
> Bein deit estre clamez martir.
> Ne sai cunter en nul estoire
> Rei ki feist si grant victoire,
> Sa char, diable e mund venqui,
> Ki sont troi fort enimi.[1]

The cold temperament of Edward might control his own passions, but neither his example nor his authority was sufficient to effect a reform among his sensual and self-indulgent subjects. That he made efforts to that end cannot reasonably be doubted, but their want of success is developed in the description of the Saxon clergy at the time of the Conquest. The Norman chroniclers speak of them as abandoned to sloth, ignorance, and the lusts of the flesh; even monastic institutions were matters rather of tradition than of actual existence, and the monks themselves were hardly distinguishable by their mode of life from the laity.[2] There doubtless may be some contemptuous exaggeration in this, and yet one author of the period, who is wholly Saxon in his feelings,

---

[1] Lives of Edward the Confessor, pp. 60–1 (Chron. & Memor. of Gr. Brit.). In the same curious collection there is another life of Edward by a follower of Queen Edith and dedicated to her, the writer of which freely attributes the worst motives to the intrigues of the Norman monks in separating her from the king. See, for instance, his account of her immurement in the abbey of Wilton (Op. cit. p. 403).

Edward's virginity is likewise attested by the MS. Monast. Ramesiens. (Spelman. I. 637.) "Cœlibem pudicitiæ florem, quem inter regni delicias et inter amplexus conjugales . . . conservarat, virtutemque perpetuo floribus immiscuit paradisi." In this, however, Edward only imitated the asceticism ascribed to the Emperor St. Henry II. and his Empress St. Cunegunda, half a century earlier.

[2] Hujuscemodi dissolutio clericos et laicos relaxaverat, et utrumque sexum ad omnem lasciviam inclinaverat. Abundantia cibi et potus luxuriem nutriebat, levitas et mollities gentis in flagitium quemquam facile impellebat. Destructis monasteriis monastica religio debilitata est, et canonicus rigor usque ad Normannorum tempora reparatus non est. Per longum itaque retro tempus transmarinorum monachatus deciderat, et parum a sæcularitate conversatio monachorum differebat.—Orderic. Vital. P. II. Lib. iv. c. 10.—The testimony of William of Malmesbury (De Gest. Regum Lib. III.) is equally emphatic.

does not hesitate to attribute the ruin of the Saxon monarchy and the devastation of the kingdom to the just wrath of God, provoked by the vices of the clergy.[1]

The rule of the Normans removed England from her isolation. Brought into the commonwealth of Christendom and under the active supremacy of the Holy See, her history henceforth becomes more closely connected with the general ecclesiastical movement which received its irresistible impulsion about this period. That movement it is now our business to examine.

[1] Sub ipsis enim ferientis Dei verberibus, ad multa milia populus sternitur, regnum igne et deprædatione devastatur, hocque peccato sacerdotum fieri jamdudum demonstratum est.—Lives of Edward the Confessor, p. 432.

XII.

PETER DAMIANI.

In a previous section I have shown the laxity prevailing throughout Continental Europe at the commencement of the eleventh century. It is not to be supposed, however, that even where this was tacitly permitted, it was openly and unreservedly recognized. The perversity of a sinful generation might render impossible the enforcement of the ancient canons; they might even be forgotten by the worldly and unthinking; but they were still the law of the church, and their authority was still admitted by some ardent devotees who longed to restore the purity of earlier ages. Burckhardt, who was Bishop of Worms from the year 1000 to 1025, in his voluminous collection of canons, gives a fair selection from the councils and decretals prohibiting all female intercourse to the clergy.[1] Benedict VIII. and the Emperor St. Henry II. —whose admiration of virginity was evinced by the personal sacrifice to which reference has just been made—in 1022 endeavored in the most solemn manner to reform the universal laxity. At the synod of Pavia a series of canons was adopted pronouncing sentence of deposition upon all priests, deacons, and subdeacons having wives or concubines, and upon all bishops keeping women near them, while special stress was laid upon the continued servitude of the children of all such ecclesiastics as were serfs of the church.[2] These canons, signed by the pope and attendant bishops, were laid before the emperor, who indorsed them with his sanction, declared them to be municipal as well as ecclesiastical law, promised that their observance should be enforced by the civil magis-

[1] Burchardi Decret. Lib. III. c. 108-116.

[2] Synod. Ticinens. ann. 1022, c. 1, 2, 3, 4.

trates, and thanked Benedict and his prelates for their vigilance in seeking a remedy for the incontinence of the clergy, the evils whereof swept like a storm over the face of Christendom.[1]

In France, the long reign of Robert the Pious seems to have been marked with almost entire indifference to the subject, but the accession of his son Henry I. was attended with a strenuous effort to effect a reform. The council of Bourges, held in November, 1031, but four months after the death of Robert, may perhaps have been assembled at the request of the dying monarch, desirous of redeeming his own sins with the vicarious penance of his subjects. It addressed itself vigorously to eradicating the evil by a comprehensive series of measures, admirably adapted to the end in view. Priests, deacons, and subdeacons were forbidden to have wives or concubines, and all such consorts were ordered to be dismissed at once and forever. Those who refused obedience were to be degraded to the rank of lectors or chanters, and in future no ecclesiastic was to be permitted to take either wife or concubine. A vow of chastity was commanded as a necessary prerequisite to assuming the subdiaconate, and no bishop was to ordain a candidate without exacting from him a promise to take neither wife nor concubine. Children of the clergy in orders, born during the ministry of their parents, were pronounced incapable of entering the church, in justification of which was cited the provision of the municipal law which incapacitated illegitimates from receiving inheritance or bearing witness in court; but those who were born after their fathers had been reduced to the condition of laymen were not to be considered as the children of ecclesiastics.[2]

Nothing could be more reasonable than all this, considered from the high-church stand-point, and nothing more admirably adapted to effect the object in view. All that was wanting was the enforcement of the legislation—and laws, when opposed to

---

[1] Et a clericorum incontinentia, unde omne malum velut ab aquilone super terram emersit, correctionis vigilanter fecit principium.—Respons. Imperatoris in Synod. Ticinens. ann. 1022.

[2] Concil. Bituricens. ann. 1031, c. 5, 6, 8, 10.

the spirit of the age, are not apt to be enforced. How much was really gained by the united efforts of the pope, the emperor, and the Gallican hierarchy can readily be gathered from a few out of innumerable incidents afforded by the history of the period.

The able and energetic, though unscrupulous, Benedict VIII. was no more, and the great House of Tusculum, which ruled the Eternal City, had filled the chair of St. Peter with a worthless scion of their stock, as though to declare their contempt for the lofty pretensions of the Apostolic Episcopate. A fit descendant of the infamous Marozia and Alberic, Benedict IX., a child of ten years old at the time of his elevation in 1032, grew up in unrestrained license, and shocked even the dull sensibilities of a gross and barbarous age by the scandals of his daily life.[1] The popular appreciation of his character is shown by the legend of his appearing after death to a holy man, in the figure of a bear, with the ears and tail of an ass, and declaring that, as he had lived in bestiality, so he was destined to wear the form of a beast and to suffer fiery torments until the Day of Judgment, after which he was to be plunged, body and soul, into the fathomless pit of hell.[2] When the Vicegerent of God, the head of the Christian church, was thus utterly depraved, the prospect of reforming the corruption of the clergy was not promising, and the good work was not likely to be prosecuted with vigor.

Nor were the members of the hierarchy unworthy of their superior. We hear of Rainbaldo, Bishop of Fiesole, who, not contented with numerous concubines, had publicly married a wife, and whose children were established as a wide-spread and powerful family—and, what is perhaps more remarkable, this dissolute prelate was gifted with the power of working miracles.[3] The bishops, indeed, at this period, were still

[1] Quoniam infelicem habuit introitum, infeliciorem persensit exitum. Horrendum quippe referri turpitudo illius conversationis et vitæ.—Rad. Glabri Lib. v. c. 5.

[2] Johann. Chron. Angliæ, c. 47 (Ludewig Rel. Msctorum. XII. 145). Semper enim luxuriæ et carnalibus illecebris deditus fuit.

[3] Fesulanus episcopus, Raimbaldus nomine . . . quod præter alias unam habebat, publice ac familiarius adhærentem, et tanquam legitimæ desponsationis uxorem, quorum filii et filiæ adhuc plures exstant, et fœderati conjugio, et succrescentibus liberis cumulati.—P. Damiani Opusc. vi. c. 18.

rather warrior nobles than Christian ministers. Bisantio, the good Bishop of Bari, is praised quite as much for his terrible prowess in battle as for his pious benevolence and munificence; and on his death, in 1035, his flock chôse a military official as his successor.[1]

Descending in the scale, we may instance the priest Marino, who, though he lived openly with his wife, was a noted miracle-worker. Among quaint wonders wrought by him it is recorded that water rendered holy by his blessing, when sprinkled over the cornfields, had the power of driving away all caterpillars and other noxious insects. His child, Eleuchadio, was a most venerable man, who subsequently, as abbot of the monastery of the Virgin at Fiano, won the esteem and respect of even the stern Damiani himself.[2] In fact, the pious Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino, better known as pope under the name of Victor III., declares that throughout Italy, under the pontificate of Benedict, all orders, from bishops down, without shame or concealment, were publicly married and lived with their wives as laymen, leaving their children fully provided for in their wills; and what rendered the disgrace more poignant was the fact that the scandal was greatest in Rome itself, whence the light of religion and discipline had formerly illumined the Christian world.[3] Another contemporary writer asserts that this laxity prevailed throughout the whole of Latin Christendom, sacer-

---

[1] Piissimus pater orfanorum et fundator sanctæ ecclesiæ Barensis, et cunctæ urbis custos ac defensor, atque terribilis et sine metu contra omnes Græcos. Et electus est in ipso episcopatu ab omni populo Romualt prothospatharius.—Annal. Barenses, ann. 1035.

Shortly after this, we hear of two bishops killed in battle (Ibid. ann. 1041).

[2] P. Damiani, loc. cit.

[3] Dum igitur negligentia sacerdotum, maxime Romanorum pontificum, Italia, a recto religionis tramite paulatim devians, labefactaretur, in tantum mala consuetudo adolevit, ut sacræ legis auctoritate postposita, divina humanaque omnia miscerentur. . . Itaque cum vulgus clericorum, per viam effrenatæ licentiæ, nemine prohibente, graderetur, cœperunt ipsi presbyteri ac diacones (qui tradita sibi sacramenta Dominica, mundo corde castoque corpore, tractare debebant) laicorum more uxores ducere, susceptosque filios hæredes testamento relinquere: nonnulli etiam episcoporum, verecundia omni contempta, cum uxoribus domo simul in una habitare: et hæc pessima et exsecranda consuetudo intra Urbem maxime pullulabat, unde olim religionis norma ab ipso Apostolo Petro, ejusque successoribus, ubique diffusa, processerat.—Desiderii Dialog. de Mirac. S. Benedict. Lib. III. (Script. Rer. Italicor. V. 396).

dotal marriage being everywhere so common that it was no longer punished as unlawful, and scarcely even reprehended.[1]

In becoming thus universal and tacitly permitted, it was not incompatible with the most fervent piety; and though it may be an evidence of hierarchical disorganization, it can no longer be considered as indicating of itself a lowered standard of morals in the ministers of the church. This is forcibly illustrated in the case of St. Procopius, selected by Duke Ulric of Bohemia as the first abbot of the monastery of Zagow. He was regularly bred to the church under the care of Bishop Quirillus, and was noted for the rectitude of his deportment in the priesthood; yet we learn that he was married during this period, when we are told that, on being disgusted with the hollow vanities of the world, he abandoned wife and friends for the solitude of a hermit's cave. Here an accidental meeting with Duke Ulric, while hunting, led to the foundation of Zagow and to the installation of Procopius as its head.[2]

Silently the church seemed to acquiesce in the violation of her canons, until, at length, she appeared content if her ministers would satisfy themselves with reputable marriage and avoid the grosser scandals. When Ulric, Abbot of Tegernsee, about 1041, deplored the evil influence of a priest who had two wives living, he seems to have felt that lawful marriage might be tolerated, but that polygamy was of evil example in a Christian pastor.[3] So when Albert the Magnificent, Archbishop of Hamburg, was accustomed to exhort his clergy to continence and to shun the pestiferous society of women, his worldly wisdom prompted him to add that, if they were

---

[1] John, a disciple of St. Peter Damiani, in alluding to the prevailing twin vices of simony and marriage, says: "Quæ videlicet pestes tam perniciosa consuetudine prævaluerant, tamque impune totam ferme ecclesiam in omni Romano orbe fædaverant, ut vix jam reprehensorem, tamquam licite, formidarent."—Vit. S. P. Damiani, c. 16.

[2] In seculo presbyter eximius, honesta vitæ et casta mysteria celebrans . . . vanitatem nequam hujus mundi contempsit, et domum *uxoremque*, agros, cognatos atque amicos, immo semetipsum sibi abnegans . . . secreta solitudinis petiit.—Cosmæ Pragens. Chron. Boem. Lib. III. (Mencken. Script. Rer. German. III. p. 1782).

[3] Quod vero uxore sua adhuc vivente aliam duxit, quantum in hoc populum sibi creditum destruxit, nostra licet super hoc intimatio taceret, vestræ tamen prudentiæ id perscrutanti non lateret.—Batthyani, Leg. Eccles. Hung. I. 335.

unequal to the effort, they should at least keep unsullied the bonds of marriage.[1]

If irregularities such as these existed, they are not justly imputable to the church itself. It can scarcely be a matter of wonder if the clergy, in assimilating themselves to the laity as regards the liberty of wedlock, should also have adopted the license which in that lawless age rendered the marriage tie a slender protection for the weakness of woman. Though it was indissoluble according to the teachings of religion, yet the church, which at that time was the only protector of the feeble against the strong, had not acquired the commanding authority which subsequently enabled it to enforce its decrees everywhere and on all occasions. If, under a vigorous pope, the sentence of excommunication had been able to frighten a superstitious monarch like Robert the Pious, yet the pontiffs of the House of Tusculum were not men to trouble themselves, or to be successful had they made the attempt, to rectify the wrongs perpetrated in every obscure baronial castle or petty hamlet in Europe. The isolation and independence of the feudal system made every freeman, so to speak, the arbiter of his own actions. The wife whose charms ceased to gratify the senses of her husband, or whose temper threatened to disturb his equanimity, stood little chance of retaining her position, if an opportunity offered of replacing her to advantage, unless she was fortunate in having kindred able to resent the wrong which the church and the law were powerless to prevent or to punish.[2] If, then, the clergy occasionally indulged in similar practices, the evil is

[1] Audivimus sæpenumero piissimum archiepiscopum nostrum Adalbertum cum de continentia tenenda suos hortatus est clericos "Admoneo vos" inquit "et postulans jubeo ut pestiferis mulierum vinculis absolvamini, aut si ad hoc non potestis cogi, quod perfectorum est, saltem cum verecundia vinculum matrimonii custodite, secundum illud quod dicitur: Si non caste, tamen caute."—Adam. Bremens. Gest. Pontif. Hammaburg. Schol. ad cap. 29 Lib. III.

[2] Perhaps as suggestive an illustration of the morals and manners of the age as can well be given is afforded by a deed executed in 1055 by a noble count of Catalonia on the occasion of his marriage. He pledges himself not to cast off his bride, except for infidelity—such infidelity not being plotted for by him—and to secure the performance of this promise he places in the hands of his father-in-law four castles, to be held in pledge, subject to forfeiture in case of his violating the agreement. (Baluz. Capit. Francor. Append. Actor. Vet. No. 148.)

not attributable to the license of marriage which they had usurped. That license had, at all events, borne some fruits of good; for, during its existence, we hear somewhat less of the system of concubinage so prevalent before and after this period, and there is no authentic indication of the nameless horrors so suggestively intimated by the restrictions on the residence of relatives enjoined in the frequent canons promulgated at the close of the ninth century.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the race of ascetics was extinct. Amid the license which prevailed in every class, there were still some men who, disgusted with the turbulent and dissolute world, despairing of salvation among the temptations and trials of active life, or the sloth and luxury of the monastic establishments, sought the path to heaven in solitude and maceration. Such men could not but look with detestation on the worldly priests who divided their thoughts between their sacred calling and the cares of an increasing household, and who profaned the unutterable mysteries of the altar with hearts and hands not kept pure from the lusts of the flesh.

Prominent among these holy anchorites was S. Giovanni Gualberto, who fled from the snares of the world to the forests of Camaldoli, where his austerities, his holiness, and his miracles soon attracted crowds of disciples, who formed a numerous community of humble imitators of his virtues. Restoring in its strictness the neglected Rule of Benedict, his example and his teaching wrought conviction, and the order of monks which he founded and carried with him to the peaceful shades of Vallombrosa became renowned for its sanctity and purity. Thus withdrawn by the will of heaven from the selfish egotism of a hermit's existence, he labored earnestly to reform the laxity of priestly life in general, and his success was most encouraging. Moved by his admonitions, self-indulgent clerks abandoned wives and mistresses, devoted themselves to the performance of their sacred functions, or sought in monastic seclusion to make atonement for their past excesses.[1]

[1] Exemplo vero ipsius et admonitionibus, delicati clerici, spretis connubiis et concubinis, cœperunt simul in ecclesiis stare et communem ducere vitam. — Atton. Vit. S. Johannis Gualbert. c. 31.

Though it may well be supposed that Gualberto was not unassisted in his efforts, yet all such individual exertions, dependent upon persuasion alone, could be but limited in their influence and temporary in their results. Reform, to be universal and permanent, required to be authoritative in its character and to proceed from above downwards. The papacy itself must cease to be a scandal to Christendom, and must be prepared to wield the awful force of its authority, seconded by the moral weight of its example, before disorders so firmly rooted could be attacked with any hope of success. In 1044, Benedict IX. was driven out of Rome by a faction of rebels or patriots, who elected Sylvester III. as pontiff in his place. A sudden revulsion sent Sylvester into exile, and brought Benedict back, who, to complete the confusion, sold the papal dignity to a new aspirant, known as Gregory VI. The transaction was not one which could decently be recognized by the church, and Benedict was held incapable of thus transferring the allegiance of Christendom or of depriving himself of his position. There were thus three popes, whose conflicting claims to reverence threw all Europe into the doubt and danger of schism, nor could the knotty question be solved by the power of distracted Italy. A more potent judge was required, and the decision was referred, as a matter of course, to the sagacious and energetic Emperor, Henry the Black, whose success in repressing the turbulence of the empire, and whose sincere reverence for the church gave reasonable promise of a happy solution of the tangled problem.[1] His proceeding was summary. The three competitors were unceremoniously dismissed, and Henry filled the vacancy thus created by the appointment of Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who assumed the name of Clement II.

Henry III. was moved by a profound conviction that a thorough and searching reform was vitally necessary to the church. The conscientious severity of his character led him

[1] The popular feelings which greeted his interposition are well conveyed in the jingling verse addressed to him by a holy hermit—

Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis;
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,
Solve connubium, triforme, dubium.

(Annalista Saxo, ann. 1046.)

The invitation to interfere, however, was not needed. Henry's prerogative as the representative of Charlemagne and Otho the Great was sufficient warrant, and his religious ardor an ample motive, without any special reference to his tribunal.

to have little toleration for the abuses and disorders which were everywhere so painfully apparent. How far his views were in advance of those generally entertained, even by ecclesiastical dignitaries, was clearly manifested as early as 1042, when Gebhardt, Bishop of Ratisbon, urged the claims of his favorite arch-priest Cuno for the vacant see of Eichstett. Henry refused on the ground that Cuno was the son of a priest, and therefore by the established canons ineligible to the position. The reason, though unanswerable, was so novel that Gebhardt refused to accept it as the true one, and Henry, to pacify him, promised to nominate any other one of the Ratisbon clergy whom Gebhardt might select. The choice fell upon a young and unknown man, also named Gebhardt, whose abilities, brought into notice thus accidentally, rendered him afterwards more conspicuous as Pope Victor II.[1]

Henry did not neglect the opportunity now afforded him of carrying into effect his reformatory views, and in his selection of a pontiff he was apparently influenced by the conviction that the Italian clergy were too hopelessly corrupt for him to expect from them assistance in his plans. Clement exchanged with him promises of mutual support in the arduous undertaking. We have nothing to do with the most crying evil; the one first vigorously attacked, and the one which was productive of the greatest real detriment to the church—simony. That was everywhere open and avowed. From the blessing of the priest to the nomination for a primacy, every ecclesiastical act was the subject of bargain and sale, reduced in many places to a regular scale of prices.[2] To remove this scandal, Clement set vigorously to work, and soon found an united opposition which promised little for the success of the undertaking. He was doubtless sincere, but he was clearly alone in his struggle with the fierce Italian

[1] Anon. de Episcop. Eichstett. c. 34 (Patrolog. T. 146, pp. 1021-2).

[2] It would be a work of supererogation to quote the innumerable evidences of this which crowd the pages of contemporary writers. The generalizing remark of Glaber will suffice—"Omnes quippe gradus ecclesiastici a maximo pontifice usque ad hostiarum opprimuntur per suæ damnationis precium, ac juxta vocem Dominicam in cunctis grassatur spiritale latrocinium."—Glab. Rodolph. Hist. Lib. v. c. 5.

prelates, who were resolved not to abandon the emoluments and indulgences to which they had grown accustomed, and the result of his efforts did not fulfil the expectations of the more sanguine aspirants for the purification of the church. Even his patron the emperor appears to have doubted his earnestness in the cause, for we find Henry not only addressing him a letter urging him to fresh exertion, but intrusting it to Peter Damiani, with a command to present it in person, and to use all his powers of exhortation to stimulate the flagging zeal of the pope. Damiani refused to leave his hermitage even at the imperial mandate, but he inclosed the missive in one of his own, deploring the unhealed wounds of the church, recapitulating the shortcomings of Clement, and goading him to fresh efforts, in a style which savored little of the reverence due to the Vicegerent of God.[1] The pontifical crown was evidently not a wreath of roses. Clement sank under its weight, and died October 9th, 1047, in less than ten months after he had accepted the perilous dignity.

St. Peter Damiani, who thus introduces himself to our notice, was one of the remarkable men of the epoch. Born about the year 988 at Ravenna, of a noble but decayed family, and the last of a numerous progeny, he owed his life to a woman of the very class, to the extirpation of which he devoted all the energies of his prime. His mother, worn out in the struggle with poverty, regarded his birth with aversion, refused to suckle the infant saint, and neglected him until his forlorn and emaciated condition awoke the compassion of a female retainer, the wife of a priest, who remonstrated with the unfeeling parent until she succeeded in arousing the sense of duty and restored to existence the little sufferer, who was destined to bring unnumbered woes to all who were of her condition.[2] His early years are said to have been passed as a swineherd, till the opportunity for instruction offered itself, which he eagerly embraced. Retiring at length from the world, he joined the disciples of St. Romuald, who practised the strictest monastic life, either as monks or hermits at

[1] Damiani Epist. 3, Lib. VIII.

[2] Johannis Vit. B. P. Damiani c. 1.

Avellana, near Agubio. Immuring himself there in the desert, his austerities soon gained for him the reputation of pre-eminent sanctity, and led to his election as prior of the brotherhood. Gifted by nature with an intellect of unusual strength, informed with all the learning of the day, his stern asceticism, his dauntless spirit, and the uncompromising force of his zeal brought him into notice and marked him as a fitting instrument in the cause of reform. Occasionally, at the call of his superiors, he left his beloved retreat to do battle with the hosts of evil, returning with renewed zest to the charms of solitude, until, in 1057, Stephen IX. forced him to accept the cardinalate and bishopric of Ostia—the highest dignity in the Roman court. The duties of his episcopate, however, conflicted with his monastic fervor, and after a few years he rendered up the pastoral ring and staff and again returned to Avellana, where he died in 1072, full of years and honors. His position and authority can best be estimated from the terms employed by Alexander II., who, when sending him on an important mission to France, described him as next in influence to himself in the Roman church, and the chief support of the Holy See.[1]

With a nature ardent and combatant, worked up to the highest pitch of ascetic intolerance by the introspective musings of his cell, it may readily be conceived that the corruptions of the church filled him with the warmest indignation and the fiercest desire to restore it to its pristine purity. To this holy cause he devoted the last half of his life, and was always ready, with tongue and pen, at the sacrifice of his dearly prized solitude, to further the great movement on which he felt that the future of Christianity depended. The brief hopes excited by the promises of Clement and Henry were speedily quenched by the untimely death of the German pontiff, and the most sanguine might well despair at seeing the odious Benedict IX. reinstated as pope. But the emperor was in earnest, and listened willingly to the cry of those who

[1] Talem vobis virum destinare curavimus quo nimirum post nos major in Romana ecclesia auctoritas non habetur, Petrum videlicet Damianum, Ostiensem episcopum, qui nimirum et noster est oculus et apostolicæ sedes immobile firmamentum. — Alex. II. Epist. 15.

besought him not to leave his good work unfinished. Nine brief months saw Benedict again a wanderer, and another German prelate installed in his place. Poppo of Brixen, however, enjoyed his new dignity, as Damasus II., but twenty-one days, when he fell a martyr to the cause, perishing miserably, either through the insalubrious heats of a Roman summer, or the hidden vindictiveness of Italian party rage. It required some courage to accept the honorable but fatal post, and six months elapsed ere a worthy candidate could be found. Henry's choice this time fell upon Bruno of Toul, a prelate to whom admiring biographers ascribe every virtue and every qualification. As Leo IX. he ascended the pontifical throne in February, 1049, and he soon gave ample evidence of the sincerity with which he intended to carry out the views of the puritans whom he represented.

It was significant that he took with him to Rome the monk Hildebrand, lately released from the service of his master Gregory VI., who had died in his German exile, restored by a miracle at his death to the honors of which he had been adjudged unworthy while living.[1] Still more significant was the fact that Leo entered Rome, not as pope, but as a barefooted pilgrim, and that he required the empty formality of an election within the city, as though the nomination of the emperor had given him no claim to his high office. Whether this was the result of a voice from heaven, as related by the papal historians,[2] or whether it was done at the suggestion of the high-churchman Hildebrand, it showed that the new pontiff magnified his office, and felt that the line of distinction between the clerk and the layman was to be sharply drawn and vigorously defended.

Damiani lost no time in stimulating the stranger to the duties expected of him by the party of reform. From the retreat of Avellana he addressed to Leo an essay, which is the saddest of all the sad monuments bequeathed to us by

[1] Learning, on his death-bed, that he was not to be buried as a pope, he requested the prelates around him to place his coffin at the church-door securely fastened, and if the portals opened without human hands, it would be a sign that he should receive papal honors. It was done, when a gust of wind burst open the door and lifted the coffin from the bier. (Martin. Fuldens. Chron. ann. 1046.)

[2] Martin. Fuldens. ann. 1050.

that age of desolation. With cynical boldness he develops the frightful excesses epidemically prevalent among the cloistered crowds of men, attributable to the unnatural restraints imposed upon the passions of those unfitted by nature or by training to control themselves; and his laborious efforts to demonstrate the propriety of punishing the guilty by degradation show how hideous was the laxity of morals which was disposed to regard such crimes with indulgence.[1] Like the nameless horrors of the Penitentials, it is the most convincing commentary on the system which sought to enforce an impossible exaltation of purity on the ministers of a religion whose outward formalism had absorbed its internal life.[2]

Leo IX. was not long in manifesting his intentions, and his first point of attack was chosen with some skill, the ecclesiastical rank of the victim and his want of power rendering him at once a striking example and an easy sacrifice. Dabralis, Archbishop of Salona (or Spalatro) in Dalmatia, was married and lived openly with his wife. Leo sent a legate to investigate and punish. Called before a synod, Dabralis could not or deigned not to deny his guilt, but boldly justified it, as the woman was his lawful wife, and he instanced

---

[1] Damiani Opusc. vii. (Liber Gomorrhianus).—Some ten or twelve years later, Alexander II. obtained the manuscript from Damiani, under pretence of having it copied, but prudently locked it up and refused to return it. The saintly author complained bitterly of the deception thus practised upon him, which he unceremoniously characterized as a fraud. (Damiani Lib. ii. Epist. 6.)

[2] The world can never know the long and silent suffering endured in the terrible self-combat of ardent natures in the solitude of the cloister. If many succumb, the indignation which Damiani and his class so freely bestow on the victims should be transferred rather to the system which produces them. A monk of the period has left us a vivid and curious picture of his own tortures in the endless struggle with the tempter; and the mental torments to which his fellow-unfortunates were exposed are aptly condensed in the simple tale of the Abbess Sarah, who for thirteen long years maintained her ground without shrinking from the ceaseless assaults of the enemy by continually invoking the aid of God—"Da mihi fortitudinem Deus!" (Othlon. de Tentat. suis P. i.)

The hagiology of the church is full of legends, more or less veritable, of the sufferings of these martyrs and of their triumphs over the flesh, from the time of St. Ammonius, who, when less decisive measures failed, bored his flesh in many places with red-hot iron, and thus vanquished passion by suffering. A collection of these stories, more curious than decent, may be found admiringly detailed by Giraldus Cambrensis in his Gemma Ecclesiastica, Dist. ii.

the customs of the Greek church in his defence. This only aggravated his guilt, and he was promptly degraded forever.[1]

Leaving, for a time, the Italian church for subsequent efforts at reformation, Leo undertook a progress throughout Northern Europe, for the purpose of restoring the neglected discipline of those regions. Before the year of his installation had expired, in November, 1049, we find him presiding with the emperor at a council in Mainz, where the simony and marriage of the clergy were condemned under severe penalties.[2] That the influence thus brought to bear had some effect, at least in externals, is shown by the courtly Albert of Hamburg, who, on returning from the council to his see, revived a forgotten regulation of his predecessors, by virtue of which the women of ecclesiastics were ordered to live outside of the towns, in order to avoid public scandal.[3] A few weeks before, in France, Leo had presided over a national council at Rheims, where his vigorous action against simony caused numerous vacancies in the hierarchy. The records and canons of this council contain no allusions to the subject of marriage or concubinage, but it is altogether improbable that they escaped attention, for they were indulged in without concealment by all classes of ecclesiastics, and some subsequent writers assert that they were rigorously prohibited by the council, but that the injunctions promulgated were unavailing.[4]

---

[1] Cum crimen Dabralis archiepiscopi esset notorium, cœpit se frivolis allegationibus excusare. Dicebat enim prædictam mulierem sibi fore legitimam, quam ex consuetudine Orientalis Ecclesiæ secum poterat licite retinere.—Batthyani Leg. Eccles. Hung. I. 401.

[2] Symoniaca hæresis et nefanda sacerdotum conjugia olographa synodi manu perpetuo dampnata sunt.—Adami Bremens. Gest. Pontif. Hamaburg. Lib. III. c. 29.

See also Annalista Saxo, ann. 1048.

[3] Adam. Bremens. loc. cit.

[4] Tunc quippe in Neustria, post adventum Normannorum, in tantum dissoluta erat castitas clericorum, ut non solum presbyteri sed etiam præsules libere uterentur toris concubinarum, et palam superbirent multiplici propagine filiorum ac filiarum. . . Tandem . . . Leo Papa . . . in Gallias A. D. 1049 venit. . . Tunc ibidem (Remis) generale concilium tenuit, et inter reliqua ecclesiæ commoda quæ instituit, presbyteris arma ferre et conjuges habere prohibuit. Arma quidem ferre presbyteri jam gratanter desiere, sed a pellicibus adhuc nolunt abstinere, nec pudicitiæ inhærere.—Orderic. Vital. P. II. Lib. V. c. 15.—This portion of the work of Ordericus was written about the year 1125.

Ibi vero simoniaci, tam populares quam clerici, presbyterique uxorati, persuasione sancti Hugonis, a catholicorum communione et ab ecclesiis eliminati sunt.—Alberic. Trium Fontium Chron. ann. 1049.

Returning to the South, the Easter of 1051 beheld a council assembled at Rome for the purpose of restoring discipline. Apparently, the Italian prelates were disposed to exercise considerable caution in furthering the wishes of their chief, for they abstained from visiting their indignation on the guilty priests, and directed their penalties against the unfortunate females. In the city itself these were declared to be enslaved, and were bestowed on the cathedral church of the Lateran, while all bishops throughout Christendom were desired to apply the rule to their own dioceses, and to seize the offending women for the benefit of their churches.[1] The atrocity of this legislation against the wives of priests is singularly contrasted with the tenderness shown to worse crimes when committed by men whose high position only rendered their guilt the more heinous. At this council, Gregory, Bishop of Vercelli, was convicted of what, by the rules of the church, was considered as incest—an amour with a widow betrothed to his uncle. For this aggravated offence he was merely excommunicated, and when, soon after, he presented himself in Rome, he was restored to communion on his simple promise to perform adequate penance.[2]

The reformatory zeal of Leo and of the monastic followers of Damiani was thus evidently not seconded by the Italian church. A still more striking proof of this was afforded by the attempt to hold a council at Mantua early in 1053. The prelates who dreaded the result conspired to break it up. A riot was provoked between their retainers and the papal domestics; the latter, taken unawares and speedily overpowered, fled to the council-chamber for safety, and Leo, rushing to the door to protect them, was in imminent danger from the arrows and stones which hurtled thickly around him.[3] The reckless plot succeeded, and the council dispersed in undignified haste. Whether Leo was disgusted with his want of success and convinced of the impracticability of the undertaking, or whether his attention was thenceforth absorbed by his unlucky military operations against the rapidly

[1] Damiani Opusc. xviii. Diss. ii. c. 7.

[2] Herman. Contract. Chron. ann. 1051.

[3] Muratori Annali, ann. 1053.

augmenting Norman power in Southern Italy, it is not easy now to ascertain: suffice it to say that no further indications remain of any endeavor to carry out the reforms so eagerly commenced in the first ardor of his pontificate. The consistent Damiani opposed the warlike aspirations of the pontiff, but Leo persisted in leading his armies himself. A lost battle threw Leo into the power of the hated Normans, when, after nine months, he returned to Rome to die, in April, 1054.[1]

After an interval of about a year, the line of German pontiffs was continued in the person of Gebhardt, Bishop of Eichstett (Victor II.), whose appointment by the emperor was owing in no small degree to the influence of Hildebrand—an influence which was daily making itself more felt. Installed in the pontifical seat by Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, his efforts to continue the reformation commenced by his predecessors aroused a stubborn resistance. There may be no foundation for the legend of his being saved by a miracle from a sacramental cup poisoned by a vengeful subdeacon, nor for the rumors that his early death was hastened by the recalcitrant clergy who sought to escape the severity of his discipline. There is some probability in the stories, however, for, during his short pontificate, interrupted by a lengthened stay in Germany and the perpetual vicissitudes of the Neapo-

[1] It is not easy to repress a smile on seeing Leo, who had been so utterly unable to enforce the canons of the Latin church at home, seriously undertaking to procure their adoption in Constantinople. From his prison, in January, 1054, he sent Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida on a mission to convert the Greek church. There is extant a controversy between the legate and Nicetas Pectoratus, a learned Greek abbot, on the various points in dispute. I cannot profess to decide which of the antagonists had the advantage on the recondite questions of the use of unleavened bread, the Sabbath fasts, the calculation of Easter, &c., but the contrast between the urbanity of the Greek and the coarse vituperation of the Latin is strikingly suggestive as a tacit confession of defeat on the part of the latter. In view of the frightful immorality of the Italian clergy, there is something peculiarly ludicrous in the mingled anger, contempt, and abhorrence with which Humbert alludes to the marriage of the Greek clergy—"Sed tu ecclesiam Dei volens efficere synagogam Satanæ et prostibulum Balaam et Jezabel," "Mahomed cujus farinæ totus es," "Tu vero miserrime Niceta, donec resipiscas, sis anathema ab omni Christi ecclesia, cum omnibus qui tibi acquiescunt in tam perversa doctrina," with other equally courteous and convincing arguments. Humbert attributes priestly marriage altogether to the heresy of the Nicolites, and lays down the law on the subject as inexorably as though it were at the time observed in his own church.

litan troubles, he yet found time to hold a synod at Florence, where he degraded numerous prelates for simony and licentiousness; but, whether true or false, the existence of the reports attests at once the sincerity of his zeal and the difficulties of the task.[1]

His death in July, 1057, was followed after but a few days' interval by the election of Frederic, Duke of Lorraine—the empire having passed in 1056 from the able hands of Henry III. to the feeble regency of his empress, Agnes, as guardian of the unfortunate infant Henry IV.—thus releasing the Roman clergy from the degrading dictation of a Teutonic potentate. That Frederic should have abandoned the temptations and ambitions of his lofty station to embrace the austerities of monastic life in the abbey of Monte Casino, is a sufficient voucher that he would not draw back from the work thus far hopelessly undertaken by his predecessors. Notwithstanding the severity of the canons promulgated during the previous decade, and the incessant attempts to enforce them, Rome was still full of married priests, and the battle had to be recommenced, as though nothing had yet been done. Immediately on his installation as Stephen IX., he addressed himself unshrinkingly to the task. For four months, during the most unhealthy season, he remained in Rome, calling synod after synod, and laboring with both clergy and people to put an end to such unholy unions,[2] and he summarily expelled from the church all who had been guilty of incontinence since the prohibitions issued in the time of Leo.[3] One case is related of a contumacious priest whose sudden death gave him the opportunity of striking terror into the hearts of the reckless, for the mutilated funeral rites which deprived the hardened sinner of the consolation of a Christian burial it was hoped would prove an effectual warning to his fellows.[4] Feeling the necessity of support in these thankless labors, he forced

[1] Lambert. Schaffnab. ann. 1054.—Martin. Polon. ann. 1057.

[2] Per quatuor igitur continuos menses Romæ moratus, ac frequentibus synodis clerum Urbis populumque conveniens, maximeque pro conjugiis clericorum ac sacerdotum necnon et consanguinearum copulationibus destruendis nimio zelo decertans.—Leo. Marsic. Chron. Cassinens. Lib. II. c. 97.

[3] Damiani Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. c. 6.

[4] Ibid.

Damiani to leave the retirement of the cloistered shades of Avellana, and to bear, as Bishop of Ostia, his share of the burden in the contest which he had done so much to provoke—but it was all in vain.

In little more than half a year Stephen found refuge from strife and turmoil in the tomb. The election of his successor, Gerard, Bishop of Florence, was the formal proclamation that the church was no longer subjected to the control of the secular authority. January 18th, 1058, saw the power of the emperor defied, and the gauntlet thrown for the sempiternal quarrel which for three centuries was to plunge Central and Southern Europe in turmoil and bloodshed. Henry III. had labored conscientiously to rescue the papacy from the disgrace into which it had fallen. By removing it from the petty sphere of the counts of Tusculum and the barons of the Campagna, and by providing for it a series of highminded and energetic pontiffs, he had restored its forfeited position, and indeed had conferred upon it an amount of influence which it had never before possessed. His thorough disinterestedness and his labors for its improvement had disarmed all resistance to the exercise of his power, but when that power passed into the hands of an infant but five years old, it was natural that the church should seek to emancipate itself from subjection; and if almost the first use made of its new-found prerogatives was to crush the hand that had enabled it to obtain them, we must not tax with ingratitude those who were undoubtedly penetrated with the conviction that they were only vindicating the imprescriptible rights of the church, and that to them was confided the future of religion and civilization.

In the revolution which thus may date its successful commencement at this period the two foremost figures are Damiani and Hildebrand. Damiani the monk, with no further object than the abolition of simony and the enforcement of the austerities which he deemed indispensable to the salvation of the individual and to the purity of the church, looked not beyond the narrow circle of his daily life, and sought merely to level mankind by the measure of his own stature. Hildebrand, the far-seeing statesman, could make use of Damiani

and his tribe, perhaps equally fervent in his belief that the asceticism of his fellow laborer was an acceptable offering to God, but yet with ulterior views of transcendently greater importance. In his grand scheme of a theocratic empire, it became an absolute prerequisite that the church should hold undivided sway over its members; that no human affection should render their allegiance doubtful, but that their every thought and action should be devoted to the common aggrandizement; that they should be separated from the people by an impassable barrier, and should wield an influence which could only be obtained by those who were recognized as superior to the weaknesses of common humanity; that the immense landed possessions of the church should remain untouched and constantly increasing as the common property of all, and not be subjected to the incessant dilapidations inseparable from uxorious or paternal affections at a time when the restraints of law and of public opinion could not be brought to bear with effect. In short, if the church was to assume and maintain the position to which it was entitled by the traditions of the canon law and of the False Decretals, it must be a compact and mutually supporting body, earning by its self-inflicted austerities the reverence to which it laid claim, and not be diverted from its splendid goal by worldly allurements or carnal indulgences and preoccupations. Such was the vision to the realization of which Hildebrand devoted his commanding talents and matchless force of will. The temporal success was at length all that he could have anticipated. If the spiritual results were craft, subtlety, arrogance, cruelty, and sensuality, hidden or cynical, it merely proves that his confidence in the strength of human nature to endure the intoxicating effects of irresponsible power was misplaced. Meanwhile he labored with Damiani at the preliminary measures of his enterprise, and together they bent their energies to procure the enforcement of the neglected rules of discipline.

The new pope, Nicholas II. by name, entered unreservedly into their views. Apparently taught by experience the fruitlessness of additional legislation when the existing canons were amply sufficient, but their execution impossible through the negligence or collusion of the ecclesiastical authorities,

he assembled, in 1059, a council of a hundred and thirteen bishops, in which he adopted the novel and hazardous expedient of appealing to the laity, and of rendering them at once the judges and executioners of their pastors. A canon was promulgated forbidding all Christians to be present at the mass of any priest known to keep a concubine or female in his house.[1] This probably remained, like its predecessors, a dead letter for the present, but we shall see what confusion it excited when it was revived and put effectually in force by Gregory VII. some fifteen years later. Meanwhile I may observe that it trenched very nearly on the Donatist heresy that the sacrament was polluted in polluted hands, and it required the most careful word-splitting to prevent the faithful from drawing a conclusion so natural.[2]

---

[1] Ut nullus missam audiat presbyteri quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere aut subintroductam mulierem.—Concil. Roman. ann. 1059, c. 3.

Singularly enough, this clause is omitted in the synodical epistle addressed to the Gallic clergy, as given by Hugh of Flavigny, Chron. Lib. II. ann. 1059.

[2] How utterly this was opposed to the received dogmas and practice of the church can be seen from the decision of Nicholas I. on the same question—"Sciscitantibus vobis, si a sacerdote, qui sive comprehensus est in adulterio, sive de hoc fama sola respersus est, debeatis communionem suscipere, necne, respondemus: Non potest aliquis quantumcumque pollutus sit, sacramenta divina polluere, quæ purgatoria cunctarum remedia contagionum existunt. . . . Sumite, igitur, intrepide ab omni sacerdote Christi mysteria, quoniam omnia in fide purgantur." (Nicolai I. Epist. XCVII. c. 71.) See also a similar decision in 727 by Gregory II. (Bonifacii Epist. CXXVI.)

Damiani saw the danger to which a practice such as this exposed the church, and lifted up his voice to prevent the evil results—

Audite etiam, laici,
Qui Christo famulamini;
Pro ullo unquam crimine,
Pastores non despicite.

(Carmen ccxxii.);

and when, about the year 1060, the Florentines refused the ministrations of their bishop, whom they were determined from other causes to eject, he reproved them warmly, adducing the only reasonable view of the question, "quod Spiritus Sanctus per improbi ministerium dare potest sua charismata" (Opusc. XXX. c. 2). Simoniacal priests as well as concubinary ones were included in the ban, and when, in 1049, Leo IX. commenced his vigorous persecution of simony, there arose a belief that ordination received at hands tainted with that sin was null and void. This was promptly stigmatized as a heresy, and Damiani's untiring pen was employed in combating it. He argued the question very thoroughly and keenly when it was under debate by a synod, and succeeded in procuring its condemnation (Opusc. VI. c. 12).

The prohibition, first proclaimed by Nicholas II. and finally enforced by Gregory VII., caused no little trouble in the church. Towards the close of the century, Urban II. found himself obliged to discuss the question, and in an epistle to Lucius, provost of the church of St. Juventius at Pavia, he admits that the sacraments administered by guilty priests are uncorrupted, yet he approves of their rejection in order to stimulate the clergy to virtue, and even declares that those who receive them, except under instant and

In addition to this, the council ordered, under pain of excommunication, that no priest who openly took a concubine (or rather a wife), or who did not forthwith separate himself from such a connection already existing, should dare to perform any sacred function, or enjoy any portion of ecclesiastical revenue.[1] Hildebrand, who was all-powerful at the papal

---

pressing necessity, are guilty of idolatry ("nisi forte sola morte interveniente, utpote ne sine baptismate vel communione quilibet humanis rebus excedat; eis, inquam, in tantum obsunt, ut veri idolatræ sint"—Urbani II. Epist. CCLXXIII.)—a decision the logic of which is not readily apprehended. St. Anselm of Canterbury assents to the doctrine, but places it in a more reasonable and practical shape—"non quo quis ea quæ tractent contemnenda, sed tractantes execrandos existimet" (Epist. VIII.). The consequences of such a system, however, if strictly carried out, would have been most disastrous to the church, and when the zeal of Hildebrand became forgotten his injunctions were overruled. A century later Lucius III. accordingly returned to the policy of Nicholas I.—"Sumite ergo ab omni sacerdote intrepide Christi mysteria, quia omnia in fide Christi purgantur" (Post Lateran. Concil. P. L. c. 38), the positiveness of which was not much affected by the subtle distinctions which he endeavored to draw between crimes notorious and tolerated. The church gradually returned to the old doctrine and practice. In 1292 the council of Aschaffenburg anathematized those who "præsumptione dampnabili" taught the heresy that priests in mortal sin could not perform the sacred mysteries, and it decided "licite ergo a quocumque sacerdote ab ecclesia tolerato, divina mysteria audiantur et alia recipiantur ecclesiastica sacramenta" (Concil. Schafnaburg. ann. 1292, can. i.—Hartzheim, IV. 7). And when Wickliffe and Huss undertook to carry out the dicta of Nicholas II. and Gregory VII. to their legitimate conclusions, the policy was at once recognized as a heresy of the worst character and most destructive consequence.

[1] Quincumque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum . . . concubinam palam duxerit vel ductam non reliquerit, . . . præcipimus et omnino contradicimus, ut missam non cantet, neque evangelium vel epistolam ac missam legat, neque in presbyterio ad divina officia cum iis qui præfatæ constitutioni obedientes fuerint, maneat; neque partem ab ecclesia suscipiat.—Concil. Roman. ann. 1059 c. 3.

It is evident here that the opprobrious epithet "concubine" is applied to those who were as legally wives as it was possible to make them. Damiani, indeed, admits it, and even intimates that concubine was too honorable a word to be applied to the wives of priests—"Illorum vero clericorum feminas, qui matrimonia nequeunt legali jure contrahere, non conjuges sed concubinas potius, sive prostibula congrue possumus appellare" (Opusc. XVIII. Diss. iii. c. 2). After this period it will be found that the wives of priests were rarely dignified with the title of "uxores," although ordination was not yet an impediment destructive of marriage.

It is as well to observe here that at this period and for some time later the position of the concubine had not the odium attached to it by modern manners, and this should be borne in mind when reviewing the morals of the Middle Ages. The connection was a recognized and almost a legal one, following the traditions of the Roman law, by which it was legitimate and permanent, so long as the parties respectively remained unmarried. A man could not have a wife and concubine at the same time (Pauli Sentent. II. 20), nor could he legally have two concubines at the same time (Novel. XVIII. c. 5). Not only were such regulations thus promulgated by Christian emperors, but the relationship was duly recognized by the

court—his enemies accused him of keeping Nicholas like an ass in the stable, feeding him to do his work—has the credit of procuring this legislation.[1] Nicholas, whether acting under the impulsion of Hildebrand and Damiani, or from his own convictions, followed up the reform with vigor. During the same year he visited Southern Italy, and by his decided proceedings at the council of Melfi endeavored to put an end to the sacerdotal marriages which were openly practised everywhere throughout that region, and the Bishop of Trani was deposed as an example and warning to

---

Christian church. The first council of Toledo, in 398, enjoined upon the faithful "tantum aut unius mulieris, aut uxoris aut concubinæ, ut ei placuerit, sit conjunctione contentus" (Concil. Toletan. I. c. 17), showing that either connection apparently was legitimate, and this is quoted at the commencement of the tenth century, as still in force, by Regino (De Discip. Eccles. Lib. II. c. 100.). A half century later, about 450, Leo I. was actually appealed to to decide whether a man who quitted a concubine and took a wife committed bigamy—which Leo reasonably enough answered in the negative (Leon. Epist. xc. c. 5). The principle of the Roman law was still the rule of the church in the 9th century, for a Roman synod held by Eugenius II. in 826 declared "Ut non liceat uno tempore duas habere uxores, uxoremve et concubinam. De illo vero qui cum uxore concubinam habet, præcipit, ut si admonitus eam a se abjicere noluerit, communione privetur." (Pertz, Legum T. II. P. ii. p. 12.) The view entertained of the matter at the time under consideration may be gathered from a canon of the council of Rome, in 1063, suspending from communion the layman who had a wife and concubine at the same time (Concil. Roman. ann. 1063, c. 10)—whence we may deduce that a concubine alone was hardly considered irregular. During the latter part of the succeeding century we find the concubine a recognized institution in Scotland, for the laws of William the Lion, after stating that the wife was not bound to reveal the crimes of her husband, adds "De concubina vero et de familia domus non est ita; quia ipsi tenentur revelare maleficia magistri sui, aut debent a servitio suo recedere" (Statut. Willelmi c. XIX. § 9). In England, late into the thirteenth century, Bracton speaks of the "concubina legitima" as entitled to certain rights and consideration (Lib. III. Tract. ii. c. 28, § 1, and Lib. IV. Tract. vi. c. 8, § 4); and in the Danish code of Waldemar II., which was in force from 1280 to 1683, there is a provision that a concubine kept openly for three years shall be held to be a legitimate and legal wife (Leg. Cimbric. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. Ed. Ancher). We must therefore bear in mind that until the rule of sacerdotal celibacy became rigorously enforced, the "concubina" of the canons generally means a wife, and that for some time afterwards the concubine was by no means necessarily the shameless woman understood by the modern acceptation of the term.

[1] Hujus autem constitutionis maxime fuit auctor Hildebrandus, tunc Romanæ ecclesiæ archidiaconus, hæreticis maxime infestus. (Bernaldi Chron. ann. 1061.) Benzo declares, in his slashing way, stigmatizing Hildebrand as a Sarabite, or wandering monk, "De cetero pascebat suum Nicholaum Prandellus in Lateranensi palatio, quasi asinum in stabulo. Nullum erat opus Nicholaitæ, nisi per verbum Sarabaitæ." (Comment. de Reb. Henr. IV. Lib. VII. c. 2.) The verses of Damiani on the influence of Hildebrand are too well known to quote.

others.[1] Damiani was also intrusted with a mission to Milan for the same purpose, of which more anon.

Nor did Nicholas confine his efforts to Italy. His legates in other countries endeavored to enforce the canons, and apparently had little difficulty in obtaining the adoption of stringent regulations—the more easily acceded to that they were utterly disregarded. Thus his legate Stephen, early in 1060, held councils at Vienne and Tours, where the prohibitions of the synod of Rome were agreed to, and those who did not at once abandon either their women or their benefices were declared to be degraded forever, and without hope of restitution.[2]

In practice, however, all these measures of reform were scarcely felt except by the lower grades of the ecclesiastical body. The prelates, whose lives were equally flagitious, and far more damaging to the reputation and purity of the church, were enabled virtually to escape. The storm passed beneath them, and with few exceptions persecuted only those who were powerless to oppose anything but passive resistance. The uncompromising zeal of Damiani was not likely to let a temporizing lenity so misplaced and so fatal to the success of the cause remain unrebuked; and he calls to it the attention of Nicholas, stigmatizing the toleration of episcopal sins as an absurdity no longer to be endured.[3] The occasion of this exhortation was a commission intrusted by the pope to Damiani, to hold a friendly conference with the prelates, and to induce them to reform their evil ways without forcing the authorities to the scandal of public proceedings. The fear of such results and the fiery eloquence of Damiani were alike unheeded. The bishops boldly declared themselves unequal

[1] . . . Hic [Nicholaus] ecclesiastica propter
Ad partes illas tractanda negotia venit;
Namque sacerdotes, levitæ, clericus omnis
Hac regione palam se conjugio sociabant.
Concilium celebrans ibi, Papa faventibus illi
Præsulibus centum jus ad synodale vocatis,
Ferre sacerdotes monet, altarisque ministros
Arma pudicitiæ, vocat hos et præcipit esse
Ecclesiæ sponsos, quia non est jure sacerdos
Luxuriæ cultor: sic extirpavit ab illis
Partibus uxores omnino presbyterorum.

(Gulielmi Appuli de Normann. Lib. II.)

[2] Nullam restitutionis in pristino gradu veniam sibi reservasse cognoscat.—Concil. Turon. ann. 1060, c. 6.

[3] Porro autem nos contra divina mandata, personarum acceptores, in minoribus quidam sacerdotibus luxuriæ inquinamenta persequimur; in episcopis autem, quod nimis absurdum est, per silentii tolerantiam veneramur.—Damiani Opusc. xvii. c. 1.

to the task of preserving their chastity, and indifferent to the remote contingency of punishment which had so often been ineffectually threatened that its capacity for exciting apprehension had become exhausted. With all the coarseness of monastic asceticism, Damiani describes the extent of the evil, and its public and unblushing exhibition; the families which grew and increased around the prelates, the relationships which were ostentatiously acknowledged, and the scandals perpetrated in the church of God. In the boldest strain he then incites the pope to action, blames his misplaced clemency, and urges the degradation of all offenders, irrespective of rank, pointing out the impossibility of reforming the priesthood if the bishops are allowed full and undisturbed license.[1]

This shows that even if the machinery of ecclesiastical authority was at work to correct the errors of the plebeian clergy, it was only local and sporadic in its efforts. In some favored dioceses, perhaps, blessed with a puritan bishop, the decrees of the innumerable councils may have been put in force, but in the great body of the church the evil remained unaltered. During this very year, 1060, Nicholas again found it necessary to promulgate a decretal ordering priests to quit their wives or resign their position, and this in terms which prove how utterly futile had been all previous fulminations. He also manifested some consideration for temporal necessities by allowing the discarded wives to live with their husbands under proper supervision.[2]

---

[1] Sanctis eorum femoribus volui seras apponere. Tentavi genitalibus sacerdotum (ut ita loquar) continentiæ fibulas adhibere. . . . Hujus autem capituli nudam saltem promissionem tremulis prolatam labiis difficilius extorquemus. Primo, quia fastigium castitatis attingere se posse desperant; deinde quia synodali se plectendos esse sententia propter luxuriæ vitium non formidant. . . . Si enim malum hoc esset occultum, fuerat fortassis utcunque ferendum; sed, ah scelus! omni pudore postposito, pestis hæc in tantam prorupit audaciam, ut per ora populi volitent loca scortantium, nomina concubinarum, socerorum quoque vocabula simul et socruum . . . postremo, ubi omnis dubietas tollitur, uteri tumentes et pueri vagientes etc. Damiani Opusc. XVII.

[2] Ut presbyteri conjugati aut uxores dimittant, neque cum eis sine testimonio legitimo habitent, aut ecclesiam cum ordinibus suis amittant.

Ut presbyteri et diaconi et subdiaconi et omnes qui canonici sunt uxores non habeant. Et si duxerint, deponantur, et a canonicorum consortio separentur.—Decret. Nicolai PP. c. 3, 4. (Baluz. et Mansi, II. 118-9).

How complete was the disregard of these commands is well illustrated by an epistle which about this time Damiani addressed to the chaplains of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Tuscany. From this we learn that these prominent ecclesiastics openly defended sacerdotal marriage, pronounced it canonical, and were ready to sustain their position in controversy.[1] As Duke Godfrey, with the pious Beatrice his wife, was the leading potentate in Italy, and as his territories were in close proximity to Rome itself, it is evident that the reform so laboriously prosecuted for the previous ten or fifteen years had thus far accomplished little.

Parties were now beginning to define themselves. The reformers, irritated by their want of success, were for more stringent measures, and when the canonical punishments of degradation and excommunication were derided and defied, they were ready, as we shall see hereafter at Milan, to have recourse to the secular arm, and to invoke the aid of sword and lance. The clergy, finding that passive resistance did not wear out the zeal of their persecutors, that the storm promised to be endless, and warned by the fate of the Milanese, were prepared to adopt an aggressive policy, and to seek their safety in revolutionizing the central authority. Perhaps the bishops, whose silence had been secured by the toleration so distasteful to Damiani, began to feel the pressure which he was bringing to bear upon them, and to look forward with apprehension to the unknown evils of the future. If so, they were ready to make common cause with their flocks, and to throw into the scale the immense influence due to their sacred character and temporal power. Thus only the occasion was wanting for an open rupture, and that occasion was furnished by the death of Nicholas in July, 1061.

The factions of the day had alienated a powerful portion of the Roman barons from the papal party as represented by Hildebrand. They at once united with the Lombard clergy

[1] "Dogmatizatis enim sacri ministros altaris jure posse mulieribus permisceri . . . Jam vero quod impudenter asseritis, ministros altaris conjugio debere sociari etc." Damiani Lib. v. Epist. 13.

in addressing a deputation to the young Henry IV., who was still under the tutelage of his mother Agnes, offering him a golden crown and the title of Patrician. The empire was not indisposed to vindicate its old prerogatives, recently annulled by the initial act of Nicholas limiting the right of papal election to the Roman clergy. The overtures were therefore welcomed, and while Anselmo, Bishop of Lucca, was chosen in Rome, October 1st, 1061, assuming the name of Alexander II., on the 28th of the same month a rival election took place in Germany, by which Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, was invested with the perilous dignity of Antipope, and divided the allegiance of Christendom under the title of Honorius II. At least two Italian bishops lent their suffrages to these proceedings—those of Vercelli and Piacenza—as representatives of the Lombard interest; and, if the testimony of Damiani is to be believed, they were men whose dissolute lives fitly represented the license which the reformers asserted to be the principal object of the schismatics.[1]

The married or concubinary clergy were now no longer merely isolated criminals, to be punished more or less severely for infractions of discipline. They were a united body, who boldly proclaimed the correctness of their course, and defended themselves by argument as well as by political intrigues and military operations. They thus became offenders of a far deeper dye, for the principles of the church led irrevocably to the conclusion, paradoxical as it may seem, that he who was guilty of immorality, knowing it to be wrong, was far less criminal than he who married, believing it to be right.[2]

---

[1] Multum sane lætificat quod hujusmodi te pontifices elegerunt, Placentinus videlicet et Vercellinus, qui nimirum multum petulci ac proletarii, sicut norunt disputare de specie feminarum, sic utinam potuissent in eligendo pontifice perspicax habere judicium. —Ad Cadaloum, Lib. I. Epist. 20.

[2] In 1060, Cardinal Humbert of Silva-Candida, in combating the prevailing vice of simony, made use of this argument, reasoning that an immoral priest may be suspended or may be tolerated in hope of amendment, but if he trenches on heresy, there can be neither hope nor mercy for him. (Humbert. Cardinal. adv. Simoniac. Lib. III. c. 43.) Damiani applied this to the defenders of marriage with all his vigor. "Qui nimirum dum corruunt, impudici; dum defendere nituntur, merito judicantur hæretici." (Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. c. 8.) "Nam cum peccat homo, quasi in puteum labitur; cum vero peccata defendit, os putei super eum, ne pateat egressus, urgetur. . . Hoc autem inter peccatorem et hæreticum distat: quia peccator est qui delinquit, hæreticus autem qui peccatum per pravum dogma defendit." (Opusc. XXIV. Præf.)

What before had been a transgression, to be redeemed by penance and repentance, became heresy—an awful word in those fierce times. The odious name of Nicolites was speedily fastened on the schismatics, and the Apocalyptic denunciations of St. John were universally held applicable to them. According to Damiani, they supported Cadalus in the expectation that his success would lead to a modification in the discipline of the church, by which the license to marry would be accorded to all ecclesiastics.[1]

That support was efficient, and it was shortly needed. A revolution suddenly occurred in the politics of Germany. Some dissatisfied nobles and prelates conspired to obtain power by overthrowing the regency of the dowager Empress Agnes. A stroke of daring treachery put them in possession of the person of the boy-king, and the arch-conspirator Hanno of Cologne earned his canonization by reversing at once the policy of the previous administration. In a solemn council held at Osber in 1062, the pretensions of Cadalus were repudiated, and Alexander II. was recognized as pope. Still Cadalus did not despair, but with the aid of the Lombard clergy he raised forces and marched on Rome, relying on his adherents within the walls. They admitted him into the Leonine city, where he threw himself into the impregnable castle of San Angelo. Immediately besieged by the Romans, he resolutely held out for two years, in spite of incredible privations, but at length he sought safety in flight with but a single follower. Meanwhile his party, as a political body, had become broken up, and though Henry, Archbishop of Ravenna, still adhered to him, he was powerless to maintain his claims. Finally, in 1067, Alexander held a council at Mantua, cleared his election of imputed irregularity, and was universally recognized.

During this period, the "Nicolitan" clergy by no means abandoned their tenets. In 1063, as soon as he could feel reasonably assured of his eventual success, Alexander assem-

[1] Qui hactenus dicti sunt Nicolaitæ, amodo vocentur et Cadaloitæ. Sperant enim quia si Cadalous, qui ad hoc gehennaliter æstuat, universali ecclesiæ Antichristi vice præsederit, ad eorum votum luxuriæ frena laxabit.—Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. c. 8.

bled more than a hundred bishops in council at Rome, where he emphatically repeated the canon promulgated in 1059 by Nicholas II., which was not only a proclamation of his fidelity to the cause of reform, but an admission that the legislation of his predecessor had thus far proved fruitless. Damiani, also, labored unceasingly with argument and exhortation, but the vehemence of his declamation only shows how widely extended and how powerful the heresy still was. We shall see hereafter that on a mission to Milan, to reduce the married clergy to obedience, he barely escaped with his life; and on another to Lodi, with the same object, the schismatics, after exhausting argument, threatened him with arms in their hands, and again his saintly dignity came near being enhanced by the honors of martyrdom.[1] Even the restriction upon second marriages was occasionally lost sight of, and such most irregular unions were celebrated with all the ceremony and rejoicings that were customary among laymen in their public nuptials.[2] Yet, notwithstanding the pious fervor which habitually stigmatized the wives as harlots and the husbands as unbridled adulterers, Damiani himself allows us to see that the marriage relation was preserved with thorough fidelity on the part of the women, and was compatible with learning, decency, and strict attention to religious duty by the men. Urging the wives to quit their husbands, he finds it necessary to combat their scruples at breaking what was to them a solemn engagement, fortified with all legal provisions and religious rites, but which he pronounces a frivolous and meaningless ceremony.[3] So, in deploring the habitual practice of

[1] Aliquando cum me Laudensis ecclesiæ tauri pingues armata conspiratione vallarent, ac furioso strepitu vituli multi tumultuantes infrenderent, tanquam ructum fellis in os meum evomere dicentes "Habemus auctoritatem Triburensis . . . concilii, quæ promotis ad ecclesiasticum ordinem ineundi conjugii tribuat facultatem etc."—Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. c. 3.

[2] Obeunte igitur pellice, viduatus adjecit iterare conjugium. Quid plura? Confœderat sibi quasi tabularum lege prostibulum, amicorum atque confinium congregat nuptiali more conventum, epulaturis etiam totius affluentiæ providet apparatum.—Damiani Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. c. 6.

[3] Nec vos terreat quod forte, non dicam fidei sed perfidiæ, vos annulus subarrhavit; quod rata et monimenta dotalia notarius quasi matrimonii jure conscripsit; quod juramentum ad confirmandam quodammodo conjugii copulam utrinque processit. Totum hoc quod videlicet apud alios est conjugii firmamentum, inter vos vanum judicatur et frivolum.—Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. c. 7.

marriage among the Piedmontese clergy, he regards it as the only blot upon men who otherwise appeared to him as a chorus of angels, and as shining lights in the church.[1]

Such considerations as these, however, had no influence in diminishing Damiani's zeal. To Cunibert, Bishop of Turin, whose spiritual flock he thus so much admired, he addressed, about 1065, an epistle reproaching him with his criminal laxity in permitting such transgressions in his diocese, and urging him strenuously to undertake the reform which was so necessary to the purity of the church.[2] Cunibert apparently did not respond to the exhortation, for Damiani proceeded to appeal to the temporal sovereign of Savoy and Piedmont, Adelaide, widow of Humbert-aux-Blanches-Mains, who was then regent. In an elaborate epistle he urges her to attack the wives, while her bishops shall coerce the husbands; but if the latter neglect that duty, he invites her to interpose with the secular power, and thus avert from her house and her country the Divine wrath which must else overtake them.[3] That so strict a churchman as Damiani should not only tolerate but advise the exercise of temporal authority over ecclesiastics, and this, too, in a matter purely ecclesiastical, shows how completely the one idea had become dominant in his mind, since he was willing to sacrifice to it the privileges and immunities for which the church had been struggling, by fair means and foul, for six centuries. It would appear, moreover, that this was not the first time that potentates had been allowed, or had assumed, to exercise power in the matter, for Damiani cautions the Countess Adelaide not to follow the example of some evil-minded magnates and make the pretence of reformation an excuse for spoiling the church.[4]

The zeal of the indefatigable Damiani continued to be as unconquerable as the stubbornness of his adversaries, and some two years later we find him again at work. The date

[1] Præsertim cum et ipsi clerici tui, alias quidem satis honesti, et litterarum studiis sint decenter instructi. Qui dum ad me confluerent, tanquam chorus angelicus et velut conspicuus ecclesiæ videbatur enitere senatus.—Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii. Præf.

[2] Opusc. XVIII. Diss. ii.

[3] Opusc. XVIII. Diss. iii. c. 1, 2.

[4] Opusc. XVIII. Diss. iii. c. 3.

of 1067 is generally attributed to a letter which he addressed to Peter, Cardinal Archpriest of the Lateran, stimulating him to renewed exertions in extirpating this foul disgrace to the church, and arguing at great length in reply to the reasons and excuses with which the clerical Benedicks continued to defend their vile heresy.[1]

In all this controversy, it is instructive to observe how Damiani shows himself to be the pure model of monkish asceticism, untainted with any practical wisdom and unwarped by any earthly considerations. When Hildebrand struggled for sacerdotal celibacy, the shrewdness of the serpent guided the innocence of the dove, and he fought for what he knew would prove a weapon of tremendous power in securing for the church the theocracy which was his pure ideal of human institutions. Not a thought of the worldly advantages consequent upon the reform appears to have crossed the mind of Damiani. To him it was simply a matter of conscience that the ministers of Christ should be adorned with the austere purity through which alone lay the path to salvation. Accordingly the arguments which he employs in his endless disputations carefully avoid the practical reasons which were the principal motive for enforcing celibacy. His main reliance was on the assumption that, as Christ was born of a virgin, so he should be served and the Eucharist be handled only by virgins; and his subsidiary logic consists of extraordinary mystical interpretations of passages in the Jewish history of the Old Testament. Phineas, of course, affords a favorite and oft-repeated argument and illustration. Allusions to Abimelech can also be understood, but the reasoning based upon the tower of Sichem, the linen girdle of Jeremiah, and the catastrophe of Cain and Abel cannot but appear to us as inconsequential as it doubtless was convincing to the followers of the recluse of Avellana.

Notwithstanding all his learning and eloquence, the authority of his name, the lustre of his example, and the tireless efforts of his fiery energy, the cause to which he had devoted

[1] Opusc. XVIII. Diss. i.

himself did not advance. The later years of Alexander's pontificate afford unmistakable indications that the puritan party were becoming discouraged; that they were disposed to abate some of their demands, and were ready to make concessions to the refractory spirit which refused obedience in both principle and practice. Thus, in 1068, a decretal addressed to the authorities of Dalmatia merely threatens suspension until satisfaction is made by those who marry in orders or who refuse to abandon their wives.[1] A somewhat different position was taken with the Venetians. An epistle to the Patriarch of Grado orders the deprivation of those who live in open and undisguised concubinage, but significantly confines its penalties to notorious infractions of the rule, and leaves to God the investigation of such as may be prudently concealed.[2] This manifests a willingness to temporize with offenders whose respect for papal authority would induce them to abstain from defiant disobedience—a pusillanimous tempting of hypocrisy to which the bolder Hildebrand could never have given his consent. A principle of great importance, moreover, was abandoned when, in 1070, Alexander assented to the consecration of the bishop-elect of Le Mans, who was the son of a priest;[3] and when he stated that this was not a precedent for the future, but merely a concession to the evil of the times, his laxity was the more impressive, since he thus admitted his violation of the canons. He sub-

---

[1] Si quis amodo episcopus, presbyter, diaconus feminam acceperit, vel acceptam retinuerit, proprio gradu decidat, usque ad satisfactionem, nec in choro psallentium maneat, nec aliquam portionem de rebus ecclesiasticis habeat.—Alex. II. Epist. 125.—Batthyani (Leg. Eccles. Hungar. I. 407) remarks that this lenity arose from the fact that otherwise divine service would have ceased—"omnes ecclesiæ a divinis officiis vacassent."

It is also observable that subdeacons are not included in this prohibition—a remarkable exemption, since by this time their subjection to the law of celibacy had become a settled rule in the Roman church. I may here remark that I had collected considerable material to trace the varying practice with regard to the subdiaconate, but, as it involves no principle, merely depending in earlier times upon the local custom as to the functions of that grade, the discussion would scarcely repay the space that it would occupy.

[2] De manifestis loquimur; secretorum autem cognitor et judex Deus est.—Alex. II. Epist. 118.

[3] Cenomanensem electum, pro eo quod filius sacerdotis dicitur, si cæteræ virtutes in eum conveniunt, non rejicimus; sed, suffragantibus meritis, patienter suscipimus; non tamen ut hoc pro regula in posterum assumatur, sed ad tempus ecclesiæ periculo consulitur.—Gratian. Dist. LVI. c. 13.

sequently even enlarged this special permission into a general rule, with merely the saving clause that the proposed incumbent should be more worthy than his competitors.[1] Alexander, moreover, maintained in force the ancient rule that no married man could assume monastic vows unless his wife gave her free consent, and entered a convent at the same time.[2] We shall see that in little more than half a century the progress of sacerdotalism rendered the sacrament of marriage powerless in comparison with the vows of religion.

Alexander clearly had not in him the stuff of which persecutors and reformers are made, as, indeed, his merciful liberality in extending over the Jews throughout Europe the protection of the Holy See would sufficiently demonstrate. At length he, too, was released from earthly cares, and on the day after his decease, on April 22, 1073, his place was filled by the man who of all others was the most perfect impersonation of the aggressive churchmanship of the age.

Before proceeding, however, to sketch the stormy pontificate of Hildebrand in its relation to our subject, I must pause to relate the episode of the Milanese clergy. The struggle in that city to enforce the ascetic principles of the reformers gives so perfect an inside view of the reformation itself, and its various stages have been handed down to us with so much minuteness by contemporary writers, that it deserves to be treated by itself as a disconnected whole.

---

[1] Nam pro eo quod filius sacerdotis dicitur, si cæteræ virtutes in eum conveniant, non rejicimus, sed suffragantibus meritis connivendo, eum recipimus.—Alex. II. Epist. 133. Baronius attributes to this the date of 1071.

The contrast between the weakness of Alexander and the unbending rigidity of his successor, Hildebrand, is well shown by comparing this unlimited acceptance of priestly offspring with the refusal of the latter to permit the elevation of a clerk requested by both his bishop and the King of Aragon, simply because he was illegitimate, although in other respects admitted to be unexceptionable. (Gregor. VII. Lib. II. Epist. 50.) We have already seen that even amid the license which prevailed during the early part of the century, some German bishops habitually refused orders to the sons of priests.

[2] Neque vir in monasterio recipiendus est nisi uxor illius femineum monasterium elegerit, aut professa continentia habitum cum festinatione mutaverit.—Alex. II. Epist. 112.

XIII.

MILAN.

In the primitive ages of the church, Milan was at the head of the Northern Vicariate of Italy, as Rome was of the Southern. When the preponderance of the latter city became established, the glory of St. Ambrose shed a lustre over his capital which the true Milanese fondly considered as rivalling that of St. Peter; and the superiority of Rome was grudgingly admitted. In the eleventh century, Milan is found occupying the chief place among the Lombard cities, virtually governed by its archbishop, whose temporal as well as spiritual power rendered his position one of great influence and importance. Yet even at that early period, the republican spirit was already developed, and the city was divided into factions, as the nobles and citizens struggled for alternate supremacy.

Milan was moreover the headquarters of the hidden Manicheism which, after surviving centuries of persecution in the East, was now secretly invading Europe through Bulgaria, and had already attracted the vigilant attention of the church in localities widely separated. Its earliest open manifestation was in Toulouse, in 1018; at Orleans, in 1023, King Robert the Pious caused numerous sectaries to expiate their heresy at the stake, where their unshrinking zeal excited general wonder. At Cambrai and Liége similar measures of repression became necessary in 1025; the Emperor Henry III. endeavored at Goslar, in 1052, to put an end to them with the gallows; and traces of them are to be found at Agen about the year 1100; at Soissons in 1114; at Toulouse in 1118; at Cologne in 1146; at Périgord in 1147; in England in 1166, until we can trace their connection with the Albi-

genses, whose misfortunes fill so black a page in the history of the thirteenth century. Calling themselves Cathari, and stigmatized by true believers under various opprobrious names, of which the commonest was Paterins, their doctrines were those of the ancient Manicheans, their most characteristic tenets being the dualistic principle, and the abhorrence of animal food and of marriage.[1] The prevalence of these

---

[1] I think that there is too much concurrent testimony to this effect to admit a reasonable doubt that the Albigenses were Manicheans. I may possibly return to them hereafter, and therefore will not discuss the point here. As regards the earlier heretics, however, I may mention the following contemporary authorities:—

With respect to those of Toulouse and Orleans, the "Fragmentum Historiæ Aquitaniæ" (Pithœi Hist. Franc. Script. p. 82) says: "Eo tempore decem ex canonicis sanctæ crucis Aurelianis probati sunt esse Manichæi, quos rex Robertus quum nollent ad Catholicam converti fidem, igne cremari jussit. Simili modo apud Tholosam inventi sunt Manichæi, et ipsi igne cremati sunt: et per diversas Occidentis partes Manichæi exorti per latibula sese occultare cœperunt"—and their errors are thus specified in the "Fragmentum Hist. Franc." (Op. cit. p. 84.) "Ii dicebant non posse aliquem in baptismate spiritum sanctum suscipere, et post criminale peccatum veniam non promereri; impositionem manuum nihil posse conferre; nuptias spernebant; episcopum affirmabant non posse ordinare, &c."

In the Artesian synod, held in 1025 to condemn those of Cambrai, the tenth canon is directed against their hostility to marriage (Labbe et Coleti XI. 1177-8).—See also the prefatory letter of Gerard, Bishop of Cambrai—"Conjugatos nequaquam ad regnum pertinere"—(Hartzheim Concil. German. III. 68).

Concerning those executed at Goslar in 1052—"Ibique quosdam hæreticos, inter alia pravi erroris dogmata Manichæa secta omnis esum animalis exsecrantes, consensu cunctorum, ne hæretica scabies latius serpens plures inficeret, in patibulis suspendi jussit." Herman. Contract. ann. 1052.

About 1100 Radulphus Ardens describes the Manicheans who infested the territory of Agen, and recapitulates their doctrines as embracing dualism, abhorrence of animal food and of marriage, rejection of the Old Testament and part of the New, disbelief in the Eucharist, in baptism and resurrection, &c.—"Dicunt enim tantum flagitium esse accedere ad uxorem, quantum ad matrem vel ad filiam." Radulf. Ardent. T. I. P. ii. Homil. 19.

The council of Toulouse, held by Calixtus II. in 1119, adopted a canon condemning those who objected to the Eucharist, priesthood, and legitimate marriage, showing that Manicheism was unextinguished in Languedoc.—Udalr. Babenb. Cod. Lib. II. c. 303.

In 1146 a synod at Cologne tried certain heretics, but before the examination was concluded the unfortunates were seized by the rabble and burned "et quod magis mirabile est, ipsi tormentum ignis non solum cum patientia, sed et cum lætitia introierunt et sustinuerunt." Their Manicheism is manifested by their tenets concerning marriage—"De baptismo nostro non curant: Nuptias damnant. . . . In cibis suis vetant omne genus lactis, et quod inde conficitur, et quidquid ex coitu procreatur."—Narratio Everwini Præpositi. (Hartzheim. III. 353-4.)

The accusations so freely disseminated against them, for the purpose of stirring up popular indignation—such as that in their conventicles, after religious exercises, the lights were extinguished, and the congregation abandoned themselves to indiscriminate excesses—are, of course,

dogmas among the Milanese populace furnishes a probable explanation of much that took place during the contest between Rome and the married priests.

Eriberto di Arzago, who filled the archiepiscopal chair of Milan from 1019 to 1045, was one of the most powerful princes of Italy, and though unsuccessful in the revolt which he organized in 1034 against the Emperor Conrad the Salic, his influence was scarcely diminished after his return from the expulsion which punished his rebellion.[1] At the time of his death, Milan was passing through one of its accustomed civil dissensions. The Motta, or body of burgesses, had quarrelled with the nobles and archbishop, and, under the leadership of an apostate noble named Lanzo, had expelled them from the city—an ejection which was revenged by an unsuccessful siege of three years. At length, in 1044, Lanzo obtained promise of armed assistance from Henry III., which reduced the nobles to subjection, and they returned in peace. Eriberto died the following year, and the election of his successor caused great excitement. Erlembaldo, the popular chief (dominus populi), called the citizens together to nominate candidates, and induced them to select four. One of these was Landolfo Cotta, a notary of the sacred palace, who was brother to Erlembaldo; another was Anselmo di Badagio, Cardinal of the Milanese church, subsequently Bishop of Lucca, and finally, as we have seen, pope, under the name of Alexander II.; the third was Arialdo, of the family of the capitanei of Carinate; and the fourth was Otho, another Milanese cardinal. These four were sent to the Emperor, for him to make his selection; but the faction of the nobles despatched a rival in the person of Guido di Valate, who

without foundation. It is instructive to observe that precisely the same scandals were asserted of the early Christians (Tertull. Apologet. c. vii.)—so little does human nature change with the lapse of centuries.

[1] It is scarcely worth while to more than refer to the assertion of medieval Milanese chroniclers that Eriberto married a noble lady named Useria. Puricelli (apud Muratori Script. Rer. Ital. V. 122-3) has sufficiently demonstrated its improbability. He does not, however, allude to the argument derivable from the fact that Eriberto's name is signed to the proceedings of the council of Pavia in 1022, where priestly marriage was so severely condemned.

already held the appointment of secretary from the emperor, and who had recommended himself by zealous services, which now claimed their reward. Henry gave the coveted dignity to Guido, to the great surprise and indignation of the popular nominees. Their expostulations were unavailing, and both parties returned—Guido to assume an office harassed by the opposition of the people on whom he had been forced, and the disappointed candidates to brood over the wrongs which had deprived them of the splendid prize.[1] How thoroughly three of those candidates avenged themselves we shall shortly see.

It is observable from this transaction that Milan was completely independent of Rome. The sovereignty of the distant emperor, absorbed in the dissensions of Germany, could press but lightly on the powerful and turbulent city. Rome was not even thought of in creating the archbishop, whose spiritual and temporal power were granted by the imperial investiture. But when, soon after, the German popes had rescued the papacy from the contempt into which it had fallen, its domination over Milan became a necessary step in its progress to universal supremacy, and lent additional vigor to the desires of the reformers to restore the forgotten discipline of the church in a city so influential.

Marriage, at this time, was a universal privilege of the Milanese clergy. If we may believe the testimony of one who was almost a contemporary, the candidate for holy orders was strictly examined as to his learning and morals. These being satisfactory, he was, if unmarried, asked if he had strength to remain so, and if he replied in the negative, he could forthwith betroth himself and marry with the ordinary legal and religious ceremonies. Second marriages were not allowed, and the Levitical law as to the virginity of the bride was strictly observed. Those who remained single were objects of suspicion, while those who performed their sacred functions duly, and brought up their families in the fear of God, were respected and obeyed by their flocks as

[1] Gualvaneo Flamma, Chron. Mag. c. 763.—Landulph. Senior. Mediolan. Hist. Lib. III. c. 2.

pastors should be, and were eligible to the episcopate. Concubinage was regarded as a heinous offence, and those guilty of it were debarred from all promotion[1]—in this reversing the estimate placed upon the respective infractions of discipline by the Roman church.

The see of Lucca consoled Anselmo di Badagio for the failure of his aspirations towards the archiepiscopate, but the other disappointed candidates for a while cherished their mortification in silence. Landolfo and Arialdo were inclined to asceticism, and a visit which Anselmo paid to Milan stimulated them to undertake a reform which could not but prove

[1] Studiose singulos sciscitantes, si cantu, lectione, ac aliis bonis moribus ornati fuissent, necnon si essent sine crimine, si unius uxoris viri, aut virgines, aut si in virginitate permanere possent, aut cum uxore degere valerent. Si autem in virginitate, uxorem aliquis non habens, permanere non posse fateretur . . . continuo in testimonio bonorum virorum, secundum legem humanam, licentia a pontifice accepta, uxor tamen virgo illi desponsabatur; unde Apostolus "qui se non continet nubat." Et unusquisque, excepta causa fornicationis, suam uxorem habebat, qua accepta, non minus venerabatur et amabatur, quam si sine uxore idem degeret; quoniam qui sine uxore vitam in sacerdotio agere videbantur, viris uxoratis ordinis utriusque, ne ab illis inhoneste circumvenirentur, semper suspecti erant. Usus enim ecclesiæ totius, tam Latinæ quam Græcæ, per tempora multa sic se habebat. Sacerdos qui unius uxoris vir inveniebatur, ac suæ domui ac familiæ bene profuisse a fidelibus compertus fuisset, ad episcopatum summa cum devotione multis fidelibus laudantibus, promovebatur. Quicunque enim ex clero concubinarius inveniebatur, cujuscunque ordinis foret, ultra non promovebatur; judicantes gravissimum peccatum esse.—Landulf. Senior. L. II. c. 35.

The writer was a partisan of the married clergy; but his description is confirmed by the testimony which Damiani bears (ante, p. 212) to the good character of the married clergy of Savoy. Still, there may be some truth in the counter statement of an opponent, S. Andrea of Vallombrosa, a disciple of S. Arialdo—"Nam alii cum canibus et accipitribus huc illucque pervagantes, suum venationi lubricæ famulatum tradebant; alii vero tabernarii et nequam villici, alii impii usurarii existebant; cuncti fere aut cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis, suam ignominiose ducebant vitam . . . Universi sic sub simoniaca hæresi tenebantur impliciti."—Vit. S. Arialdi, c. I. No. 7.

The Milanese defended their position not only by Scripture texts, but also by a decision which they affirmed was rendered by St. Ambrose, to whom the question of the permissibility of sacerdotal marriage had been referred by the pope and bishops. Of course the story was without foundation, but, singularly enough, the Milanese clung to it long after the subject had ceased to be open to discussion. Puricelli has investigated the matter with his usual conscientious industry, and shows the repetition of the legend not only by Datius and Landulfus Senior in the eleventh century, but by Gualvaneo Flamma in the thirteenth, by the author of the Flos Florum, by Pietro Agario and by Bernardino Corio in the fifteenth, and by Tristano Calco in the sixteenth century—the two latter falling in consequence under the revision of the Index. (Script. Rer. Ital. V. 122–3.)

a source of endless trouble to their successful competitor Guido. Leaders of the people, and masters of the art of inflaming popular passion, they caused assemblies to be held in which they inveighed in the strongest terms against the irregularities of the clergy, whose sacraments they stigmatized as the foulest corruption, whose churches they denounced as dens of prostitution, and whose property they assumed to be legitimate prey for the spoiler. Guido in vain endeavored to repress the agitation thus produced, argued in favor of the married clergy, and was sustained by the party of the nobles. In a city like Milan, it was not difficult to excite a tumult. Besides the influence of the perennial factions, ever eager to tear each other's throats, the populace were ready to yield to the eloquence of the bold reformers. The Manichean heresy had taken deep root among the masses, who, afraid to declare their damnable doctrines openly, were rejoiced in any way to undermine the authority of the priesthood, and whose views were in accordance with those now broached on the subject of marriage.[1] While these motives would urge forward the serious portion of the citizens, the unthinking rabble would naturally be prompt to embrace any cause which promised a prospect of disturbance and plunder. Party lines were quickly drawn, and if the reformers were able to revive a forgotten scandal by stigmatizing their opponents as Nicolites, the party of the clergy and the nobles had their revenge. The meetings of Landolfo and Arialdo were held in a spot called Pataria, whence they soon became known as Paterins—a term which for centuries continued to be of fearful import, as synonymous with Manicheans.[2]

---

[1] Milan long retained its bad preeminence as a nest of heresy. When Frederic II., in 1236, delayed his promised crusade to subdue the rebellious Milanese, his excuse to the pope was that he ought not to leave behind him unbelievers worse than those whom he would seek across the seas. "Cum . . . jam zizania segetes incipiant suffocare per civitates Italicas, præcipue Mediolanensium, transire ad Saracenos hostiliter expugnandos, et illos incorrectos pertransire, esset vulnus infixo ferro fomentis superficialibus delinire, et cicatricem deformam non medelam procurare," and Matthew Paris calls Milan "omnium hæreticorum, Paterinorum, Luciferanorum, Publicanorum, Albigensium, Usurariorum refugium ac receptaculum."—Hist. Angl. ann. 1236.

[2] Arnulf. Gest. Archiep. Mediolan. Lib. III. c. 9.—Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 10.

Benzo, the uncompromising imperialist, always alludes to the papal

Matters could not long remain in this condition. During an altercation in the church of San Celso, a hot-headed priest assaulted Arialdo, whom Landolfo extricated from the crowd at considerable personal risk. Thereupon the reformers called the people together in the theatre; inflammatory addresses speedily wrought up the popular passions to ungovernable fury; the priests were turned out of the churches, their houses sacked, their persons maltreated, and they were finally obliged to purchase a suspension of oppression by subscribing a paper binding themselves to chastity. The nobles, also finding themselves in danger, so far from being able to protect the clergy, sought safety in flight; while the rabble, having exhausted the support derivable from intramural plunder, spread over the country and repeated in the villages the devastations of priestly property which they had committed in Milan.[1]

The suffering clergy applied for relief to the bishops of the province, and finding none, at length appealed to Rome itself. Stephen IX., who then filled the papal chair, authorized the archbishop to hold a synod for the purpose of restoring peace. It met, in the early part of 1058, at Fontaneto, near Novara. The prelates were unanimous in sustaining their clergy, and the reformers Landolfo and Arialdo were excommunicated without a dissentient voice. They disregarded the interdict, however, redoubled their efforts with the people, whom they bound by a solemn oath to adhere to the sacred cause, and even forced the priests to join in the compact. Arialdo then proceeded to Rome, where he developed in full the objects of the movement, and pointed out that it would not only result in restoring purity and discipline, but might also be used to break down the dangerous independence of the Ambrosian church and reduce it to the subjection which it owed and refused to the Apostolic see. The arguments were convincing,

party when he speaks of the Patarini—that term not having yet assumed the significance which it subsequently obtained. He accuses Anselmo di Badagio of being the author of the troubles—"primitus Patariam invenit, arcanum domini sui archiepiscopi cui juraverat inimicis aperuit. Abusus est etiam quadam monacha, cum Landulfino suo proprio consobrino."—Comment de Reb. Henric. IV. Lib. VII. c. 2.—The latter accusation can no doubt be set down as one of the baseless scandals so freely cast from one party to the other in those turbulent times.

[1] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 10.—Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 9.

the excommunication was removed, and Arialdo returned to his work with zeal more fiery than ever.[1]

Meanwhile the nobles had taken heart and offered armed resistance to the Patarian faction, resulting in incessant fights and increasing bloodshed. Nicholas II., who by this time had succeeded Stephen IX., sent Hildebrand and Anselmo di Badagio on a mission to Milan, with instructions to allay the passions which led to such deplorable results, and, while endeavoring to uphold the rules of discipline, to pacify if possible the people, and to arrange such a basis of reconciliation as might restore peace to the distracted church. The milder Anselmo might perhaps have succeeded in this errand of charity, but the unbending Hildebrand was not likely to listen to aught but unconditional subjection to the canons and to Rome. The quarrel therefore waxed fiercer and deadlier; the turmoil became more inextricable as daily combats embittered both parties, and the missionaries departed, leaving Guido with scarcely a shadow of authority over his rebellious city, and the seeds of discord more widely scattered and more deeply planted than ever.[2]

Again, in 1059, a papal legation was sent with full authority to force the recalcitrant clergy to submission. Anselmo again returned to his native city, accompanied this time by Peter Damiani. Their presence and their pretensions caused a fearful tumult, in which Damiani and Landolfo were in deadly peril.[3] An assembly was at length held, where the legates asserted the papal pre-eminence by taking the place of honor, to the general indignation of the Milanese, who did not relish the degradation of their archbishop before the representatives of a foreign prelate. The question in debate hinged upon the authority of Rome, which was stoutly denied

[1] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 11.

[2] Tantam enim ruinam et dissidium atque discordiam pessimam seminarunt quantam olim Naburzadam.—Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 13.

[3] "Quod Mediolanensis civitas tunc in seditionem versa, repentinum utique nostrum minabatur interitum."—The peril must have been serious, for even Landolfo, whose nerves were seasoned by constant civic strife, made a vow to become a monk if he should escape—his delay in fulfilling which, after the danger was past, called forth the urgent remonstrances of Damiani.—Damiani Opusc. XLII. cap. 1.

by the Lombards.[1] Peter, in a long oration, showed that Rome had christianized the rest of Western Europe, and that St. Ambrose himself had invoked the papal power as superior to his own. The pride of the Ambrosian church gave way, and the supremacy of St. Peter was finally acknowledged. This granted, the rest followed as a matter of course, and the heretical errors of simony and marriage had to be abandoned. Peter thought himself merciful in his triumph; where all alike were guilty, punishment for the past became impossible, and he restricted himself to provisions for the future. The archbishop and his clergy signed a paper expressing their contrition in the most humiliating terms, and binding themselves and their successors, under penalty of eternal damnation, to render simony thereafter unknown. As regards the Nicolitan heresy, a significant caution was observed, for its extirpation was only promised in as far as it should be found possible;[2] and when Arnolfo, the nephew of Guido, swore for his uncle that in future monks should be the only persons ordained without a preliminary oath that no money had been paid or received, it is observable that the maintenance of chastity was discreetly passed over. Then the archbishop and his clergy swore, in the hands of Damiani at the altar, their faithful observance of the pledge to destroy the simoniacal and Nicolitan heresies, under penalties the most tremendous; and Guido, prostrating himself on the ground, humbly deplored his negligence in the past, imposed on himself a penitence of a hundred years (redeemable at a certain sum per annum), and vowed a pilgrimage to St. Iago di Compostella to atone for his sin. Not content with this, Damiani mounted the pulpit and made both priests and people take an oath to extirpate both heresies; and the clergy, before being reconciled to the church and restored to the positions which they had forfeited by their contumacy, were forced

[1] Their defence was "non debere Ambrosianam ecclesiam Romanis legibus subjacere, nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano pontifici in illa sede competere. — Damiani Opusc. v.

[2] Nicolaitarum quoque hæresim nihilominus condemnamus, et non modo presbyteros sed et diaconos et subdiaconos ab uxorum et concubinarum fœdo consortio, nostris studiis, in quantum nobis possibilitas fuerit, sub eodem quo supra testimonio arcendos esse promittimus.—Damiani Opusc. v.

individually under oath to anathematize all heresies, and especially those of simony and marriage. A penance was imposed on every one involved in simony—no allusion being made to those who were married; some, who were manifestly unfit for their sacred duties, were suspended, and the legates returned, after accomplishing the objects of their mission, most triumphantly.[1]

If Damiani fancied that argumentative subtlety and paper promises, even though solemnly given in the name of God and all his saints, were to settle a question involving the fiercest passions of men, the cloistered saint knew little of human nature. The pride of the Milanese was deeply wounded by a subjection to Rome, unknown for many generations, and ill endured by men who gloried in the ancient dignity of the Ambrosian church. When, therefore, in 1061, their townsman, Anselmo di Badagio, was elevated from the episcopate of Lucca to that of the Holy See, Milan, in common with the rest of Lombardy, eagerly embraced the cause of the anti-pope Cadalus. One of Anselmo's earliest acts as pope was to address a letter to the Milanese, affectionately exhorting them to amendment, and expressing a hope that his pontificate was to witness the extinction of the heresies which had distracted and degraded the church.[2] He could scarcely have entertained the confidence which he expressed, for though Landolfo and Arialdo endeavored, with unabated zeal, to enforce the canons, the Nicolitan faction, regardless of the pledges given to Damiani, maintained the contest with equal stubbornness. Landolfo, on a mission to Rome, was attacked at Piacenza, wounded, and forced to return. Soon after this he was prostrated by a pulmonary affection, lost his voice, and died after a lingering illness of two years.[3] The Paterins, thus deprived of their leader,

[1] Damiani op. cit.—Damiani's account is addressed to the pope, who, he seems to think, may be dissatisfied with the lenity which permitted heretics to return to the church on such easy terms, and he is at some pains to justify himself for his mildness.

[2] Alexand. II. Epist. 1.

[3] His followers claimed for him the honors of martyrdom. He was reverenced accordingly, and Muratori gravely asserts that the evidence in his favor is indubitable.

found another in the person of his brother, Erlembaldo, just then returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Gifted with every knightly accomplishment, valiant in war, sagacious in council, of a commanding presence, and endowed with eloquence to sway the passions of the multitude, he was the impersonation of a popular leader; while, in the cause to which he was now called, his deep religious convictions lent an attraction which was heightened by an unpardonable personal wrong—for, early in life, he had been betrothed to a young girl, who fell under the seductive wiles of an unprincipled priest. Yet Erlembaldo did not embark in civil strife without a hesitation which reflects honor on his character. He refused, at first, but was persuaded to seek counsel of the pope. Arialdo accompanied him to Rome, and urged Alexander to adopt him as military leader in the war against sacerdotal marriage. Alexander, too, shrank from the responsibility of authorizing war in such a cause, but Arialdo sought the assistance of Hildebrand, and the scruples of the pope were removed by the prospect of asserting the authority of Rome. When Erlembaldo heard the commands of the Vicegerent of God, and received a sacred banner to be borne through the expected battles, he could no longer doubt as to his duty. He accepted the mission, and to it he devoted his life.[1]

Returning to Milan with this sanction, the zeal and military experience of Erlembaldo soon made themselves felt. He enrolled secretly all the young men whom persuasion, threats, or promises could induce to follow his standard, and thus supported by an organized body, he endeavored to enforce the decretals inhibiting simony and marriage. All recalcitrant priests presuming to officiate were torn from the altars. The riots, which seem to have ceased for a time, became, with varying fortune, more numerous and alarming

---

[1] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 13, 14.—Landolf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 13, 14.

To this period may probably be attributed two epistles of Alexander II. (Epist. 93, 94) to the clergy and people of Milan, informing both parties that a Roman synod had recently prohibited incontinent priests from officiating, and had ordered the people not to attend at their ministrations. He adds that those who abandon their functions to cleave to their wives, must be forced also to give up their benefices.

than ever, and the persecution of the clergy was greatly intensified. Guido, at length, after vainly endeavoring to uphold and protect the sacerdotal body, was driven from the city, and the popular reformers seemed at last to have carried their point, after a civil war which had now lasted, with short intervals, for nearly ten years.[1]

As though to confirm the victory, Arialdo, in 1066, at a council held in Rome, procured the excommunication of his archbishop, Guido, with which he returned triumphantly to Milan. Some popular revolution among the factions, however, had brought Guido back to the city, where he maintained a precarious position. Disregarding the excommunication, he resolved to officiate in the solemn services of Pentecost (June 4th, 1066), and, braving all opposition, he appeared at the altar. Excited to fury at this unexpected contumacy, the popular party, led on by Erlembaldo and Arialdo, attacked him in the church; his followers rallied in his defence, but, after a stubborn fight, were forced to leave him in the hands of his enemies, by whom he was beaten nearly to death. Shocked by this outrage, many of the citizens abandoned the party of the reformers, and the nobles, taking advantage of the revulsion of feeling, again had the ascendency. Arialdo was obliged to fly for his life, and endeavored to conceal himself, travelling only by night. The avengers were close upon his track, however; he was betrayed by a priest, and the satellites of Guido carried him to an island in Lago Maggiore, where (June 27th, 1066) they put him to death, with all the refinement of cruelty. A series of miracles prevented the attempted concealment of the martyred corpse, and ten months later Erlembaldo recovered it, fresh and untouched by corruption. Carried to Milan, it was interred with stately pomp in the monastery of San Celso, where the miracles wrought at his tomb proclaimed the sanctity of him who had died for the faith, and ere long his canonization formally enrolled St. Arialdo among the saints of Heaven.[2]

---

[1] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 15.—Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 15.—Arnulfus alludes to a dispute concerning the litany, which complicated the quarrel. The troubles even invaded the monasteries, for Erlembaldo procured the forcible ejection of sundry abbots appointed by Guido.

[2] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 18.—Landulf. Lib. III. c. 29. In 1090 the remains

Erlembaldo for a while remained quiet, but in secret he reconstructed his party, and, undaunted by the fate of his associate, he suddenly renewed the civil strife. Successful at first, he forced the clergy to bind themselves by fresh oaths, and expelled Guido again from the city; but the clerical party recovered its strength, and the war was carried on with varying fortune, until, in 1067, Alexander II. despatched another legation with orders to harmonize, if possible, the endless strife. Cardinals Mainardo and Minuto appear to have been sincerely desirous of reconciling the angry factions. They proclaimed an amnesty and promulgated a constitution which protected the clergy from abuse and persecution, and though they decreed suspension for married and concubinary priests, they required that none should be punished on suspicion, and laid down such regulations for trial as gave great prospect of immunity.[1]

Moderate men of both parties, wearied with the unceasing strife, eagerly hailed the accommodation, and rejoiced at the prospect of peace. Erlembaldo, however, was dissatisfied, and, visiting Rome, soon aroused a fresh cause of quarrel. At the suggestion of Hildebrand he started the portentous question of investitures, and on his return he endeavored to force both clergy and laity to take an oath that in future their archbishops should apply to the pope, and not to the emperor,

of St. Arialdo were translated by Archbishop Anselmo IV. to the church of St. Denis, and Muratori quotes from Alciati a curious statement to the effect that in 1508 Louis XII. removed them to Paris in mistake for the relics of St. Denis the Areopagite, the Parisians in his time still venerating them as those of the latter saint.

About the time of Arialdo's martyrdom, Cremona must have been won over to the cause of the reformers, for in 1066 we find Alexander II. addressing the "religiosis clericis et fidelibus laicis" of that city, thanking God that they had been moved to extirpate the simoniacal and Nicolitan heresies, and commanding that in future all those in orders who contaminated themselves with women should be degraded.—Alex. II. Epist. 36.

[1] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 18, 19. There must have been pressing necessity for some such regulations, if we may believe the assertion of Landolfo that when Erlembaldo found his funds running low he appointed thirty judges to examine all ecclesiastics in holy orders. Those who could not procure twelve conjurators to swear with them on the Gospels as to their immaculate purity since ordination, had all their property confiscated. At the same time the rabble used to prowl around at night and throw female ornaments and articles of apparel into priests' houses; then, breaking open the doors, they would proclaim the criminality of the inmates, and plunder everything that they could lay their hands on. (Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 20.)

for confirmation—thus securing a chief devoted to the cause of reform. Guido sought to anticipate this movement, and, in 1069, old and wearied with the unending contention, he resigned his archbishopric to the subdeacon Gotefrido, who had long been his principal adviser. The latter procured his confirmation from Henry IV., but the Milanese, defrauded of their electoral privileges, refused to acknowledge him. Erlembaldo was not slow to take advantage of the popular feeling; a tumult was readily excited, and Gotefrido was glad to escape at night from the rebellious city. Guido added fresh confusion by asserting that he had been deceived by Gotefrido, and by endeavoring to resume his see. To this end he made a treaty with Erlembaldo, but that crafty chieftain, obtaining possession of his person, imprisoned him in the monastery of San Celso, and then proceeded to besiege Gotefrido in Castiglione. The new archbishop defended himself bravely, until, in 1071, Erlembaldo was forced to abandon the enterprise.[1]

Meanwhile another aspirant, Azzo, installed by Erlembaldo, fared no better than his rivals. The people, unbidden guests, rushed in to his inaugural banquet, unearthed him in the corner where he had hidden himself, dragged him by the heels into the street, and, placing him in a pulpit, forced him to swear that he would make no further pretensions to the see; while the papal legate, who had presided over the solemnities, was glad to escape with his life. Azzo, however, was recognized by Rome; he was released from the obligation of his oath, and money was furnished to enable him to maintain his quarrel. On the other hand, Henry IV. sent assistance to Gotefrido, which enabled him to carry on the campaign with some vigor; but he was unable to obtain a foothold in Milan. Azzo fled to Rome, and the city remained without an archbishop and under an interdict launched in 1074 by Hildebrand, who, in April, 1073, had succeeded to Alexander II.[2]

The Milanese were disposed to disregard the interdict, while Erlembaldo, who now held undisputed command of

[1] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.—Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 28.

[2] Arnulf. Lib. III. c. 23; Lib. IV. c. 2, 3, 4.

the city—and, indeed, of almost all Lombardy—used every effort to enforce respect for it. At length, at Easter, 1075, he resolutely prevented the solemnization of the sacred rites, and cast out the holy chrism which the priests had persisted in preparing. This roused the populace to resistance; both parties flew to arms, and, at the very commencement of the fray, Erlembaldo fell mortally wounded under the shade of the papal banner, which was still the emblem of his cause, and in virtue of which he was canonized as a saintly martyr to the faith. The Milanese, sinking all past animosities, united in promptly sending an embassy to Henry IV. to congratulate him on the death of the common enemy, and to request the appointment of another archbishop. To this he responded by nominating Tedaldo, who was duly consecrated, notwithstanding the pretensions of his competitors, Gotefrido and Azzo. Tedaldo was the leader of the disaffected bishops who, at the synod of Pavia, in 1076, excommunicated Pope Gregory himself; and though, after the interview at Canosa, in 1077, the Lombards, disgusted with Henry's voluntary humiliation before that papal power which they had learned to despise, abandoned the imperialists for a time, yet Tedaldo kept his seat until his death in 1085, notwithstanding the repeated excommunications launched against him by Gregory.[1]

In the later years of this long and bloody controversy, it is evident that the political element greatly complicated the religious ground of quarrel—that pope and emperor without made use of burgher and noble within, and that the latter took sides, as respects simony and sacerdotal marriage, to further the ends of individual ambition. Still, the disputed points of discipline were the ostensible causes of the struggle, whatever might be the private aims of civic factions, or of imperial and papal rivals; and these points gave a keener purpose to the strife, and furnished inexhausti-

[1] Arnulf. Lib. IV., Lib. V. c. 2, 5, 9.—Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 29, Lib. IV. c. 2.—Lambert. Schafnab. ann. 1077. Erlembaldo was canonized by Urban II. towards the end of the century. Muratori (Annal. ann. 1085) styles Tedaldo "capo e colonna maestra degli Scismatici di Lombardia."

ble recruits to each contending faction. Thus, about the year 1070, a conference took place at Milan between priests deputed by both sides, in which the question of marriage was argued as earnestly as though it were the source of all the intestine troubles.[1] So when, in 1073, Gregory, shortly after his accession, addressed letters to Erlembaldo urging him to persevere in the good work, and to the Lombard bishops commanding them to assist him, the object of his labors is assumed to be the extirpation of simony and the restoration of the clergy to the purity becoming their sacred office.[2] And when, in 1076, the schismatic bishops, under the lead of Tedaldo of Milan, met in council at Pavia to renounce all obedience to Gregory, one of the articles of accusation brought against him was, that he separated husbands and wives, and preferred licentiousness to marriage; thus giving, in their grounds of complaint against him, especial prominence to his zeal for the introduction of celibacy.[3]

Yet at last the question of sacerdotal marriage sank out of sight when the civil broils of Milan merged into the European quarrel between the empire and papacy. When, in 1093, Henry IV. was driven out of Italy by the revolt of his son Conrad, and the latter was created King of Lombardy by Urban II. and the Countess Matilda, the dependence of the young king upon the pope rendered impossible any further open defiance of the laws of the church, and public marriage there, as elsewhere, was doubtless replaced by secret immorality.[4] The triumph of the sacerdotal party was consummated at the great council of Piacenza, held by Urban II. in February, 1095, to which prelates flocked from every part of

---

[1] Landulf. Sen. Lib. III. c. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

[2] Gregor. II. Regist. Lib. I. Epist. 25, 26, 27.

[3] Maritos ab uxoribus separat; scorta pudicis conjugibus; stupra, incestus, adulteria, casto præfert connubio; populares adversus sacerdotes, vulgus adversum episcopos concitat. —Comit. Ticinens. ann. 1076. (Goldast. III. 314.)

[4] To this period is no doubt referable a fragment of a decretal addressed by Urban II. to Anselmo, Archbishop of Milan, giving him instructions as to the ceremony of restoring to the church the ecclesiastics who were to be reconciled (Ivon. Decret. P. VI. c. 407—Urbani II. Epist. 74)—showing that Milan had submitted, and that her clergy were forced to seek absolution and obey the canons. It was this revolution in Lombardy that drove the anti-pope Clement III. from Rome.

Europe, and the people gathered in immense numbers. If, as the chronicler informs us, four thousand ecclesiastics and thirty thousand laymen assembled on the occasion, and the sessions were held in the open air because no building could contain the thronging masses, we may reasonably attribute so unprecedented an assemblage to the wild religious ardor which was about to culminate in the first Crusade. That council condemned Nicolitism in the most absolute and peremptory manner, and there is no reason to believe that the power of so formidable a demonstration was lightly disregarded.[1]

It is not to be supposed that the story of Milan is an exceptional one. Perhaps the factions there were fiercer, and the contest more prolonged, than elsewhere; but the same causes were at work in other Italian cities, and were attended with results similar in character, if differing in intensity. In Lucca, for instance, in 1051, we find Leo IX., when confirming the possessions of the canons of the cathedral church of St. Martin, expressing the hope that God would liberate them from their married priests, who dissipated the property of the foundation, while utterly unworthy of partaking of the divine oblation.[2] His desire that they would live in concord and harmony with their bishop was, however, not destined to be long gratified. When St. Anselmo, in 1073, accepted the episcopate at the urgent request of his friend, Gregory VII., he labored for years to reform the dissolute lives of his clergy, until at length finding threats and expostulations alike ineffectual, he implored the intervention of the Countess Matilda. Even the sovereign of Tuscany was unable to accomplish the submission of the recalcitrant

[1] Item heresis Nicolaitarum, id est incontinentium subdiaconorum, diaconorum et præcipue sacerdotum inretractabiliter damnata est, ut deinceps de officio se non intromittant qui in illa heresi manere non formidant; nec populus eorum officia ullo modo recipiat, si ipsi Nicolaitæ contra hæc interdicta ministrare præsumant. — Bernald. Constant. ann. 1095.

The very terms of this canon, however, show that Nicolitism was still an existing fact.

[2] Et si Dominus Deus humilitatem ecclesiæ suæ misericorditer respiciens ecclesiam vestram ab uxoratis presbyteris et omnino a Dominica oblatione repellendis, liberaverit, pro incestis casti, pro immundis mundi restituantur, etc.—S. Leon. IX. Epist. 55.

ecclesiastics, and in 1074 St. Anselmo took advantage of the presence of Gregory VII. in the city to invoke his interposition. The resolute pope, finding his personal efforts fruitless, summoned the offenders to trial before a court of bishops, presided over by the celebrated Pietro Igneo, Bishop of Albano. Being condemned and excommunicated, they resisted by force of arms, excited a rebellion in the city, drove out St. Anselmo, and joined the imperialists; and when, in 1081, Guiberto the anti-pope came to Italy, he consecrated their leader, a sub-deacon named Pietro, as bishop, in place of the exiled martyr.[1] In Piacenza, the schismatics were guilty of excesses more deplorable, for, not content with deposing Bonizo, who had been set over them as bishop, they gave him the fullest honors of martyrdom by plucking out his eyes and then cutting him to pieces.[2] Similar troubles occurred in Parma, Modena, Reggio, and Pistoia, and it was not until the death of their respective schismatic bishops that the Countess Matilda was able to recover her authority in those places.

---

[1] Vit. S. Anselmi Lucensis.—In his collection of canons, St. Anselmo is careful to accumulate authorities justifying his course, and condemning his antagonists.—S. Anselmi Collect. Canon. Lib. IX. c. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10.

[2] Bernald. Constant. ann. 1089.

XIV.

HILDEBRAND.

ALEXANDER II. died April 21st, 1073, and within twenty-four hours the Archdeacon Hildebrand was elected as his successor—a promptitude and unanimity which showed the general recognition of his fitness for the high office. For more than twenty years he had been the power behind the throne which had directed and given purpose to the policy of Rome, and the assertion of his biographers that his disinclination for the position had alone prevented his previous elevation may readily be believed. Whether he was forced on the present occasion to assent to the choice of the conclave, against his earnest resistance, is, however, more problematical.

Hildebrand was the son of a poor carpenter of Soano, and had been trained in the ascetic monachism of Cluny. Gifted by nature with rare sagacity, unbending will, and indomitable spirit, imbued with the principles of the False Decretals, and firmly believing in the wildest pretensions of ecclesiastical supremacy, he had conceived a scheme of hierarchical autocracy, which he regarded not only as the imprescriptible right of the church, but also as the perfection of human institutions. To the realization of this ideal he devoted his life with a fiery zeal and unshaken purpose that shrank from no obstacles, and to it he was ready to sacrifice not only the men who stood in his path, but also the immutable principles of truth and justice. All considerations were as dross compared with the one object, and his own well-being and life were ventured as recklessly as the peace of the world.

Such a man could comprehend the full importance of the rule of celibacy, not alone as essential to the ascetic purity of the church, but as necessary to the theocratic structure which he proposed to elevate on the ruins of kingdoms and

empires. The priest must be a man set apart from his fellows, consecrated to the one holy purpose, reverenced by the world as a being superior to human passions and frailties, devoted, soul and body, to the interests of the church, and distracted by no temporal cares and anxieties foreign to the welfare of the great corporation of which he was a member. We have seen the strenuous efforts which, for a quarter of a century, successive pontiffs had unceasingly made to accomplish this reform, and we have also seen how fruitlessly those efforts were expended on the passive or active resistance of the priesthood. When Gregory took the reins into his vigorous grasp, the change at once became manifest, and the zeal of his predecessors appears lukewarm by comparison. He had had ample leisure to note how powerless was the ordinary machinery to accomplish the result, and he hesitated not to call to his assistance external powers; to give to the secular princes authority over ecclesiastics at which enthusiastic churchmen stood aghast, and to risk apparently the most precious immunities of the church to secure the result. The end proved his wisdom, for the power delegated to the laity for a special object was readily recalled, after it had served its purpose, and the rebellious clerks were subdued and rendered fit instruments in the lapse of time for humiliating their temporary masters.

To Gregory, as we must hereafter call him, was generally attributed, by his immediate successors, the honor of introducing, or of enforcing, the absolute chastity of the ministers of the altar. Some chroniclers mention Alexander II. or Leo IX. as participating in the struggle, but to his vigorous management its success was popularly conceded.[1] He earned

---

[1] Cujus prudentia, non solum in Italia sed etiam in Theutonicis partibus refrenata est sacerdotum incontinentia, scilicet quod prædecessores ejus in Italia prohibuerunt, hoc ipse in aliis ecclesiæ catholicæ partibus prohibere studiosus attemptavit.—Bertold. Constant. ann. 1073.—Also Bernald. Constant. ann. 1073.

Gregorius . . . connubia clericorum a subdiaconatu et supra, per totum orbem Romanum edicto decretali, in æternum prohibuit.—Gotefrid. Viterb. Chron. P. XVII.

Sed et datis decretis clericorum a subdiaconatu et supra connubia in toto orbe Romano cohibuit.—Otton. Frisingen. Chron. Lib. VI. c. 34.

Eodem quoque tempore canones antiqui de continentia ministrorum sacri altaris innovari novis accedentibus præceptis cœperunt, per hunc Urbanum Papam et prædecessores suos Gregorium VII. et Nicholaum II. atque

the tribute thoroughly, for during his whole pontificate it seems to have been ever present to his thoughts, and whatever were his preoccupations in his fearful struggle with the empire, on which he risked the present and the future of the papacy, he always had leisure to attend to the one subject in its minutest details and in the remotest corner of Christendom.

Perhaps in this there may have been an unrecognized motive urging him to action. Sprung from so humble an origin, he may have sympathized with the democratic element, which rendered the church the only career open to peasant and plebeian. He may have felt that this was a source of hidden power, as binding the populations more closely to the church, and as enabling it to press into service an unknown amount of fresh and vigorous talent belonging to men who would owe everything to the establishment which had raised them from nothingness, and who would have no relationships to embarrass their devotion. All this would be lost if, by legalizing marriage, the hereditary transmission of benefices inevitably resulting should convert the church into a separate caste of individual proprietors, having only general interests in common, and lazily luxuriating on the proceeds of former popular beneficence. To us, retrospectively philosophizing, it further appears evident that if celibacy were an efficient agent in obtaining for the church the immense temporal power and spiritual authority which it enjoyed, that very power and that authority rendered celibacy a necessity to the welfare of civilization. When even the humblest priest came to be regarded as a superior being, holding the keys of heaven in his hand, and by the machinery of confession and absolution wielding incalculable influence over each member of his flock, it was well for both parties that the ecclesiastic should be free from the ties of family and the vulgar ambition of race. It is easy to see how the churchmen could have selected matrimo-

---

Alexandrum II.—Chron. Reichersperg. ann. 1098.

Hoc tamen ab eo tempore fuit introductum ut nullus ordinaretur in presbyterum conjugatus: et ordinandi omnes castitatem promittere compellantur coram ordinante.—Chron. Hirsaug. ann. 1074.

One chronicler, however, attributes the reform to Alexander II. "Constituit etiam ut nullus presbyter sive diaconus vel subdiaconus, uxorem habeat, sive concubinam in occidentali ecclesia, sed ut sint casti."—Chron. S. Ægid. in Brunswig. ann. 1071.

nial alliances of the most politic and aggrandizing character; and as possession of property and hereditary transmission of benefices would have necessarily followed on the permission to marry, an ecclesiastical caste, combining temporal and spiritual power in the most dangerous excess, would have repeated in Europe the distinctions between the Brahmin and Soudra of India. The perpetual admission of self-made men into the hierarchy, which distinguished the church even in times of the most aristocratic feudalism, was for ages the only practical recognition of the equality of man, and was one of the most powerful causes at work during the Middle Ages to render rational liberty eventually possible with advancing civilization. Looking therefore upon the church as an instrument designed by Providence to effect certain beneficent results in the course of human improvement, we may regard celibacy as a necessary element of sacerdotalism, the abolition of which would have required the entire destruction of the papal system and the fundamental reconstruction of ecclesiastical institutions.

What we may now readily discern to have been a means, to Gregory, however, was an end, and to the enforcement of celibacy as necessary to that object he devoted himself with unrelenting vigor. The belief that he was appointed of God, and set apart for the task of cleansing the church of the Nicolitan heresy which had defied his predecessors is well illustrated by the contemporary legend of some pious Pisans, who, spending the night before his election in prayer in the basilica of St. Peter, saw that holy saint himself traverse the church accompanied by Hildebrand, whom he commanded to gather some droppings of mares with which the sacred edifice was defiled, to place them in a sack, and to carry them out on his shoulders.[1] The severe austerity of his virtue, moreover, was displayed by his admirers in the story that once, when dangerously ill, his niece came to inquire as to his health. To relieve her anxiety he played with her necklace, and jestingly asked if she wished to be married; but on his recovery he found that he could no longer weep with due contrition over

[1] Pauli Bernried. Vit. Gregor. VII. c. ii. § 20.

his sins, and that he had lost the grace of repentance. He long and vainly searched for the cause, and finally entreated his friends to pray for him, when the Virgin appeared to one of them, and sent word to Gregory that he had fallen from grace in consequence of the infraction of his vows committed in touching the necklace of his niece.[1]

His first movement on the subject appears to have been an epistle addressed in November, 1073, to Gebhardt Archbishop of Saltzburg, taking him severely to task for his neglect in enforcing the canons promulgated not long before in Rome, and ordering him to carry them rigidly into effect among his clergy.[2] This, no doubt, was a circular letter addressed to all the prelates of Christendom, and it was but a preliminary step. Early in Lent of the next year (March, 1074), he held his first synod, which adopted a canon prohibiting sacerdotal marriage, ordering that no one in future should be admitted to orders without a vow of celibacy, and renewing the legislation of Nicholas II. which commanded the people not to attend the ministrations of those whose lives were a violation of the rule.[3] There was nothing in the terms

[1] Pauli Bernried. Vit. Gregor. VII. c. iii. § 26.

Even Gregory, however, was not equal to his contemporary Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, who, during fifty-three years spent in the active duties of his calling, never saw the face of a woman, except that of one aged mendicant. (Rolevink Fascic. Temp. ann. 1074.)

The fanciful purity which came to be considered requisite to the episcopal office is well illustrated by the case of Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon, who was elected to the see of Canterbury. His suffragans refused his consecration because he was a skilful leech—"tunc electus est Faricius ad archiepiscopatum, sed episcopus Lincolniensis et episcopus Salesburiensis obstiterunt, dicentes non debere archiepiscopum urinas mulierum inspicere" (De Abbat. Abbendon. —Chron. Abingdon. II. 287). The prejudice against the practice of physic as incompatible with the purity of an ecclesiastic was wide-spread and long-lived, as chronicled in the canons of numerous councils prohibiting it (e. g. Concil. Claromont. ann. 1130, c. 5)—but it was not always so. In 998 Theodatus, a monk of Corvey, received the bishopric of Prague from Otho III. as a reward for curing Boleslas I., Duke of Bohemia, of paralysis, by means of a bath of wine, herbs, spices, and three living black puppies four weeks old (Paulini Dissert. Hist. p. 198); and about the year 1200, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, bestowed the see of St. David's on Geoffrey, Prior of Lanthony, his physician, whose skill had won his gratitude.—Girald. Cambrens. de Jur. et Stat. Menev. Eccles. Dist. VII.

[2] Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. I. Epist. 30.

[3] Ut secundum instituta antiquorum canonum presbyteri uxores non habeant, habentes aut dimittant aut deponantur; nec quisquam omnino ad sacerdotium admittatur qui non in

of this more severe than what had been decreed in innumerable previous councils—indeed, it was by no means as threatening as many decretals of recent date; but Gregory was resolved that it should not remain, like them, a mere protest, and he took immediate measures to have it enforced wherever the authority of Rome extended.

The controversy as respects Italy has already been so fully described that to dilate upon it further would be superfluous. Even though Alexander II. in his later years had shrunk somewhat from the contest, yet from Naples to the Tyrol the question was thoroughly understood, and its results depended more upon political revolutions than on ecclesiastical authority. Beyond the Alps, however, the efforts of preceding popes had thus far proved wholly nugatory, and on this field Gregory now bent all his energies. The new canon was sent to all the bishops of Europe, with instructions to promulgate it throughout their respective dioceses, and to see that it was strictly obeyed; while legates were sent in every direction to support these commands with their personal supervision and exertion.[1]

That the course which Gregory thus adopted was essentially different from that pursued by his predecessors is amply attested by the furious storm which these measures aroused. The clergy protested in the most energetic terms that they would rather abandon their calling than their wives; they denounced Gregory as a madman and a heretic, who expected to compel men to live as angels, and who in his folly, while denying to natural affection its accustomed and proper gratification, would open the door to indiscriminate licentiousness; and they tauntingly asked where, when he should have driven them from the priesthood, he expected to find the angels who were to replace them.[2] Gregory paid little heed to threats

---

perpetuum continentiam vitamque cœlibem profiteatur.—Lambert. Schafnab. (Hersfeldens.) ann. 1074. Cf. Gregor. Epist. Extrav. 4.

[1] As regards Germany, Gregory, in 1074, sent two legates to Henry IV., who promulgated the canon in a national council; and the next year he followed this up by a legation empowered to forbid the laity from attending the offices of married priests. (Herman. Contract. ann. 1074–5.) His correspondence, however, shows that he did not rely alone on such measures, but that he also addressed the prelates directly.

[2] Adversus hoc decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum; hominem plane hereticum et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui

or remonstrances, but sent legate after legate to accuse the bishops of their inertness, and to menace them with deposition if they should neglect to carry out the canon to the letter.

The bishops, in fact, were placed in a most embarrassing position, which may be understood from the adventures of three prelates, who took different positions with regard to the wishes of Gregory—Otho of Constance, who leaned to the side of the clergy; St. Altmann of Passau, who was an enthusiastic papalist; and Siegfrid of Mainz, who was a trimmer afraid of both parties.

To Otho, Gregory, in 1074, sent the canons of the synod, inhibiting marriage and simony, with orders to use every exertion to secure the compliance of his clergy. Otho apparently did not manifest much eagerness to undertake the unpopular task, and Gregory lost little time in calling him to account. Before the year expired, we find the pope addressing a second epistle to the bishop, angrily accusing him of disobedience in permitting the ministration of married priests, and summoning him to answer for his contumacy at a synod to be held in Rome during the approaching Lent. Nor was this all, for at the same time he wrote to the clergy and people of the diocese, informing them of the disobedience of their bishop and of his summons to trial, commanding them, in case of his persistent rebellion, to no longer obey or reverence him as bishop, and formally releasing them from all subjection to him. Otho doubtless considered it imprudent to show himself at the synod of 1075; consequently in that of 1076 he was excommunicated and deprived of his episcopal functions. During the autumn of the same year, however, the legate Altmann of Passau restored him to communion at Ulm, but without granting him the privilege of officiating. Otho disregarded this restriction, and not only persisted in exercising his functions, but openly favored and

. . . violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum, et dum consuetum cursum naturæ negaret, fornicationi et immunditiæ frena laxaret. Quod si pergeret sententiam confirmare, malle se sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere, et tunc visurum eum, cui homines sorderent, unde gubernandis per ecclesiam Dei plebibus angelos comparaturus esset. — Lambert. Schafnab. (Hersfeldens.) ann. 1074.

protected the married clergy. For this Gregory absolved his flock from all obedience to him, whereupon Otho abandoned the Catholic party and formally joined the imperialists, who were then engaged in the effort to depose Gregory. From some motives of policy, the pope granted the hardened sinner three years for repentance, at the expiration of which, in 1080, he sent Altmann to Constance to superintend the election of another bishop. The new incumbent, however, proved incapable through bodily infirmity; and, in 1084, Otto of Ostia was sent to Constance, and under his auspices Gebhardt was elected bishop, and duly consecrated in 1085.[1] Evidently Gregory was not a man to abandon his purpose, and those who opposed him could not count upon perpetual immunity.

St. Altmann of Passau was renowned for his piety and the strictness of his religious observance. When the canon of 1074 reached him, he assembled his clergy, read it to them, and adjured them to pay to it the respect which was requisite. His eloquence was wasted; the clerks openly refused obedience, and defended themselves by immemorial custom, and by the fact that none of their predecessors had been called upon to endure so severe and unnatural a regulation. Finding the occasion unpropitious, the pious Altmann dissembled; he assured his clergy that he was perfectly willing to indulge them if the papal mandate would permit it, and with this he dismissed them. He allowed the matter to lie in abeyance until the high feast of St. Stephen, the patron saint of the church, which was always attended by the magnates of the diocese. Then, without giving warning of his intentions, he suddenly mounted the pulpit, read to the assembled clergy and laity the letters of the pope, and threatened exemplary punishment for disobedience. Though thus taken at advantage and by surprise, the clerks were not disposed to submit. A terrible tumult at once arose, and the crafty saint would have been torn to pieces had it not been for the strenuous interference of the nobles, aided, as his biographer assures us,

[1] Gregor. VII. Epist. extrav. 4, 12, 13.—Bernald. pro Gebhardo Episc. Apologet. c. 4, 5, 6, 7.

by the assistance of God. The clergy continued their resistance, and when, not long after, the empire and papacy became involved in internecine strife, they sought the protection of Henry IV., who marched upon Passau, and drove out St. Altmann and his faction. How unbending was this opposition, and how successfully it was maintained, is manifest from the fact that when St. Altmann at length returned to his diocese as papal legate, about the year 1081, even Gregory felt it necessary to use policy rather than force, and instructed him to yield to the pressure of the evil times, and to reserve the strict enforcement of the reform for a more fortunate period.[1] The political question had thus, for the moment, overshadowed the religious one.

The archiepiscopate of Mainz was, both temporally and spiritually, one of the most powerful of the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany. To the Archbishop Siegfrid, Gregory sent the canon of 1074 with instructions similar to those contained in his epistle to Otho of Constance. In reply, Siegfrid promised implicit obedience; but, recognizing the almost insuperable difficulties of the task assigned him, he temporized, and gave his clergy six months in which to make up their minds, exhorting them to render willing obedience and relieve him from the necessity of employing coercion. At the expiration of the period, in October, 1074, he assembled a synod at Erfurt, where he boldly insisted that they should give up their wives or abandon their functions and their benefices. Their arguments and entreaties were in vain. Finding him immovable, they retired for consultation, when some proposed to separate and return home at once, without further parley, and thus escape giving their sanction to the new regulations; while bolder spirits urged that it would be better to put the archbishop to instant death, before he could promulgate so execrable a decree, thus leaving for posterity a shining example, which would prevent any of his successors from attempting so abominable an enterprise.

Siegfrid's friends advised him of the turn which affairs

[1] Vit. S. Altmanni.—Hinc capitulum illud de incontinentia sacerdotum a tam invicto propugnatore castitatis dissimulatum non approbatum remansit.

were likely to take. He therefore sent to his clergy a request that they would reassemble in synod, promising that he would take the first opportunity to apply to Rome for a relaxation of the canon. They agreed to this, and, on meeting the next day, Siegfrid astutely started the question of his claims on the Thuringian tithes, which had shortly before been settled by the Saxon war. Indignant at this, the Thuringian clergy raised a tumult, flew to arms, and the synod broke up in the utmost confusion. In December, Gregory wrote to the shuffling archbishop an angry letter, reproaching him with his lukewarmness in the cause, and ordering him to present himself at the synod announced for the coming Lent. Siegfrid obediently went to Rome, but was with difficulty admitted to communión. What promises he made to obtain it were not kept, for again, in September, 1075, Gregory addressed him with commands to enforce the canons. Stimulated by this, Siegfrid convoked a synod at Mainz in October, where the Bishop of Coire appeared with a papal mandate threatening him with degradation and expulsion if he failed in compelling the priests to abandon either their wives or their ministry. Thus goaded, Siegfrid did his best, but the whole body of the clergy raised such a clamor and made demonstrations so active and so formidable that the archbishop saw little prospect of escaping with life. The danger from his mutinous flock was more instant and pressing than that from the angry pope; his resolution gave way, and he dissolved the synod, declaring that he washed his hands of the affair, and that Gregory might deal as he saw fit with a matter which was beyond his power to control. Thus placed between the upper and the nether millstone, it is not to be wondered at if Siegfrid took refuge in the party of the imperialists, nor that his name stands at the head of the list of bishops who in 1076 passed judgment on Gregory, and pronounced that he had forfeited all claim to the papacy; neither is it surprising that Gregory lost no time in excommunicating him at the Roman synod of the same year.[1]

---

[1] Gregor. VII. Epist. extrav. 12.—Lambert. Schafnab. ann. 1074-5-6.—Udalr. Babenb. Cod. Lib. II. c. 132.—Gregor. Regist. Lib. II. Epist. 29.—Goldast. Constit. Imp. I. 237.

An encyclical letter of Siegfrid,

These examples are sufficient to illustrate the difficulties with which Gregory had to contend, and the manner in which he endeavored to overcome them. The incidents are by no means exceptional, and his marvellous vigor and energy in supervising the movement everywhere, encouraging the zealous co-worker and punishing the lukewarm and indifferent, are abundantly attested by his correspondence. He apparently had an eye on every corner of Europe, and lost no opportunity of enforcing his views with threats or promises, as the case might seem to demand.[1]

It did not take long, however, to convince him that he could count upon no efficient assistance from the hierarchy, and that if the church was to be purified, it must be purified from without, and not from within. To the unutterable horror of those strict churchmen who regarded the immunity from all temporal supervision or jurisdiction as one of the most precious of ecclesiastical privileges, he took, as early as 1074, the decided and unprecedented step of authorizing the laity to withdraw their obedience from all prelates and priests who disregarded the canons of the Holy See on the subjects of simony and incontinence.[2] This principle, once adopted, was followed up with his customary unalterable resolution. In October, 1074, he wrote to a certain Count Albert, exhorting him not to mind what the simoniacal and concubinary priests might say, but, in spite of them, to persist in enforcing the orders which emanated from Rome. Still more menacing

---

in 1075, states that Gregory had sent to his diocese commissioners to reform the immorality of the clergy, and that they had labored earnestly, but fruitlessly, to accomplish the task by a liberal use of suspension and excommunication. He had thereupon reported to the pope the scandal and infamy of his church, when Gregory, considering the multitude of the transgressors, counselled moderation. Siegfrid therefore orders all incorrigible offenders to be suspended and sent to him for judgment. (Hartzheim Concil. German. III. 175.)—Hartzheim also (III. 749) gives, under date of 1077, another letter from Siegfrid to Gregory, in which he promises to do his best in reforming the clergy, but advises moderation towards those whose weakness merits compassion.

[1] See, for instance, Lib. I. Epist. 30; Lib. II. Epist. 25, 55, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68; Lib. III. Epist. 4; Lib. IV. Epist. 10, 11, 20; Lib. VII. Epist. 1; Epist. extrav. 4, 12, 13, etc.

[2] His præcipimus vos nullo modo obedire, vel eorum præceptis consentire, sicut ipsi apostolicæ sedis præceptis non obediunt, neque auctoritati sanctorum patrum consentiunt.—Gregor. VII. Epist. extrav. 14. "Omnibus clericis et laicis in regno Teutonicorum constitutis."

was an epistle addressed in January, 1075, to Rodolf, Duke of Swabia, and Bertolf, Duke of Carinthia, commanding them—"whatever the bishops may say or may not say concerning this, do you in no manner receive the ministrations of those who owe promotion or ordination to simony, or whom you know to be guilty of concubinage . . . and, as far as you can, do you prevent, by force if necessary, all such persons from officiating. And if any shall presume to prate and say that it is not your business, tell them to come to us and dispute about the obedience which we thus enjoin upon you;" adding a bitter complaint of the archbishops and bishops who, with rare exceptions, had taken no steps to put an end to these execrable customs, or to punish the guilty.[1]

These extraordinary measures called forth indignant denunciations on the part of ecclesiastics, for these letters were circulars sent to all the princes on whom he could depend, and he insured their publicity by causing similar orders to be published in the churches themselves.[2] Yet Gregory was not

---

[1] Archiepiscopi et episcopi terræ vestræ . . . adhuc tamen inobedientes (exceptis perpaucis) tam exsecrandam consuetudinem nulla studuerunt prohibitione decidere, nulla districtione punire. . . Quapropter ad te et ad omnes de quorum fide et devotione confidimus nunc convertimur, rogantes vos et apostolica auctoritate admonentes ut quidquid episcopi dehinc loquantur aut taceant, vos officium eorum quos aut simoniace promotos et ordinatos aut in crimine fornicationis jacentes cognoveritis, nullatenus recipiatis: et hæc eadem adstricti per obedientiam tam in curia regis quam per alia loca et conventus regni notificantes ac persuadentes, quantum potestis, tales sacrosanctis deservire mysteriis etiam vi, si oportuerit, prohibeatis. Si qui autem contra vos quasi istud officii vestri non esse aliquid garrire incipiant, hoc illis respondete: Ut vestram et populi salutem non impedientes, de injuncta vobis obedientia ad nos nobiscum disputaturi veniant.—Regist. Lib. II. Epist. 45.

Letters conceived in the same spirit are extant, addressed to the principal laymen of Chiusi in Tuscany, to the Count and Countess of Flanders, &c. (Lib. II. Epist. 47; Lib. IV. Epist. 10, 11.)

[2] Papæ decretum enorme de continentia clericorum per laicos divulgatur.—Chron. Augustinens. ann. 1075.

Theodoric, Bishop of Verdun, in a letter to Gregory, bitterly reproaches his own folly in promulgating the decretal, and in not foreseeing its destructive result.—"Ac primo quidem faciem meam in eo vel maxime confusione perfundunt, quod legem de clericorum incontinentia per laicorum insanias cohibenda unquam susceperim . . . per quam pax ecclesia, tranquillitas populi Dei sublata, pulcherrima ecclesiastici ordinis distinctio confusa, fides concussa, tota denique magni patrisfamilias domus sedibus dissectis, tricliniis labefactatis, vasis transmutatis, omnino inordinata et confusa."—(Martene et Durand, I. 218.) Theodoric, be it observed, inclined to the side of Gregory and secretly fled from the Assembly of Utrecht in 1076 to avoid countenancing by his presence the excommunication there pronounced against the pope.—Hugon. Flaviniac. Chron. Lib. II. ann. 1079.

So Henry, Bishop of Speyer, com-

to be diverted from his course, and he was at least successful in rousing the Teutonic church from the attitude of passive resistance which threatened to render his efforts futile. The princes of Germany, who were already intriguing with Gregory for support in their perennial revolts against the sovereign, were delighted to seize the opportunity of at once obliging the pope, creating disturbance at home, and profiting by the church property which they could manage to get into their hands by ejecting the unfortunate married priests. They accordingly proceeded to exercise, without delay and to the fullest extent, the unlimited power so suddenly granted them over a class which had hitherto successfully defied their jurisdiction; nor was it difficult to excite the people to join in the persecution of those who had always held themselves as superior beings, and who were now pronounced by the highest authority in the church to be sinners of the worst description. The ignorant populace were naturally captivated by the idea of the vicarious mortification with which their own errors were to be redeemed by the abstinence imposed upon their pastors, and they were not unreasonably led to believe that they were themselves deeply wronged by the want of purity in their ecclesiastics. Add to this the attraction which persecution always possesses for the persecutor, and the license of plunder so dear to a turbulent and barbarous age, and it is not difficult to comprehend the motive power of the storm which burst over the heads of the secular clergy, and which must have satisfied by its severity the stern soul of Gregory himself.

A contemporary writer, whose name has been lost, but who

---

plains to Gregory—"Sublata igitur, quantum in te fuit omni potestate ab episcopis . . . omnique rerum ecclesiasticarum administratione plebeio furori per te attributa."—Udalr. Babenb. Cod. Lib. II. c. 162.

And when the bishops at the Diet of Worms threw off their obedience to Gregory, one of the reasons enumerated in Henry's letter to him is the control over the church which he had granted to the laity—"dum laicis ministerium eorum super sacerdotes usurpasti ut ipsi deponant vel contemnant quos ipsi a manu Dei . . . docendi acceperant."—Annalist. Saxo ann. 1076.

We have already seen (p. 167) that Nicholas I., in the ninth century, had expressly forbidden any popular interference with married priests, and it is a little singular to observe that his decretal on the subject is extracted by Ivo of Chartres (Decreti P. II. cap. 82) and presented as valid law, in less than a generation after the death of Gregory VII.

is supposed by Dom Martène to have been a priest of Trèves, gives us a very lively picture of the horrors which ensued, and as he shows himself friendly in principle to the reform attempted, his account may be received as trustworthy. He describes what amounted almost to a dissolution of society, slave betraying master and master slave; friend informing against friend; snares and pitfalls spread before the feet of all; faith and truth unknown. The peccant priests suffered terribly. Some, reduced to utter poverty, and unable to bear the scorn and contempt of those from whom they had been wont to receive honor and respect, wandered off as homeless exiles; others, mutilated by the indecent zeal of ardent puritans, were carried around to exhibit their shame and misery; others, tortured in lingering death, bore to the tribunal on high the testimony of blood-guiltiness against their persecutors; while others, again, in spite of danger, secretly continued the connections which exposed them to all these cruelties. In the midst of these troubles, as might be expected, the offices of religion were wholly neglected; the new-born babe received no holy baptism; the dying penitent expired without the saving viaticum; the sinner could cleanse his soul by no confession and absolution; and the devotee could no longer be strengthened by the daily sacrifice of the mass.[1] Another writer, of nearly the same date, relates with holy horror how the laity shook off all the obedience which they owed to their pastors, and, despising the sacraments prepared by them, trod the Eucharist under foot and cast out the sacred wine, administered baptism with unlicensed hands, and substituted for the holy chrism the filthy wax collected from their own ears.[2]

When such was the fate of the pastors, it is easy to imagine the misery inflicted on their unfortunate wives. A zealous admirer of Gregory relates with pious gratulation, as indubitable evidence of divine vengeance, how, maddened by their

[1] The writer indignantly adds—"Si autem quæris talis fructus a qua radice pullulaverit, lex ad laicos promulgata, qua imperitis persuasum est, conjugatorum sacerdotum missas et quæcumque per eos implentur mysteria fugienda esse, in reipublicæ nostræ ornatum illud adjecit."—Martene et Durand, I. 230–1.

[2] Sigebert. Gemblac. ann. 1074.

wrongs, some of them openly committed suicide, while others were found dead in the beds which they had sought in perfect health; and this being proof of their possession by the devil, they were denied Christian sepulture. The case of Count Manigold of Veringen affords a not uninstructive instance of the frightful passions aroused by the relentless cruelty which thus branded them as infamous, tore them from their families, and cast them adrift upon a mocking world. The count had put in force the orders of Gregory with strict severity throughout his estates in the Swabian Alps. One miserable creature thus driven from her husband swore that the count should undergo the same fate, and, in the blindness of her rage, she poisoned the Countess of Veringen, whose widowed husband, overwhelmed with grief, sought no second mate.[1]

Nor was the customary machinery of miracles wanting to stimulate the zeal of the faithful in this pious work, and to convince the doubters whose worldly wisdom or humanity might shrink from the task assigned them. Unchaste priests at Mass would find sudden blasts of wind overturn the cup, and scatter the sacred wine upon the ground, or the holy wafer would be miraculously snatched out of their polluted hands. The saintly virgin Herluca saw in a vision the Saviour, with his wounds profusely bleeding, and was told that if she desired to escape a repetition of the horrifying spectacle, she must no longer be present at the ministrations of Father Richard, the officiating priest of her convent—a revelation which she employed effectually upon him and his parishioners. The same holy maiden being observed staring intently out of the window, declared, upon being questioned, that she had seen the soul of the priest of Rota carried off by demons to eternal punishment; and, on sending to his habitation, it was found that he had expired at the very moment.[2] Puerile as these tales may seem to us, they were stern realities to those against whose weaknesses they were directed, and whose sufferings were thus enhanced by every art which bigotry could bring to bear upon the credulous passions of a barbarous populace.

---

[1] Pauli Bernried. Vit. Gregor. VII. No. 81, 107.

[2] Ibid. No. 105, 106, 107.

It cannot be a matter of surprise if men, who were thus threatened with almost every worldly evil, should seek to defend themselves by means as violent as those employed by their persecutors. Their cruel intensity of fear is aptly illustrated by what occurred at Cambrai in 1077, where a man was actually burned at the stake as a heretic for declaring his adhesion to the Hildebrandine doctrine that the masses of simoniacal and concubinary priests were not to be listened to by the faithful.[1] So, in the same year, when the pseudo-emperor Rodolf of Swabia was elected by the papalists at the Diet of Forcheim as a competitor to Henry IV., he manifested his zeal to suppress the heresies of avarice and lust by refusing the ministration of a simoniacal deacon in the coronation solemnities at Mainz. The clergy of that city, who had so successfully resisted, for two years, the efforts of their archbishop Siegfrid to reduce them to subjection to the canons, were dismayed at the prospect of coming under the control of so pious a prince, who would indubitably degrade them or compel them to give up their wives and simoniacally acquired churches. They therefore stirred up a tumult among the citizens, who were ready to espouse their cause; and when Rodolf left his palace for vespers, he was attacked by the people. The conflict was renewed on his return, causing heavy slaughter on both sides, and though the townsmen were driven back, Rodolf was forced to leave the city.[2]

This incident affords us a glimpse into the political aspects of the reform. In the tremendous struggle between the empire and papacy, Gregory allied himself with all the disaffected princes of Germany, and they were careful to justify their rebellions under the specious pretext of zeal for the apostolic church. They of course, therefore, entered heartily

---

[1] Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. IV. Epist. 20.

[2] Pauli Bernreid. Vit. Gregor. VII. No. 87.—Ekkehard of Uraugen and the Annalista Saxo, however, in their accounts of these disturbances, attribute them to political rather than to ecclesiastical causes. The latter, no doubt, would hardly have been efficient without the former. The efforts of Henry to reduce the savage feudal nobles to order made him, throughout his reign, a favorite with the cities.

into his measures for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, and professed the sternest indignation towards those whom he placed under the ban. Thus, after Henry, in 1076, had caused his bishops to declare the degradation of Gregory, when the revolted princes held their assembly at Tribur, and in turn decreed the deposition of Henry, they used the utmost caution to exclude all who had communicated with Henry since his excommunication, together with those who had obtained preferment by simony, or who had joined in communion with married priests.[1] The connection, indeed, became so marked that the papalists throughout Germany were stigmatized by the name of Patarini—a term which had acquired so sinister a significance in the troubles of Milan.[2] In this state of affairs it was natural that common enmities and common dangers should unite the persecuted clergy and the hunted sovereign. Yet it is a curious illustration of the influence which the denunciations of sacerdotal marriage had exercised over the public mind, that although Henry tacitly protected the simoniacal and married ecclesiastics, and although they rallied around him and afforded him unquestionable and invaluable aid, still he never ventured openly to defend them. Writers both then and since have attributed the measure of success with which he sustained the fluctuating contest, and the consequent sufferings of the unbending pope, to the efforts of the recalcitrant clergy who resisted the yoke imposed on them by Rome.[3] Yet Henry had formally and absolutely pledged his assistance when Gregory commenced his efforts, and had repeated the promise in 1075;[4]

---

[1] Lambert. Schafnab. ann. 1076.

[2] Hugon. Flaviniac. Lib. II.

[3] Ob hanc igitur causam, quia scilicet sanctam Dei ecclesiam castam esse volebat, liberam atque catholicam, quia de sanctuario Dei simoniacam et neophytorum hæresim et fedam libidinosæ contagionis pollutionem volebat expellere, membra diaboli cœperunt in eum insurgere, et usque ad sanguinem præsumpserunt in eum manus injicere.—Hugon. Flaviniac. Lib. II.

Eo vesaniæ imperatorem induxerat cæca sacerdotum (qui tunc frequentes apud eum erant) libido. Timebant enim si cum pontifice in gratiam rediret, actum esse de concubinis suis, quas illi pluris quam vel propriam salutem vel publicam pendebant honestatem.—Hieron. Emser Vit. S. Bennon. c. III. § 40.

Gregory's celebrated exclamation on his death-bed does not, however, specially recognize this—"Dilexi justitiam et odivi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio."

[4] Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. I. Epist. 30. Lib. III. Epist. 3.

and from this position he never definitely withdrew. Even when the schismatic bishops of his party, at the synod of Brixen, in 1080, pronounced sentence of deposition on Gregory, and filled the assumed vacancy with an anti-pope, the man whom they elected never ventured to dispute the principle of Gregory's reforms, although the Lombard prelates, at that very time, were warmly defending their married and simoniacal clergy.[1] Indeed, Guiberto of Ravenna, or Clement III., took occasion to express his detestation of concubinage in language nearly as strong as that of his rival, although he threatened with excommunication the presumptuous laymen who should refuse to receive the sacraments of priests that had not been regularly tried and condemned at his own papal tribunal.[2] In thus endeavoring to place himself as a shield between the suffering priesthood and the persecuting populace, he was virtually striving to annul the reforms of Gregory, since in no other way could they be carried into effect; but he was forced to coincide with Gregory as to the principle which dictated those reforms. Notwithstanding all these precautions, however, the papalists were not disposed to allow their opponents to escape the responsibility of the alliance which brought them so much strength by dividing the church, and no opportunity was lost of stigmatizing them for the license which they protected. When Guiberto and his cardinals were driven out of Rome in 1084 by Robert Guiscard and his Normans, the flying prelates were ridiculed,

---

[1] According to Conrad of Ursperg (Chron. ann. 1080) among the reasons adduced for the deposition of Gregory by the synod of Brixen, was "Qui inter concordes seminavit discordiam, inter pacificos lites, inter fratres scandala, *inter conjuges divortia*, et quicquid quiete inter pie viventes stare videbatur, concussit"—in which the words italicized may possibly allude to the separation of the married clergy. Conrad, however, was a compiler of the thirteenth century, and his statements are not to be received without caution. If this motive had its weight with the prelates of the synod, they did not care to publish it to the world, for there is no allusion to it in the letter of renunciation addressed by them to Gregory (Goldast. Const. Imp. I. 238)—forming a striking contrast to the proceedings of the synod of Pavia in 1076, already alluded to.

[2] Wibert Antipap. Epist. VI.

Bishop Benzo, the most bitter of imperialists, did not desire to be confounded with the Nicolitan heretics—

"Omnis enim caste vivens templum Dei dicitur;
Si quis tantum sacramentum violare nititur,
Unus de porcorum grege protinus efficitur.
Facti cœlibes ardentem fugiamus Sodomam;
Hierosolymam petamus, Christianis commodam."

Comment. de Reb. Hen. IV. Lib. V. c. 6.

not for their cowardice, but for their shaven chins, and the wives and concubines whom they publicly carried about with them.[1]

At length Henry and his partisans appear to have felt it necessary to make some public declaration to relieve themselves from the odium of supporting and favoring a practice which was popularly regarded as a heresy and a scandal. When the papalists, under their King Hermann, at the Easter of 1085 (April 20th), convened a general assembly of their faction at Quedlinburg and again forbade all commerce with women to those in orders,[2] the imperialists lost no time in putting themselves on the same record with their rivals. Three weeks later Henry gathered around him, at Mainz, all the princes and prelates who professed allegiance to him, for the purpose of securing the succession to his eldest son, Conrad, as King of Germany, and there, in that solemn diet, marriage was formally prohibited to the priesthood.[3] Gregory was then lying on his dying bed in the far off castle of Salerno, and ere the news could reach him he was past the vanities of earthly triumph. Could he have known, however, that the cause for which he had risked the integrity and independence of the church had thus received the support of its bitterest

---

[1] Erant autem cives Romani, uxorati seu concubinarii, barbarasi et mitrati mentientes oratoribus, et præcipue multitudini rusticanæ Longobardorum asserentes se cardinales presbyteros esse, quorum utique oblationibus receptis, indulgentiam eis et remissionem omnium peccatorum ausu nefario impudenter præstabant. — Honorius III. in Vit. Gregor. VII. No. 15.

[2] In eadem synodo presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, perpetua, juxta decreta sanctorum patrum, indicta est continentia.—Bernald. Constant. ad Herman. Contract. Append. ann. 1085.

[3] Henricus multitudinem sequens, accessit eis qui sacerdotum conjugium sublatum volebant. Quare resistentes ei opinioni condemnati sunt.—H. Mutii German. Chron. Lib. xv.

I do not remember to have met with any contemporary authority for this assertion, nor is there any provision of this nature in the decrees of the Diet as given by Goldastus (I. 245); but the chroniclers of the period were generally papalist, and would be apt to omit recording anything which they would deem so creditable to their adversaries. Yet that the imperialists were no longer held responsible for clerical irregularities is evident from a letter written in 1090 by Stephen, the papalist Bishop of Halberstadt, to Waltram of Magdeburg, who was a follower of Henry. In all his violent invectives against the imperialists, and in his long catalogue of their sins, he makes no allusion to priestly incontinence, showing that they must have disavowed these irregularities so formally as to leave no ground for imputations of complicity. (Dodechini Append. ad Mar. Scot. ann. 1090.)

enemies, and that his unwavering purpose had thus achieved the moral victory of forcing his adversaries to range themselves under his banner, his spirit would have rejoiced, and his confidence in the ultimate success of the great theocratic system, for the maintenance of which he was thus expiring in exile, would have softened the sorrows of a life which closed in the darkness and doubt of defeat.

XV.

CENTRAL EUROPE.

HILDEBRAND had passed away, leaving to his successors the legacy of inextinguishable hate and unattained ambition. Nor was the reform for which he had labored as yet by any means secured in practice, even though his opponents had been reduced to silence or had been forced to render a formal adhesion to the dogmas which he had proclaimed so boldly.

The cause of asceticism, it is true, had gained many adherents among the laity. Throughout Germany, husbands and wives separated from each other in vast numbers, and devoted themselves to the service of the church, without taking vows or assuming ecclesiastical garments; while those who were unmarried renounced the pleasures of the world, and, placing themselves under the direction of spiritual guides, abandoned themselves entirely to religious duties. To such an extent did this prevail, that the pope was applied to for his sanction, which he eagerly granted, and the movement doubtless added strength to the party of reform.[1] Yet but little had thus far been really gained in purifying the church itself, notwithstanding the fearful ordeal through which its ministers had passed.

As for Germany, the indomitable energy of Henry IV., unrepressed by defeat and unchilled by misfortune, had at length achieved a virtual triumph over his banded enemies. But four bishops of the Empire—those of Wurtzburg, Passau, Worms, and Constance—owned allegiance to Urban II. All the other dioceses were filled by schismatics, who rendered obedience to the antipope Clement. In 1089 the Catholic or

[1] Bernald. Constant. ann. 1091.

papalist princes offered to lay down their arms and do homage to Henry if he would acknowledge Urban and make his peace with the true church. The emperor, however, had a pope who suited him, and he entertained too lively a recollection of the trials from which he was escaping to open the door to a renewal of the papal pretensions, which he had at length successfully defied, nor would he consent to stigmatize his faithful prelates as schismatics.[1] He therefore pursued his own course, and Guiberto of Ravenna enjoyed the honors of the popedom, checkered by alternate vicissitudes of good and evil fortune, until removed by death in the year 1100,[2] his sanctity attested by the numerous miracles wrought at his tomb, which only needed the final success of the imperialist cause to enrich the calendar with a St. Clement in place of a St. Gregory and a St. Urban.[3]

Under such auspices, no very zealous maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline was to be expected. If Clement's sensibilities were humored by a nominal reprobation of sacerdotal marriage, he could scarcely ask for more or insist that Henry should rekindle the embers of disaffection by enforcing the odious rules which had proved so powerful a cause of trouble to their authors and his enemies. Accordingly, it cannot surprise us to observe that Urban II., in following out the views of his predecessors, felt it necessary to adopt measures even more violent than those which in Gregory's hands had caused so much excitement and confusion, but whose inefficiency was confessed by the very effort to supplement them. In 1089, the year after his consecration, Urban published at the council of Melfi a decree by which, as usual, married ecclesiastics were sentenced to deposition, and bishops who permitted such irregularities were suspended; but where Gregory had been content with ejecting husbands and wives, and with empowering secular rulers to enforce the edict on recalcitrants, Urban, with a refinement of cruelty, reduced the unfortunate women

[1] Bernald. Constant. ann. 1089.

[2] A monkish chronicler professes to record of his own knowledge Guiberto's death-bed remorse for the schism which he had been instrumental in causing. "Malens, ut ab ore ipsius didicimus, apostolici nomen nunquam suscepisse."—Chron. Reg. S. Pantaleon. ann. 1100.

[3] Udalr. Babenb. Cod. Lib. II. c. 173.

to slavery, and offered their servitude as a bribe to the nobles who should aid in thus purifying the church.[1] If this infamous canon did not work misery so wide spread as the comparatively milder decretals of Gregory, it was because the power of Urban was circumscribed by the schism, while he was apparently himself ashamed or afraid to promulgate it in regions where obedience was doubtful. When Pibo, Bishop of Toul, in the same year, 1089, sent an envoy to ask his decision on various points of discipline, including sacerdotal marriage (the necessity of such inquiry showing the futility of previous efforts), Urban transmitted the canons of Melfi in response, but omitted this provision, which well might startle the honest German mind.[2] Perhaps, on reflection, Urban may himself have wished to disavow the atrocity, for in a subsequent council, when again attacking the ineradicable sin, he contented himself with simply forbidding all such marriages, and ordering all persons who were bound by orders or vows to be separated from their wives or concubines, and to be subjected to due penance.[3]

Yet even in those regions of Germany which persevered in resisting Henry and in recognizing Urban as pope, the persecution of twenty years was still unsuccessful, and the people were not yet aroused to a becoming sense of the wickedness of their pastors. In an assembly held at Constance in 1094, it was deemed necessary to impose a fine on all who should be present at the services performed by priests who had trans-

---

[1] Eos qui in subdiaconatu uxoribus vacare voluerint, ab omni sacro ordine removemus, officio atque beneficio ecclesiæ carere decernimus. Quod si ab episcopo commoniti non se correxerint, principibus licentiam indulgemus ut eorum feminas mancipent servituti. Si vero episcopi consenserint eorum pravitatibus, ipsi officii interdictione mulctentur. — Synod. Melfit. ann. 1809, can. 12.

The second canon of the same council—"Sacrorum canonum instituta renovantes, præcipimus ut a tempore subdiaconatus nulli liceat carnale commercium exercere. Quod si deprehensus fuerit, ordinis sui periculum sustinebit"—shows how much more venial was the offence of promiscuous licentiousness than the heresy of marriage.

[2] Urbani II. Epist. 24.

[3] Presbyteris, diaconis, subdiaconis et monachis concubinas habere seu matrimonia contrahere penitus interdicimus: contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi et personas ad pœnitentiam redigi debere, juxta sanctorum canonum diffinitiones judicamus. (Gratian. Dist. xxvii. c. 8.)

gressed the canons.[1] When this was the case in the Catholic provinces, it is easy to imagine that in the imperialist territories the thunders of Gregory and Urban had long since been forgotten, and that marrying and giving in marriage were practised with as little scruple as ever.[2]

At length the duel which, for more than thirty years, Henry had so gallantly fought with the successors of St. Peter drew to a close. Ten years of supremacy he had enjoyed in Germany, and he looked forward to the peaceful decline of his unquiet life, when the treacherous calm was suddenly disturbed. Papal intrigues in 1093 had caused the parricidal revolt of his eldest born, the weak and vacillating Conrad, whose early death had then extinguished the memory of his crime. That unnatural rebellion had gained for Rome the North of Italy; and as the emperor's second son, Henry, grew to manhood, he, too, was marked as a fit instrument to pierce his father's heart, and to extend the domination of the church by the foulest wrongs that man can perpetrate. The startling revolution which in 1105 precipitated Henry from a throne to a prison, from an absolute monarch to a captive embracing the knees of his son and pleading for his wretched life, established forever the supremacy of the papacy over Germany. The consequent enforcement of the law of celibacy became only a question of time.

As the excuse for the rebellion was the necessity of restoring the empire to the communion of Rome, one of the first measures of the conspirators was the convocation of a council to be held at Nordhausen, May 29, 1105, and one of the objects specified for its action was the expulsion of all married priests.[3]

---

[1] Decret. Comit. Constant. c. 2 (Goldast. I. 246).

[2] A fair illustration of the condition of the clergy is afforded by the discussion respecting the choice of a successor to Cosmo, Bishop of Prague, who died in 1098. Duke Brecislas, in nominating his chaplain Hermann for the vacancy, endeavored to rebut the arguments of those who objected to the foreign birth of the appointee, by urging that fact as a recommendation. — "Et quia hospes est, plus ecclesiæ prodest: non eum parentela exhauriet, non *liberorum cura* aggravabit, non cognatorum turba despoliet" (Cosmæ Pragens. Chron. Lib. III. ann. 1098)—showing that the priesthood settled at home, as a general rule, were heads of families.

[3] Annalista Saxo, ann. 1105.

The council was duly held, and duly performed its work of condemning the heresy which permitted benefices to be occupied and sacred functions exercised by those who were involved in the ties of matrimony.[1] Pope Paschal II. was not remiss in his share of the ceremony, by which he was to receive the fruits of his treacherous intrigues. The following year a great council was held at Guastalla, where, after interminable discussions as to the propriety of receiving without re-ordination those who had compromised themselves or who had been ordained by schismatics, he admitted into the fold all the repentant ecclesiastics of the party of Henry IV.[2] The text of the canon granting this boon to the imperialist clergy bears striking testimony to the completeness of the separation which had existed between the Teutonic and the Roman churches in stating that throughout the empire scarce any Catholic ecclesiastics were to be found.[3] It scarcely needed the declaration which Paschal made in 1107 at the synod of Troyes, condemning married priests to degradation and deprivation,[4] to show that the doctrines of Damiani and Hildebrand were thenceforth to be the law of the empire.

The question thus was definitely settled in prohibiting the priests of Germany from marrying or from retaining the wives whom they had taken previous to ordination. Settled, indeed, in the rolls of parchment which recorded the decrees of councils and the trading bargains of pope and kaiser, yet the perennial struggle continued, and the parchment roll for yet awhile was powerless before the passions of man, who did not cease to be man because his crown was shaven and his shoulders wore cope and stole.

Cosmo, who was Dean of Prague, who had been bred to the church, and had been promoted to the priesthood in 1099, chronicles, in 1118, the death of Boseteha, his wife, in terms which show that no separation had ever occurred between them; and five years later he alludes to his son Henry in a

---

[1] Nycholaitarum quoque fornicaria commixtio ibidem est ab omnibus abdicata.—Chron. Reg. S. Pantaleon. ann. 1105. Cf. Annal. Saxo, ann. 1105.

[2] Compare Bernaldi Constant. de Reordinatione vitanda etc.

[3] Quod cum dolore dicimus, vix pauci sacerdotes aut clerici Catholici in tanta terrarum latitudine reperiantur. — Annal. Saxo, ann. 1106.

[4] Concil. Trecens. ann. 1107, c. 2 (Pertz, Legum T. II. P. ii. p. 181).

manner to indicate that there was no irregularity in such relationship, nor aught that would cause him to forfeit the respect of his contemporaries in acknowledging it.[1] Even more to the point is the case of a pious priest, his friend, who, on the death of his wife ("presbytera"), made a vow that he would have no further intercourse with women. Cosmo relates that the unaccustomed deprivation proved harder than he had expected, and that for some years he was tortured with burning temptation. Finding at length that his resolution was giving way, he resolved to imitate St. Benedict in conquering the flesh; and having no suitable solitude for the execution of his purpose, he took a handful of nettles to his chamber, where, casting off his garments, he thrashed himself so unmercifully that for three days he lay moribund. Then he hung the nettles in a conspicuous position on his wall, that he might always have before his eyes so significant a memento and warning.[2] Cosmo's admiration for this, as a rare and almost incredible exhibition of priestly virtue and fortitude, shows how few were capable of even remaining widowers, while the whole story proves that not only the clergy were free to marry, but also that it was only the voluntary vow that prevented a second marriage.

That this state of things was not confined to the wild Bohemian Marches, but obtained throughout Germany in general, is sufficiently attested by the fact that when Innocent II. was driven out of Rome by the Antipope Anaclet, and was wandering throughout Europe begging recognition, he held, in conjunction with the Emperor Lothair, in 1131, a council at Liége, where he procured the adoption of a canon prohibiting priestly marriage or attendance on the mass of married priests. Not only does the necessity of this fresh legislation show that previous enactments had become obsolete, but the manner in which these proceedings are referred to by the chroniclers plainly indicates that it took the Teutonic mind somewhat by surprise, and that the efforts of Gregory and Urban had not

[1] Cosmæ Pragensis Chron. Lib. III. ann. 1118, 1123.

Rerum cunctarum comes indimota mearum
Bis Februi quinis obiit Boseteha kalendis.

[2] Ibid. Lib. III. ann. 1125 (Mencken. Script. Rer. German. III. 1799).

only remained without result, but had become absolutely forgotten.[1]

If these proceedings of Innocent had any effect, it was only to make matters worse. The pious Rupert, Abbot of Duits, writing a few years later, deplores the immorality of the priesthood, who not only entered into forbidden marriages, but, knowing them to be illegal, had no scruple in disregarding the tie, considering it to be, at their pleasure, devoid of all binding force.[2] How little sympathy, indeed, all efforts to enforce the rule called forth is instructively shown by the wondering contempt with which a writer, strictly papalist in his tendencies, comments upon the indiscreet reformatory zeal of Meinhard, Archbishop of Trèves. Elevated to this lofty dignity in 1128, he at once undertook to force his clergy to obey the rule by the most stringent measures, and speedily became so odious that he was obliged to leave his bishopric within the year; and the chronicler who tells the story has only words of reprobation for the unfortunate prelate.[3]

Hungary had been Christianized at a time when the obligation of celibacy was but lightly regarded, though it had not as yet become obsolete. In reducing the dreaded and barbarous Majjars to civilization, the managers of the movement

---

[1] Statuitur et hoc semper memorabile, secundum decreta canonum, presbyteros parochianos castos et sine uxoribus esse debere: uxorati vero presbyteri missam a nemine audiendam esse.—Annal. Bosoviens. ann. 1131.

Statuitur quoque ab omnibus, secundum decreta canonum, illud antiquum, quod semper erit innovandum, presbyteros castos et sine uxoribus esse, missam autem uxorati presbyteri neminem audire debere.—Chron. Sanpetrin. Erfurt. ann. 1131.

Statuitur etiam hoc semper memorabile, per decreta canonum presbyteros parrochianos castos et sine uxoribus esse debere, uxorati vero presbyteri missam a nemine audiendam esse.—Chron. Pegaviens. continuat. ann. 1131.

[2] Deterius eo proruunt, imitantes connubia quoties volunt, et qui nullum habent torum licitum, dum sic evagantur, nullum confidunt rupisse conjugii vinculum; fornicantur autem cum illis, et initiantur Belphegor, quicumque exemplo talium ad incesta vel adulteria audaciores fiunt.—Ruperti Tuitens. Comment. in Apocalyps. Lib. II. cap. ii.

[3] "Deinde dum nimio zelo rectitudinis de incontinentia clericorum multa sæve disponeret, sine condimento discrecionis, magnam sibi comparavit invidiam, et quam nec dici fas est, acquisivit infamiam."—He went to Italy, seeking aid from Honorius II., but was captured by Conrad the Swabian, the rival of the Emperor Lothair, and died of affliction in his prison at Parma, October 1st, 1130. (Gesta Trevirorum Continuat. c. 27, 28.)

might well smooth the path and interpose as few obstacles as possible to the attainment of so desirable a consummation. It is probable, therefore, that restrictions on marriage, as applied to the priesthood, were lightly passed over, and, not being insisted on, were disregarded by all parties. Even the decretals of Nicholas II. and the fulminations of Gregory VII. appear to have never penetrated into the kingdom of St. Stephen, for sacerdotal celibacy seems to have been unknown among the Hungarians until the close of the century. The first allusion to it occurs in the synod of Zabolcs, held in 1092, under the auspices of St. Ladislas II., and is of a nature to show not only that it was an innovation on established usages, but also that the subject required tender handling to reconcile it to the weakness of undisciplined human nature. After the bitter denunciations and cruelly harsh measures which the popes had been promulgating for nearly half a century, there is an impressive contrast in the mildness with which the Hungarian church offered indulgence to those legitimately united to a first wife, until the Holy See could be consulted for a definitive decision;[1] and though marriages with second wives, widows, or divorced women were pronounced null and void, the disposition to evade a direct meeting of the question is manifested in a regulation which provided that if a priest united himself to his female slave "uxoris in locum," the woman should be sold; but if he refused to part with her, he was simply to pay her price to the bishop.[2] Whether or not the pope's decision was actually sought, we have no means of knowing; if it was, his inevitable verdict received little respect, for the Synod of Gran, held about the year 1099 by the Primate Seraphin of Gran, only ventured to recommend moderation to married priests, while its endeavor to enforce the rule prohibiting marriage after the assumption of orders shows how utterly the recognized discipline of the

[1] Presbyteris autem qui prima et legitima duxere conjugia, indulgentia ad tempus datur, propter vinculum pacis et unitatem Spiritus Sancti, quousque nobis in hoc Domini Apostolici paternitas consilietur. — Synod. Zabolcs ann. 1092 c. 3, or Decret. St. Ladisl. Lib. I. c. 3. (Batthyani, I. 434–5.)

[2] Synod. Zabolcs c. 1, 2.—Any prelate assenting to such illicit unions, and not insisting on immediate separation, was punishable to a reasonable extent. (Ibid. c. 4.)

church was neglected. The consent of wives was also required before married priests could be elevated to the episcopate, and after consecration separation was strictly enjoined, affording still further evidence of the laxity allowed to the other grades. The iteration of the rules respecting *digami* and marriage with widows also indicates how difficult was the effort to resuscitate those well-known regulations, although they were universally admitted to be binding on all ecclesiastics.[1]

King Coloman, whose reign extended from 1095 to 1114, has the credit of being the first who definitely enjoined immaculate purity on the Hungarian priesthood. His laws, as collected by Alberic, have no dates, and therefore we are unable to affix precise epochs to them; but his legislation on the subject appears to have been progressive, for we find edicts containing injunctions respecting *digami* and irregular unions in terms which indicate that single marriages were not interfered with; and these may reasonably be deemed earlier than other laws which formally prohibit the elevation to the diaconate of an unmarried man without exacting from him a vow of continence, or of a married man without the consent of his wife. The import of this latter condition is explained by another law, which provided that no married man should officiate at the altar unless his wife professed continence, and was furnished by her husband with the means of dwelling apart from him.[2] As these stringent regulations form part of the canons of a council held by Archbishop Seraphin about the year 1109,[3] they were probably borrowed from that council by Coloman, and incorporated into his laws at a period somewhat later.

---

[1] Ut si qui ad episcopatum promovendi sunt, si matrimonio legitimo juncti sunt, nisi ex consensu uxorum non assumantur. . . Presbyteris uxores quas in legitimis ordinibus acceperunt, moderatius habendas previsa fragilitate indulsimus. . . Qui diaconatum vel presbyteratum sine matrimonio adepti sunt, uxorem ducere non liceat. Uxores episcoporum episcopalia predia non inhabitent. . . Si quis de clero secundam vel repudiatam duxerit, deponatur. Bigami presbyteri, qui ad ordines suos redire noluerint, ex consensu uxorum suarum recipiantur: similiter si presbyter concubinam habuerit, deponatur.—Synod. Strigonens. II. (Batthyani, II. 121–8). Peterffy's emendation of "voluerint" for "noluerint," in the clause respecting *digami*, can hardly be questioned.

[2] Decret. Coloman. cap. 41, 42. Comp. cap. 27 and 37.

[3] Synod. Vencellina, circa 1109.

I have not met with any indication of the results of the legislation which thus combined the influence of the temporal and ecclesiastical authorities. That it effected little, however, is apparent from the evidence afforded by Dalmatia, at that time a province of Hungary. Shortly before it lost its independence, its duke, Dimitri, resolved to assume the crown of royalty, and purchased the assent of Gregory VII. at the price of acknowledging him as feudal superior. Gregory took advantage of Dimitri's aspirations to further the plans of reform, of which he never lost sight; for, in the coronation oath taken in 1076 before Gebizo, the papal legate, the new king swore that he would take such measures as would insure the chastity of all ecclesiastics, from the bishop to the sub-deacon.[1] The new dynasty did not last long, for before the end of the century St. Ladislas united the province of Dalmatia to the kingdom of Hungary; but neither the oath of Dimitri, the laws of Coloman, nor the canons of the national councils succeeded in eradicating the custom of priestly marriage. When we find, in 1185, Urban III. in approving the acts of the synod of Spalatro, graciously expressing his approbation of its prohibiting the marriage of priests, and desiring that the injunction should be extended so as to include the diaconate,[2] we see that marriage must have been openly enjoyed by all ranks, that the synod had not ventured to include any but the highest order, and that Urban himself did not undertake to apply the rule to subdeacons, although they had been specially included in Dimitri's oath. Yet still pope and synod labored in vain, for fourteen years later, in 1199, another national council complained that priests kept both wives and benefices. It therefore commanded that those who indulged in this species of adultery should either dismiss their partners in guilt, and undergo due penance, or else should give up their churches; while no married man should be admitted to the diaconate, unless his wife would take a vow of continence before the bishop.[3]

---

[1] Vitæ episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, subdiaconorumque ut caste et regulariter vivant, provideam.—Batthyani, I. 431.

[2] Epist. Urbani apud Batthyani, II. 274.

[3] In partibus Dalmatiæ et Diocletiæ sacerdotes et uxorem habere et

Even yet, however, the subdiaconate is not alluded to, although the legates who presided over the council were those of Innocent III.

Of how little avail were these efforts is shown by the national council held at Vienna as late as 1267, by Cardinal Guido, legate of Clement IV. It was still found necessary to order the deprivation of priests and deacons who persisted in retaining their wives; while the special clauses respecting those who married after taking orders prove that such unions were frequent enough to require tender consideration in removing the evil. The subdiaconate, also, was declared liable to the same regulations, but the resistance of the members of that order was probably stubborn, for the canons were suspended in their favor until further instructions should be received from the pope.[1]

Poland was equally remiss in enforcing the canons on her clergy. The efforts of Innocent III. extended to that distant region, and in 1197 his legate, Cardinal Peter of Capua, held the synod of Lanciski, when the priests were peremptorily ordered to dismiss their wives and concubines, who, in the words of the historian, were at that time universally and openly kept.[2] The effort was finally successful, at least in the western portions of the kingdom, for at the council of Breslau, held in 1279, there is no mention of wives, and the constitution of Guido, legate of Clement IV., is quoted, depriving of benefices those who openly kept concubines.[3]

The church of Sweden was no purer than its neighbors. In 1213, the Archbishop of Lunden wrote to Innocent III. complaining that the Swedish priests persisted in living

---

ecclesias tenere dicuntur. . . . Illi vero qui post susceptum sacerdotii vel diaconatus honorem adulteras potius quam uxores accepisse probantur, nisi eas dimiserint . . . ab officio et beneficio ecclesiastico fiant penitus alieni.—Synod. Dalmatiæ, ann. 1199. (Batthyani, II. 289–90.)

[1] Presbyteros vel diaconos uxoratos, qui ante acceptos ordines vel postea uxores acceperunt ab altaris ministerio et ecclesiastico beneficio separamus etc.—Concil. Vienn. ann. 1267 (Batthyani, II. 415–17).

[2] Tum facta synodo provinciali, sacerdotibus imperavit ut concubinas et uxores, quibus tum passim libere utebantur, a se abdicarent.—Staravolsc. Concil. Epit. ap. Harduin. T. VI. P. II. p. 1937.

[3] Concil. Vratislaviens. ann. 1279, c. iii. (Hartzheim, III. 808).

with their wives, and that they moreover claimed to have a papal dispensation permitting it. Innocent, in reply, cautiously abstained from pronouncing an opinion as to the validity of these pretensions until he should have an opportunity of examining the document to which they appealed.[1] The efforts at this time were fruitless, for, in 1248, we find the Cardinal of St. Sabina as legate of Innocent IV. holding a council at Schening, of which the principal object was to reform these abuses, and so firmly were they established, that the Swedes were considered as schismatics of the Greek church, in consequence of the marriage of their priests.[2]

In Denmark and along the northern coasts of Germany, there was equal delay in enforcing the canon of celibacy. It is suggestive of some powerful intercession in favor of the married clergy when we see Paschal II., in 1117, writing to the King of Denmark that the rule was imperative, and that he could admit of no exceptions to it.[3] His insistance, however, was of little avail. In 1266, Cardinal Guido, legate of Clement IV., held a council at Bremen, where he was obliged to take rigorous measures to put an end to this Nicolitan heresy. All married priests, deacons, and subdeacons were pronounced incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office whatever. Children born of such unions were declared infamous, disinherited, and any property received by gift or otherwise from their fathers was confiscated. Those who permitted their daughters, sisters, or other female relatives to contract such marriages, or gave them up in concubinage to priests, were excluded from the church. That a previous struggle had taken place on the subject is evident from the penalties

---

[1] Postulasti . . . utrum sacerdotes Suetiæ in publicis debeas tolerare conjugiis, qui super hoc se asserunt cujusdam summi pontificis privilegio communitos. . . . De presbyteris autem Suetiæ non possumus dare responsum, nisi viderimus privilegium quod prætendunt.—Innocent. III. Regest. xvi. Epist. 118.

[2] Prima intentio et cura Cardinalis Sabinensis in hoc concilio erat revocare Suecos et Gothos a schismate Græcorum, in quo presbyteri et sacerdotes, ductis publicis uxoribus, consensisse videbantur.—Johan. Magnus Gothus (Thomassin, Discip. de l'Eglise, P. IV. Lib. i. c. 45).

[3] Jaffé, Regesta, p. 515-6.—Paschal. II. Epist. 497.

threatened against the prelates who were in the habit of deriving a revenue from the protection of these irregularities, and from an allusion to the armed resistance, made by the married and concubinary priests with their friends, to all efforts to check their scandalous conduct.[1]

In Friesland, too, the efforts of the sacerdotalists were long set at naught. In 1219 Emo, Abbot of Wittewerum, describing the disastrous inundations which afflicted his country, considers them as a punishment sent to chastise the vices of the land, and among the disorders which were peculiarly obnoxious to the wrath of God he enumerates the public marriage of the priests, the hereditary transmission of benefices, and the testamentary provision made by ecclesiastics for their children out of the property which should accrue to the church; while his references to the canon law inhibiting these practices, show that these transgressions were not excusable through ignorance.[2] The warning was unheeded, for Abbot Emo alludes incidentally, on various subsequent occasions, to the hereditary transmission of several deaneries as a matter of course.[3] The deans in Friesland were ecclesiastics of high position, each having six or more parishes under his jurisdiction, which he governed under legatine power from the Bishop of Munster. When, in 1271, the people rose against them, exasperated by their intolerable exactions, in some temporary truce the deans gave their *children* as hostages; and when, after their expulsion, Gerard of Munster came to their assistance by excommunicating the rebels, the latter defended the movement by the argument that the deans had

---

[1] Concil. Bremens. ann. 1266 (Hartzheim, IV. 580).

[2] Ecclesiæ jure hereditario a filiis sacerdotum possidentur. . . . Presbyteri et ceteri altaris ministri ex oblatis convivantur, et tabernas intrant. . . . Conjugati sacros ordines capiunt, et beneficia ecclesiastica et conjuges conjuguntur contra decretales ff. de cleric. conjug. Nec res quas acquirunt post ordines ecclesiis sed liberis suis relinquunt.—Emonis Chron. ann. 1219.

[3] Eodem tempore defunctus est præfatus decanus (Herbrandus) possessor ecclesiæ in Husquert, tertius heres illius nominis, relicto parvulo ejusdem nominis. (Emonis Chron. ann. 1231.)—and Emo alludes to him as "honesto viro Herbrando."

Obiit Geyco decanus in Firmetium vir per omnia sæcularibus artibus idoneus, et bene religiosus et obsequiosus. Successit ei Sicco, quartus a proavo Sigrepo.—Ibid. ann. 1233.

violated the laws of the church by handing down their positions from father to son, and that each generation imitated the incontinence of its predecessor.[1] Hildebrand would have applauded this reasoning, but his days were past. The church by this time had gained the position to which it had aspired, and no longer invoked secular assistance to enforce its laws. Even Abbot Menco, while admitting the validity of the popular argument, claimed that such questions were reserved for the decision of the church alone, and that the people must not interfere.

After thus marking the slow progress of the Hildebrandine movement in these frontier lands of Christendom, let us see what efforts were required to establish the reform in regions less remote.

[1] Et eos (decanos) de terra depulerunt, licet ipsi filios suos eis dedissent obsides. . . . Assumentes sibi in argumentum excusationis, quod plurimi decani contra jura patribus successissent, absque dispensatione Sedis Apostolicæ, et maxime quod essent paternæ incontinentiæ imitatores.—Menconis Chron. Werens. ann. 1271.

XVI.

FRANCE.

GREGORY VII. had not been so engrossed in his quarrels with the Empire as to neglect the prosecution of his favorite schemes of reform elsewhere. If he displayed somewhat less of energy and zeal in dealing with the ecclesiastical foibles of other countries, it was perhaps because the political complications which gave a special zest to his efforts in Germany were wanting, and because there was no organized resistance supported by the temporal authorities. Yet the inertia of passive non-compliance long rendered his endeavors and those of his successors equally nugatory.

As early as 1056 we find Victor II., by means of his vicars at the council of Toulouse, enjoining on the priesthood separation from their wives, under penalty of excommunication and deprivation of function and benefice.[1] This was followed up in 1060 by Nicholas II., who sought through his envoys to enforce the observance of his decretals on celibacy in France, and under the presidency of his legate the council of Tours in that year adopted a canon of the most decided character. All who, since the promulgation of the decretal of 1060, had continued in the performance of their sacred functions while still preserving relations with their wives and concubines were deprived of their grades without hope of restoration; and the same irrevocable penalty was denounced against those who in the future should endeavor to combine the incompatible duties of husband and minister of Christ.[2]

---

[1] Placuit quoque presbyteros, diaconos et reliquos clericos qui ecclesiasticos tenuerint honores abstinere omnimodis ab uxoribus, vel reliquis mulieribus etc.—Concil. Tolosan. ann. 1056, can. vii.

[2] Præterea, si quis episcoporum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, aut subdi-

In what spirit these threats and injunctions were likely to be received may be gathered from an incident which occurred, probably about this time. A French bishop, as in duty bound, excommunicated one of his deacons for marrying. The clergy of the diocese, keen to appreciate the prospect of future trouble, rallied around their persecuted brother, and rose in open rebellion against the prelate. The latter, apparently, was unable to maintain his position, and the matter was referred for adjudication to the celebrated Berenger of Tours. Although, in view of the papal jurisprudence of the period, the bishop would seem to have acted with leniency, yet Berenger blamed both parties for their precipitancy and quarrelsome humor, and decided that the excommunication of a deacon for marrying was contrary to the canons, unless rendered unavoidable by the contumacy of the offender.[1]

Even more significant was the scene which occurred in 1074 in the council of Paris, where the holy St. Gauthier, Abbot of Ponthoise, undertook to sustain the decretal by which Gregory VII. prohibited attendance on the masses of married and concubinary priests. The assembly manifested its disapprobation of the measure in a manner so energetic that its unlucky advocate, after being furiously berated and soundly pummelled, was glad to escape with his life from the hands of his indignant brethren.[2]

When such was the spirit of the ecclesiastical body, there was little to be expected from any internal attempt at reform. At the stormy synod of Poitiers, in 1078, the papal legate, Hugh, Bishop of Die, succeeded in obtaining the adoption of a canon which threatened with excommunication all who

---

aconorum, post cognitum interdictum domini nostri papæ Nicolai, mulieris cujuslibet carnali detentus copula, a ministerio et beneficio altaris non cessavit; sive deinceps cognoscens prælibatum apostolicæ sedis interdictum, aut mulierem aut ministerium ecclesiæ cum beneficio non statim deseruerit, nullam restitutionis in pristino gradu veniam sibi reservasse cognoscat.—Concil. Turon. ann. 1060, c. 6.

[1] Ceterum, quod excommunicavit diaconum suum propter ductam uxorem, contra canones fecisse videtur mihi, nisi forte cogente pertinacia ipsius.—Epist. Berengar. Turon. (Martene et Durand. I. 195–6). It must be borne in mind that the persecution of Berenger arose solely from his theological subtleties, and that objections to celibacy formed no portion of his errors.

[2] Art de Vérifier les Dates, s. v.

should knowingly listen to the mass of a concubinary or simoniacal priest,[1] but this seems to have met with little response. Coercion from without was evidently requisite, and in this cause, as we have seen, Gregory did not shrink from subjecting the church to the temporal power. In Normandy, for instance, a synod held at Lisieux in 1055 had commanded the degradation of priests who resided with wives or concubines. This was, of course, ineffective, and in 1072 John, Archbishop of Rouen, held a council in his cathedral city where he renewed that canon in terms which show how completely all orders and dignitaries were liable to its penalties.[2] The Norman clergy were not disposed to submit quietly to this abridgment of their accustomed privileges, and they expressed their dissent by raising a terrible clamor and driving their archbishop from the council with a shower of stones, from which he barely escaped alive.[3] At length, in view of the utter failure of all ecclesiastical legislation, the laity were called in. William the Conqueror, therefore, in 1080, assisted the Archbishop of Rouen in holding a synod at Lillebonne, where the stern presence of the suzerain prevented any unseemly resistance to the adoption of most unpalatable regulations. All who were in holy orders were forbidden, under any pretext, to keep women in their houses, and if, when accused of disobedience, they were unable to prove themselves innocent, their benefices were irretrievably forfeited. If the accusation was made by the ecclesiastical officials, the offender was to be tried by the episcopal court, but if his parishioners or feudal superior were the complainants, he was to be brought before a mixed tribunal, composed of the squires of his parish and the officials of the bishop. This startling invasion of the dearest privileges of the church was declared by William to proceed from no desire to inter-

[1] Concil. Pictaviens. ann. 1078, can. 9.

[2] De sacerdotibus et levitis et subdiaconibus qui feminas sibi usurpaverunt, concilium Lexoviense observetur, ne ecclesias per se atque per suffraganeos regant, nec aliquid de ıeficiis habeant. Archidiaconi qui ·egere debent, non permittantur aliquam habere nec concubinam nec subintroductam mulierem nec pellicem . . . Oportet etiam ut tales decani eligantur qui sciant subditos redarguere et emendare.—Concil. Rotomag. ann. 1072, can. 16 "de clericis uxoratis."

[3] Orderic. Vital. P. II. Lib. iv. c. 2.

with the jurisdiction of his bishops, but to be a temporary edient, rendered necessary by their negligence. Nor was remarkable measure the only thing that renders the synod Lillebonne worthy of note, for it affords us the earliest horitative indication of a practice which subsequently ame a standing disgrace to the church. The fifth canon lares that no priest shall be forced to give anything to the 1op or to the officers of the diocese beyond their lawful s, and especially that no money shall be exacted on ount of women kept by clerks.[1] A tribute known as llagium" became at times a recognized source of revenue, consideration of which the weaknesses of human nature e excused, and ecclesiastics were allowed to enjoy in urity the society of their concubines. We shall see here- r that this infamous custom continued to flourish until the teenth century, despite the most strenuous and repeated leavors to remove so grievous a scandal.

t is probable that the expedient of mixed courts for the l of married and concubinary priests was not adopted hout the concurrence of Gregory, who was willing to ke almost any sacrifice necessary to accomplish his pur- e. That they were organized and performed the functions egated to them is shown by a reference in a charter of 8 to one held at Caumont, which required a priest to ndon either his wife or his church.[2] So far, indeed, was egory from protesting against this violation of ecclesias- l immunities, that he was willing even to connive at the ses which immediately crept into the system, and to pur- se the assistance of the laity by allowing them to lay rilegious hands on the temporalities of the church. Many the nobles who thus assisted in expelling the offending rgy seized the tithes and retained them. The papal legate, gh, Bishop of Die—better known by his subsequent pri- tial dignity of Lyons—proceeded against these invaders of

Concil. Juliobonens. ann. 1080, . 3, 5. (Orderic. Vital. P. II. Lib. . 6.—Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. 1599.)—Propter eorum feminas la pecuniæ emendatio exigatur.

Tenentes placitum de presbitero ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ sita est inferius non longe a Ledonis Curte; et volebant aut uxorem ejus illi excutere, aut ecclesiam quæ illorum erat. — Pauli Carnot. Vet. Agano. Lib. VIII. c. 11.

church property in the usual manner, and excommunicated them as a matter of course. Gregory, however, who under ordinary circumstances would have promptly consigned the spoilers to the bottomless pit, now virtually took their side. He discreetly declined to confirm the excommunication, reproved his legate for superserviceable zeal, and ordered him in future to be more guarded and temperate in his proceedings.[1]

Church and state—the zeal of the ecclesiastic and the avarice of the noble—vainly united to break down the stubbornness of the Norman priesthood, for marriage continued to be enjoyed as openly as ever. The only effect of the attempted reform, indeed, appeared to be that when a priest entered into matrimony he took a solemn vow never to give up his wife, a measure prompted doubtless by the fears of the bride and her kindred. The nuptials were public; male issue succeeded to benefices by a recognized primogeniture, and female children received their fathers' churches as dower, when other resources were wanting. About the beginning of the twelfth century, three enthusiastic ascetic reformers, the celebrated Robert d'Arbrissel, founder of Fontevrault, Bernard Abbot of Tiron, and Vitalis of Mortain traversed Normandy and preached with great earnestness against these abuses, the result of which was that they nearly came to an untimely end at the hands of the indignant pastors and their more indignant spouses.[2]

If William the Conqueror found his advantage in thus assisting the hopeless reform within his duchy of Normandy, he had no hesitation in obstructing it when his policy demanded such a course in his subject province of Britanny. During the three and a half centuries through which the Breton church maintained its independence of the archiepiscopal see of Tours, its metropolis was Dol. Judhaël, who occupied

[1] Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. IX. Epist. 5.

[2] Gaufridi Grossi Vit. Bernardi Tironens. c. 6, §§ 51–54. On one occasion when Bernard was preaching at Coutances, a married archdeacon assailed him, with a crowd of priests and clerks, asking how he, a monk, dead to the world, presumed to preach to the living. Bernard replied that Samson had slain his foes with the jaw-bone of a dead ass, and then proceeded with so moving a discourse on Samson, that the archdeacon was converted, and interfered to save him from the mob.

its lofty seat, not only obtained it by simony, but sullied it by a public marriage; and when the offspring of this illicit union reached maturity, he portioned them from the property of the church. This prolonged violation of the canons attracted the attention of Gregory soon after his accession, and in 1076 he informed William that he had deposed the offender. William, however, saw fit to defend the scandal, and refused to receive Evenus, Abbot of St. Melanius, whom Gregory had appointed as a successor.[1] Judhaël, indeed, was no worse than his suffragans. For three generations the diocese of Quimper was held by father, son, and grandson; while the Bishops of Rennes, Vannes, and Nantes were openly married, and their wives enjoyed the recognized rank of countesses, as an established right.[2] How much improvement resulted from the efforts of Gregory and his legate Hugh may be estimated from the description, in general terms, of the iniquities ascribed to the Breton clergy, both secular and regular, in the early part of the next century, by Paschal II. when granting the pallium to Baldric, Archbishop of Dol.[3]

In Flanders, Count Robert the Frisian and Adela, his mother, were well disposed to second the reformatory measures of Gregory, but, doubting their right to eject the offenders, they applied, in 1076, to him for instructions. His answers were unequivocal, urging them to the most prompt and summary proceedings.[4] The spirit in which the clergy met the attack was manifested by the incident already described, when, in 1077, an unfortunate zealot was burned at the stake in Cambrai for maintaining the propriety of the papal

[1] Gregor. VII. Epist. Extrav. 29.—Epist. apud Martene et Durand, III. 871–6.

[2] Roujoux, Hist. de Bretagne, II. 98–99. The independence affected by the Breton church is well shown in a singularly impertinent letter addressed to Leo IX. by the clergy of Nantes, refusing to receive a bishop appointed by him, after the degradation for simony of Prodicus by the council of Rheims in 1050. (Mart. et Dur. I. 172–3.)

[3] Tantum vestris in partibus jam abundat iniquitas, quod Christiana religio penitus ibi deperire videatur, et quod sine dolore dicere non possumus, non solum laici, verum etiam clerici et monachi in prohibitis seu illicitis prorumpentes, Deo et hominibus odibilia perpetrare non metuunt. (Martene et Durand, III. 882.)

[4] Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. IV. Epist. 10, 11.

decretals. The same disposition, though fortunately leading to less deplorable results, was exhibited in Artois. At the instance of Adela, Robert, in 1072, had founded the Priory of Watten, near St. Omer. Despite this powerful interest and patronage, the house had a severe struggle for existence, as its prior, Otfrid, lent his influence to support the reform and to enforce the decrees of Gregory. Reproaches and curses were showered upon the infant community, and it was openly threatened with fire and sword, until the unfortunate brethren felt equally insecure within their walls and abroad. At length the Countess Adela took Otfrid with her on a pilgrimage to Rome, and there the holy man procured from Gregory a confirmation of the privileges of his house. On his return, he found that this instrument only made the persecution more vehement. Accusations of all kinds were made against the priory, and its enemies succeeded in causing the brethren to be brought for trial before the local synod, where the production of the papal charter was ordered. It was at once pronounced a forgery, was taken away by force, and was retained by the Bishop, Drogo of Terouane, in spite of all remonstrance.[1]

The opposition of the clergy was not lessened by the manner in which the secular authorities exercised the power bestowed upon them. Count Robert saw the advantages derivable from the position of affairs and seems to have been resolved to turn it thoroughly to account. Among other modes adopted was that of the "jus spolii," by which he seized the effects of dying ecclesiastics, turning their families out of doors and disinheriting the heirs. These arbitrary proceedings he defended on the ground of the incontinence of the sufferers, boldly declaring that wicked priests were no priests—as if, groaned the indignant clerks, sinful men were not men.[2] In 1091, the Flemish priests complained of these

[1] Ebrardi Chron. Watinens. cap. 22–3. Ebrard was a contemporary, a disciple of Otfrid, and therefore his statement of the motives of the persecution is entitled to credence.

[2] "Addens malos sacerdotes sacerdotes non esse, acsi peccator homo non esset homo." From the tenor of Robert's defence it is evident that it was the children of the clerks whom he disinherited. The documents are in Warnkönig, Hist. de Flandre, I. 330–3 (Bruxelles, 1835).

acts to Urban II., and he vainly endeavored to interfere in their behalf.[1] Finding this resource fail, they appealed to their metropolitan, Renaud, Archbishop of Rheims, who by active measures succeeded in putting an end to the abuse in 1092.

Amid all this the church proved powerless to enforce its laws, and again it called upon the feudal authority for assistance—this time in a manner by which it admitted its impotence on a question so vital. In 1099, Manasses of Rheims held a provincial synod at St. Omer, which instructed the Count of Flanders, Robert the Hierosolymitan, to seize the wives of all priests who after excommunication declined to abandon their guilty partners; and in this he was not to ask or wait for the assent of the bishop of the diocese. The sturdy Crusader would doubtless have carried out this order to the letter, with all its attendant cruelty and misery, but the clergy of the province united in remonstrances so vehement that Manasses was forced to abandon his position. He accordingly requested Robert on no account to disturb the married priests and their wives, or to permit his nobles to do so, except when assistance was demanded by the bishops. He acknowledged the injustice he had committed in overslaughing the constituted authorities of the church, and deprecated the rapine and spoliation which so ill-advised a proceeding might cause. At the same time he admonished his suffragans to proceed vigorously against all who married in orders, and to call on the seigneurial power to coerce those who should prove contumacious.[2]

Harsh and violent as were the measures thus threatened, there appears to have been extreme hesitation in carrying them out. A certain clerk known as Robert of Artois committed the unpardonable indiscretion of marrying a widow, and openly resisted all the efforts of his bishop to reduce him to obedience. Not only his original crime, but his subsequent contumacious rebellion would assuredly justify the severest chastisement, yet both the secular and ecclesiastical powers of the province seem to have been at fault, for it was

[1] Urbani PP. II. Epist. lxx.

[2] Lambert. Atrebat. Epist. 60.

found necessary to ask the interference of no less a personage than Richard, Bishop of Albano, then enjoying the dignity of papal legate in France. In 1104 the legate accordingly addressed the Count of Flanders with the very moderate request that the obstinate rebel and his abettors should be held as excommunicate until they should reconcile themselves to their bishop.[1] How obstinately, indeed, the clergy held to their wives, and how slow was the result of all these efforts, may be understood when we find Paschal II., after the year 1100, writing to the clergy of Terouane, expressing his surprise that, in spite of so many decretals of popes and canons of councils, they still adhered to their consorts, some of them openly and some secretly. To remedy this, he has nothing but a repetition of the old threat of deprivation.[2]

The confusion which this attempted reformation caused in France was apparently not so aggravated as we have seen it in Germany, and yet it was sufficiently serious. Guibert de Nogent relates that in his youth commenced the persecution of the married priests by Rome, when a cousin of his, a layman of flagrant and excessive licentiousness, made himself conspicuous by his attacks on the failings of the clergy. The family were anxious to provide for young Guibert, who was destined to the church, and the cousin used his influence with the patron of a benefice to oust the married incumbent and bestow the preferment on Guibert. The priest thus forcibly ejected abandoned neither his wife nor his functions, but relieved his mind by excommunicating every day, in the Mass, Guibert's mother and all her family, until the good woman's fears were so excited that she abandoned the pre-

[1] Robertum vero Atrebatensem dictum clericum viduæ copulatum, episcopo suo obstinate rebellem, cum omnibus suæ partis complicibus, habeas excommunicatum, donec tamen suo reconcilietur episcopo.—Ibid. Epist. 84. Robert finally appealed to Rome; but was obliged to succumb, as we learn from an epistle of Paschal II. (Paschalis PP. II. Epist. 134). Similar was the case of two Artesian deacons who refused to abandon their wives until Lambert excommunicated them, when they journeyed to Rome in hopes of being reconciled to the church. Paschal II. absolved them on their taking a solemn oath upon the Gospels to live single in future, and he sent them back to Lambert, with instructions to watch them carefully. —Lambert. Epist. apud Baluz. et Mansi II. 150.—(Paschalis PP. II. Epist. 134.)

[2] Paschalis PP. II. Epist. 415.

bend which she had obtained with so much labor.[1] We can readily conceive this incident to be a type of what was occurring in every corner of the kingdom, when, in an age of brute force, the reverence which was the only defence of the priesthood was partially destroyed, and the people hardly knew whether they were to adore their pastors as representatives of God or to dread them as the powerful ministers of evil.

When the religious ardor of Europe rose to the wild excitement that culminated in the Crusades, and Pope Urban II. astutely availed himself of the movement to place the church in possession of a stronger influence over the minds of men than it had ever before enjoyed, it was to no purpose that the great council of Clermont, in 1095, took the opportunity to proclaim in the most solemn manner the necessity of perfect purity in ministers of the altar, to denounce irrevocable expulsion for contravention of the rule, and to forbid the children of ecclesiastics from entering the church except as monks or canons.[2] It was the weightiest exposition of church discipline, and was promulgated under circumstances to give it the widest publicity and the highest authority. Yet, within a few years we find Gualo, Bishop of Paris, applying to Ivo of Chartres for advice as to what ought to be done with a canon of his church who had recently married, and Ivo in reply recommending as a safe course that the marriage be held valid, but that the offender be relieved of his stipend and functions.[3] His answer, moreover, is written in a singularly undecided tone, and an elaborate argument is presented as though the matter were still open to discussion, although Ivo's laborious compilations of the canon law show that he

---

[1] Guibert. Noviogent. de Vita Sua, Lib. I. cap. vii.

[2] Concil. Claromont. can. 9. Ut nullus sacerdos aut diaconus aut subdiaconus, sed et nullus qui canonicam habet, fornicationis sibi copulam adjungat. Quod si quis fecerit, a canonica omnino arceatur.

Can. 10. Ut in domibus clericorum nullas liceat habitare mulieres, nisi quas sancti canones permittunt.

Can. 25. Ne filii presbyterorum, diaconorum vel subdiaconorum canonicorum ad ordines, vel alios honores ecclesiasticos promoveantur, nisi monachus vel canonicus fuerit.

In Lent of the following year (1096) Urban caused these canons to be received by a provincial council held under his auspices at Tours.—Bernald. Constant. ann. 1096.

[3] Ivon. Carnot. Epist. 218.

was thoroughly familiar with the ancient discipline which the depravity of his generation had rendered obsolete.[1] Hardly less significant is another epistle in which Ivo calls the attention of Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, to the conduct of one of his dignitaries who publicly maintained two concubines and was preparing to marry a third. He urges Daimbert to put an end to the scandal, and suggests that if he is unable to accomplish it single-handed, he should summon two or three of his suffragans to his assistance.[2] Either of these instances is a sufficient confession of the utter futility of the ceaseless exertions which for half a century the church had been making to enforce her discipline. Nor, perhaps, can her ill-success be wondered at when we consider how unworthy were the hands to which was frequently intrusted the administering of the law and the laxity of opinion which viewed the worst transgressions with indulgence. The archdeacons were the officials to whom was specially confided the supervision over sacerdotal morals, and yet, when a man occupying that responsible position, like Aldebert of Le Mans, publicly surrounded himself with a harem, and took no shame from the resulting crowd of offspring, so little did his conduct shock the sensibilities of the age that he was elevated to the episcopal chair, and only the stern voice of Ivo could be heard reproving the measureless scandal.[3]

Equal laxity pervaded the monastic establishments. Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, made numerous fruitless attempts to restore discipline in the celebrated abbey of Euron, the monks of which indulged in the grossest licentiousness, and successfully defied his power until he was obliged to appeal to the papal legate for assistance.[4] The description which Ivo of Chartres gives of the convent of St. Fara shows a

---

[1] Ivon. Decret. P. VI. c. 50 et seq.—Panorm. Lib. III. c. 84 et seq.

[2] Ivon. Epist. 200.

[3] Quod ultra modum laxaveris frena pudicitiæ, in tantum ut post acceptum archidiaconatum, accubante lateribus tuis plebe muliercularum, multam genueris plebem puerorum et puellarum.—Ibid. Epist. 277.

[4] Est etiam eis publica et inexpugnabilis cum mulieribus familiaritas, quibus illæ, promissis et præmissis obligatæ munusculis, dies iniquitatis et noctes infamiæ vindicare comprobantur.—Hildebert. Cenoman. Epist. 38. (Lib. II. Epist. 25.)

promiscuous and shameless prostitution, on the part of the nuns of that institution, even more degrading.[1] Instances like these could be almost indefinitely multiplied, such as that of St. Mary of Argentueil, reformed by Heloise, the great foundation of St. Denis, previous to the abbacy of Suger, and that of St. Gildas de Ruys in Britanny, as described by Abelard.[2] It is true that some partial reform was effected by St. Bernard, but the austerities of the new orders founded by enthusiasts like him and St. Bruno, Robert d'Arbrissel and St. Norbert, did not cure the ineradicable vices of the older establishments.

With such examples before us, it is not difficult to believe the truth of the denunciations with which the celebrated Raoul of Poitiers, whose fiery zeal gained for him the distinctive appellation of Ardens, lashed the vices of his fellows; nor can we conclude that it was mere rhetorical amplification which led him to declare that the clergy, who should be models for their flocks, were more shameless and abandoned than those whose lives it was their duty to guide.[3]

The natural result of such a state of morals was the prevalence of the hereditary principle against which the church had so long and so perseveringly striven. How completely this came to be regarded as a matter of course, is shown by a contemporary charter to the ancient monastery of Bèze, by which a priest named Germain, on entering it bestowed upon it his holding, consisting of certain specified tithes. This

---

[1] Audivi turpissimam famam de monasterio Sanctæ Faræ, quod jam non locus sanctimonialium sed mulierum dæmonialium prostibulum dicendum est, corpora sua ad turpes usus omni generi hominum prostituentium.—Ivon. Epist. 70.

[2] Martene et Durand. T. V. p. 1142–3. Honorii PP. II. Epist. 91. A contemporary chronicler records as a matter of special wonder that John of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres, forced his canons to live in cloisters according to the rule of St. Augustine; and he adds that stimulated by this example his uncle John of Lisieux, and his successor Geoffrey of Chartres, attempted the same reform, but were unsuccessful.—Roberti de Monte Chron. ann. 1143.

[3] Nonne qui nocentes deberemus absolvere, eis malo exemplo nocemus? Nonne qui deberemus pollutos lavare, vitiorum nostrorum contagione alios polluimus?—— Sed nos, hodie indigni sacerdotes quid dicemus qui cæteris hominibus non majores sed deteriores sumus? Qui cum in conspectu hominum gradu sacerdotalis ordinis celsiores cæteris videamur, tamen cæteris inferiores vita moribusque jacemus? Radulph. Ardent. T. II. P. ii. Homil. 25.—See also Homil. 21.

deed of gift is careful to declare the assent of the sons of the donor, showing that the title of the monastery would not have been considered good as against the claims of Germain's descendants had they not joined in the conveyance.[1]

When, in the presence of so stiff-necked and evil disposed a generation, all human efforts seemed unavailing to secure respect for the canons of councils and decretals of popes, we need scarcely wonder if recourse was had to the miraculous agencies which so often proved efficacious in subduing the minds of men. Wondrous stories, accordingly, were not wanting, to show how offended Heaven sometimes gave in this world a foretaste of the wrath to come, awaiting those who lived in habitual disregard of the teachings of the church. Thus Peter the Venerable relates with much unction how a priest, who had abandoned himself to carnal indulgences, died amid the horrors of anticipated hell-fire. Visible to him alone, the demons chuckling around his death-bed heated the frying-pan of burning fat in which he was incontinently to be plunged, while a drop flying from the sputtering mass seared him to the bone, as a dreadful material sign that his agony was not the distempered imagining of a tortured conscience.[2]

If Heaven thus miraculously manifested its anger, it was equally ready to welcome back the repentant sinner. In the first energy of the reforms of St. Bernard, a priest entered the abbey of Clairvaux. The rigor of the Cistercian discipline wore out his enthusiasm; he fled from the convent, returned to his parish, and, according to the general custom, ("sicut multis consuetudinis est") took to himself a concubine, and soon saw a family increasing around him. The holy St. Bernard chanced to pass that way and accepted the priest's warm hospitality without recognizing him. When the Saint was ready to depart in the morning he found that his host was absent performing his functions in the church; and turn-

---

[1] Hoc totum factum est rogatu Germani presbyteri, filiorumque ejus, qui post inde noster effectus est monachus.—Chron. Besuens. Chart. de tenement. German. presbyt.

[2] Petri Venerab. de Mirac. Lib. I. c. 25. A miracle equally significant wrung a confession of his weakness from the Dean of Minden in 1167.—Chron. Episc. Mindens. c. 26.

ing to one of the children, he sent him with a message to his father. Though the child had been a deaf-mute from birth, he promptly performed the errand. Roused by the miracle to a sense of his iniquity, the apostate rushed to the Saint, threw himself at his feet, confessed who he was, and entreated to be taken back to the monastery. St. Bernard, touched by his repentance, promised to call for him on his return. To this the priest objected, on the ground that he might die during the interval, but was comforted with the assurance that if he died in such a frame of mind, he would be received by God as a monk. When St. Bernard returned, the repentant sinner was dead. Inquiring as to the ceremonies of his interment, he was told that the corpse had been buried in its priestly garments; whereupon he ordered the grave to be opened, and it was found arrayed, not in its funeral robes, but in full Cistercian habit and tonsure, showing that God had fulfilled the promises made in his name.[1]

Such was the condition of the Gallican church when, in 1119, Calixtus II. stepped from the archiepiscopal see of Vienne to the chair of St. Peter. His first great object was to end the quarrel with the empire on the subject of investitures, the vicissitudes of which rendered the papacy at the time of his accession an exile from Italy; his second was to carry out the reforms so long and so fruitlessly urged by his predecessors. To accomplish both these results he lost no time in summoning a great council to assemble at Rheims, and when it met in November, 1119, no less than fifteen archbishops, more than two hundred bishops, and numerous abbots responded to the call, representing Italy, France, Aquitaine, Spain, Germany, and England. The attempted reconciliation with the Emperor Henry V. failed, but the vices and corruptions of the church were vigorously attacked and sternly prohibited for the future. All commerce with concubines or wives was positively forbidden under pain of deprivation of benefice and function. No choice was granted the offender, for continuance in his sin after expulsion

[1] S. Bernardi Vitæ Primæ Lib. VII. cap. xxi.

was punishable with excommunication; and the hereditary transmission of ecclesiastical dignities and property was strictly prohibited.[1] Whether it was the lofty character of the new pope, his royal blood and French extraction, or whether the solemnity of the occasion impressed men's minds, it is not easy now to guess, but unquestionably these proceedings produced greater effect upon the Transalpine churches than any previous efforts of the Holy See. Calixtus was long regarded as the real author of sacerdotal celibacy in France, and his memory has been embalmed in the jingling verses which express the dissatisfaction and spite of the clergy, deprived of their ancestral privileges.

O bone Calliste, nunc clerus odit te;
Olim presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti;
Hoc detruxisti quando tu papa fuisti,
Ergo tuum festum nunquam celebratur honestum.[2]

Calixtus was not a man to rest half way, nor was he content with an empty promise of obedience. Under the pressure of his influence, the French prelates found themselves obliged to take measures for the vigorous enforcement of the canons. What those measures were, and the disposition with which they were received, may be understood from the resultant proceedings in Normandy. Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen, on leaving the council of Rheims, promptly called a synod, which assembled ere the month was out. The canon prohibiting female intercourse roused the deepest abhorrence and the fiercest resistance among his clergy, and they inveighed loudly against the innovation. Geoffrey singled out one who rendered himself particularly prominent in the tumult, and caused him to be seized and cast into prison; then, leaving the church, he called in his guards, whom, with acute anticipation of trouble, he had posted in readiness.

---

[1] Concil. Remens. ann. 1119, can. 4, 5.—"Nullus episcopus, nullus presbyter, nullus omnino de clero ecclesiasticas dignitates vel beneficia cuilibet, quasi hereditario jure, derelinquat." Calixtus had already caused this provision to be adopted by the council of Toulouse, held in the previous June. (Concil. Tolosan. ann. 1119, can. 8.)

[2] Cujas quotes these verses as still current in his day, and attributes to the efforts of Calixtus the suppression of sacerdotal marriage in France. (Giannone, Apologia, c. xiv.)

The rude soldiery fell upon the unarmed priests, some of whom promptly escaped; the rest, grasping what weapons they could find, made a gallant resistance, and succeeded in beating back the assailants. A mob speedily collected, which took sides with the archbishop. Assisted by this unexpected reinforcement, the guards again forced their way into the church, where they beat and maltreated the unfortunate clerks to their heart's content; when, as the chronicler quaintly observes, the synod broke up in confusion, and the members fled without awaiting the archiepiscopal benediction.[1]

The immediate effect of the reformation thus inaugurated may perhaps be judged with sufficient accuracy by the story of Abelard and Heloise, which occurred about this period. That Abelard was a canon when that immortal love arose, was not, in such a state of morals, any impediment to the gratification of his passion, nor did it diminish the satisfaction of the canon Fulbert at the marriage of his niece, for such marriages, as yet, were valid by ecclesiastical law. In her marvellous self-abnegation, however, Heloise recognized that while the fact of his openly keeping a mistress, and acknowledging Astrolabius as his illegitimate son, would be no bar to his preferment, and would leave open to him a career equal to the wildest dreams of his ambition, yet to admit that he had sanctified their love by marriage, and had repaired, as far as possible, the wrong which he had committed, would ruin his prospects forever. In a worldly point of view it was better for him, as a churchman, to have the reputation of shameless immorality than that of a loving and pious husband; and this was so evidently a matter of course that she willingly sacrificed everything, and practised every deceit, that he might be considered a reckless libertine, who had refused her the only reparation in his power. Such was the standard of morals created by the church, and such were the conclusions inevitably drawn from them.[2]

---

[1] Orderic. Vital. P. III. Lib. xii. c. 13.

[2] How great a falling off there had been in the standard of virtue required in ecclesiastics is shown by a comparison of this with the rules enforced at an earlier period. Thus, in the fifth century, Theophilus,

Yet there are evidences that the efforts of Calixtus, and of the fathers whose assembled authority was concentrated at Rheims, did not at once and altogether eradicate a custom which had now become traditional. Soon afterwards King Louis-le-Gros, in granting a charter to the church of St. Cornelius at Compiègne, felt it necessary to accompany the privileges bestowed with a restriction, worded as though it were a novelty, to the effect that those in holy orders connected with the foundation should have no wives—a condition which shows how little confidence existed in the mind of the sagacious prince as to the efficacy of the canons so portentously promulgated by the rulers, and so energetically resisted by the ruled.[1]

Bishop of Alexandria, decided that a man who, as lector, had been punished for a lapse from virtue, and had subsequently risen to the grade of priesthood, must be expelled on account of his previous sin.—Theophili Alexandrin. Commonitor. can. v. (Harduin. I. 1198). This contrast may be further observed in the answer of Innocent III. to the Archbishop of Lunden, who inquired in 1213 whether a man having had two concubines was ineligible to the priesthood as a *digamus*. To this Innocent replied that no matter how many concubines he might have had, either at one time or in succession, he did not incur the irregularity of *digamy*. (Innocent III. Regest. Lib. xvi. Epist. 118.) Such was the result of seven centuries of assiduous sacerdotalism.

The curiously artificial standard of morals thus created may be estimated from the case of the archdeacon of Lisieux, who refused to accept an election to the see of that place on account of his inability to maintain the purity requisite for the episcopal office. Vanquished at length by the importunity of his friends, he was consecrated, and resolutely undertook to abandon his evil habits. The unaccustomed privation brought on a fearful disease, but though assured that his life would prove a sacrifice if he persisted in his resolution, he resisted all entreaties, and refused to purchase existence by sullying his position. He thus fell a martyr to a tenderness of conscience which had not prevented him from indulgence while filling the responsible position of archdeacon. — Girald. Cambrens. Gemm. Eccles. Dist. II. cap. xi.

[1] Ut clerici ejusdem ecclesiæ sicut usque modo vixerunt permaneant; hoc tamen præcipimus ut presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi nullatenus deinceps uxores concubinas habeant; cæteri vero cujuscumque ordinis clerici propter fornicationem, licentiam habeant ducendi uxores. — Du Cange, s. v. *Concubina*.

XVII.

NORMAN ENGLAND.

We have already seen what was the condition of the Anglo-Saxon church when William the Manzer overran the island with his horde of adventurers. Making all due allowance for the fact that our authorities are mostly of the class whose inclination would lead them to misrepresent the conquered and to exaggerate the improvement attributable to the conquest, it cannot be doubted that the standard of morality was extremely low, and that the clergy were scarcely distinguishable from the laity in purity of life or devotion to their sacred calling.

If the reformatory efforts of the popes had not penetrated into the kingdom of Edward the Confessor, it was hardly to be expected that they would excite attention amid the turmoil attendant upon the settlement of the new order of political affairs and the division of the spoils among the conquerors. Accordingly, even the vigilance of Gregory VII. appears to have virtually overlooked the distant land of Britain, conscious, no doubt, that his efforts would be vain, even though the influence of Rome had been freely thrown upon the side of the Norman invader, and had been of no little assistance to him in his preparations for the desperate enterprise. In fact, though William saw fit to aid in the suppression of matrimony among the priests of his hereditary dominions, and had thereby earned the grateful praises of Gregory himself,[1] he does not seem to have regarded the morals of his new subjects as worthy of any special attention. It is true

[1] Tamen in hoc quod . . . presbyteros uxores, laicos decimas quas detinebant, etiam juramento dimittere compulit, cæteris regibus se satis probabiliorem ac magis honorandum ostendit.—Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. IX. Epist. 5.

that in his system of transferring all power from the subject to the dominant race, when Saxon bishops were to be ejected and their places filled with his own creatures, it was necessary for him to effect his purpose in a canonical way, and to procure the degradation of his victims at the hands of the church itself, as it was impossible for him to lay unhallowed hands upon their consecrated heads, or to remove prelates from their sees on questions of mere political expediency. To accomplish this, the scandals and irregularities of their lives afforded the promptest and most effective excuse, and it was freely used.[1] That no effort was made to effect a reform in the ranks of the clergy is at the same time evident from an epistle addressed in 1071 to William by Alexander II., in which, while praising his zeal in suppressing the heresy of simony, and exhorting him to fresh exertion in the good work, no mention whatever is made of the kindred error of Nicolitism, which is usually inseparable in the papal diatribes of the period.[2] Equally conclusive is the fact that when, in 1075, Lanfranc held a national council in London for the purpose of reforming the English church, canons were passed to restrain simony, to prevent incestuous marriages, and to effect other needful changes, but nothing was said respecting sacerdotal marriage, at that time the principal object of Gregory's vigorous measures.[3]

The first steps to check the irregularities of the priesthood appear to have been taken in 1076, at the council of Winchester, and the extreme tenderness there displayed by Lanfranc for the weakness of his flock shows how necessary was the utmost caution in treating a question evidently new, and one which deprived the English clergy of a privilege to which

[1] The vigor with which these changes were carried out is visible in the synods of Winchester and Windsor in 1070, where numerous bishops and abbots were deposed on various pleas. (See Roger of Hoveden, ann. 1070.) The character of the prelates may be judged from the description of the Bishop of Litchfield (Chester) by Lanfranc in a letter of the same year to Alexander II. "Litifeldensis vero episcopus, qui apud legatos vestros de incontinentia carnis, cui uxor publice habita filiique procreati testimonium perhibebant, aliisque criminibus accusatus" (apud Baron. ann. 1070, No. 26).

[2] Alexand. II. Epist. 83.

[3] Wilkins Concil. Mag. Britan. I. 363.

no taint of guilt had previously been attached. We have evidence that when Lanfranc could act according to his own convictions, he was inclined to enforce the absolute rule of celibacy,[1] and we may therefore conclude that on this occasion he was overruled by the convictions of his brother prelates that it was impossible to obtain obedience. All that the council would venture upon was a general declaration against the wives of men in orders, and it permitted parish priests to retain their consorts, contenting itself with forbidding future marriages, and enjoining on the bishops that they should thereafter ordain no one in the diaconate or priesthood without a pledge not to marry in future.[2]

Such legislation could only be irritating and inconclusive. It abandoned the principle for which Rome had been contending, and thus its spirit of worldly temporizing deprived it of all respect and influence. Obedience to it could be therefore invoked on no higher ground than that of an arbitrary and unjustifiable command, and accordingly it received so small a share of attention that when, some twenty-six years later, the holy Anselm, at the great council of London in 1102, endeavored to enforce the reform, the restrictions which he ordered were exclaimed against as unheard of novelties, which, being impossible to human nature, could only result in indiscriminate vice, bringing disgrace upon the church.[3] The tenor of the canons of this council, indeed, proves that

---

[1] Thus, on one occasion, when examining a deacon, he inquired whether he had a wife. The man replied that he had, and further declared that he would not give her up. Lanfranc therefore ordered him to be degraded to the inferior orders, and not to be restored to the diaconate until he should live chastely and pledge himself to continue so. (Lanfranci Epist. 21; Cf. Epist. 22.)

[2] Decretumque est ut nullus canonicus uxorem habeat. Sacerdotes vero in castellis vel in vicis habitantes, habentes uxores non cogantur ut dimittant; non habentes interdicantur ut habeant; et deinceps caventur episcopi ut sacerdotes vel diaconos non præsumant ordinare, nisi prius profiteantur ut uxores non habeant.—Wilkins I. 367.

Polydor Virgil describes a council of London held by Lanfranc in 1078, in which—"Ante omnia mores sacerdotum parum puri quamproxime potuit, ad priscorum patrum regulam revocati sunt, estque illis in posterum tempus recte vivendi modus præscriptus" (Angl. Hist. Lib. IX.); but he has evidently mixed together the proceedings of various synods.

[3] Henric. Huntingdon. Lib. VII.—Matt. Paris ann. 1102.—Henry of Huntingdon, though an archdeacon, was himself the son of a priest, and therefore was not disposed to regard with complacency the stigma attached to his birth by the new order of things.

the previous injunctions had been utterly disregarded. At the same time they manifest a much stronger determination to eradicate the evil, though still far more lenient than the contemporary Continental legislation. No archdeacon, priest, or deacon could marry, nor, if married, could retain his wife. If a subdeacon, after professing chastity, married, he was to be subjected to the same regulation. No priest, as long as he was involved in such unholy union, could celebrate mass; if he ventured to do so, no one was to listen to him; and he was, moreover, to be deprived of his legal status in court. A profession of chastity was to be exacted at ordination to the subdiaconate and to the higher grades; and, finally, the children of priests were forbidden to inherit their fathers' churches.[1]

One symptom of weakness is observable in all this. The council apparently did not venture to prescribe any punishment for the infraction of the rules thus laid down. If this arose from timidity, St. Anselm did not share it, for, when he proceeded to put the canons in practice, we find him threatening his contumacious ecclesiastics with deprivation for persistence in their irregularities. A letter of instruction from him to William, Archdeacon of Canterbury, shows the earnestness with which he entered upon the reform, and also affords an instructive insight into the difficulties of the enterprise, and the misery which the forcible sundering of family ties caused among those who had never doubted the legality and propriety of their marriages. Some ecclesiastics of rank sent their discarded wives to manors at a distance from their dwellings, and these St. Anselm directs shall not be molested if they will promise to hold no intercourse except in the presence of legitimate witnesses. Some priests were afraid to

[1] Concil. Londin. ann. 1105.—Can. 5. Ut nullus archidiaconus, presbyter, diaconus, canonicus uxorem ducat, vel ductam retineat. Subdiaconus vero quilibet, qui canonicus non est, si post professionem castitatis uxorem duxerit, eadem regula constringatur.

Can. 6. Ut presbyter quamdiu illicitam conversationem mulieris habuerit, non sit legalis, nec missam celebret; nec si celebraverit, ejus missa audiatur.

Can. 7. Ut nullus ad subdiaconatum aut supra ordinetur sine professione castitatis.

Can. 8. Ut filii presbyterorum non sint hæredes ecclesiarum patrum suorum.—Wilkins. I. 382 (Eadmer. Hist. Novor. Lib. III. ann. 1102).

proceed to extremities with their wives, and for these weak brethren grace is accorded until the approaching Lent, provided they do not attempt to perform their sacred functions, and can find substitutes of undoubted chastity to minister in their places. The kindred of the unfortunate women apparently endeavored to avert the blow by furious menaces against those who should render obedience, and these instigators of evil are to be restrained by threats of excommunication.[1] In the enforcement of these reforms he seemed to meet with questions for which he was not prepared, for about this time we find him seeking instructions from Paschal II. on several knotty points: whether a priest living with his wife can be allowed to administer the viaticum at the deathbed in the absence of one professing continence; and what is to be done with him if he refuses his ministration on the ground that he is not allowed to celebrate mass.[2]

Notwithstanding these zealous efforts of the primate, and the countenance of Henry Beauclerc, in whose presence the council was held, Eadmer is forced to sorrowfully admit that its canons received but scant respect. Many of the priests adopted a kind of passive resistance, and, locking up their churches, suspended the performance of all sacred rites.[3] Even in Anselm's own diocese, ecclesiastics were found who obstinately refused either to part with their wives or to pretermit their functions, and who, when duly excommunicated, laughed at the sentence, and continued to pollute the church with their unhallowed ministry.[4] Soon after this Anselm

[1] Anselmi Lib. III. Epist. 62.

[2] Paschalis PP. II. Epist. lxxiv.—Paschal replies that it is better to have the ministrations of an unchaste priest than to die unhouselled; and that a priest refusing his offices under such circumstances is to be punished as a homicide of souls. This abandoned the Hildebrandine theory, but Anselm was more consistent in assuming that a layman could administer baptism in preference to an unchaste priest. (Lib. IV. Epist. 41.)

[3] Unde plures eorum ostia ecclesiarum obseraverunt, omittentes omnia officia ecclesiastica.—Simeon Dunelmens. (Pagi IV. 348.)

[4] See the confirmation of excommunication in which St. Anselm exhaled his fiery indignation at those who continued with "bestiali insania" to defy the authorities of the church. (Anselmi Lib. III. Epist. 112.)

Anselm was not entirely without assistance in his efforts. One of his monks, Reginald, of the great monastery of Canterbury, wrote a fearfully diffuse paraphrase, in Leonine verse, of the life of St. Malchus. It was an evil-minded generation, indeed, that

fell into disfavor with the king and was exiled. His absence promised immunity, and the clergy were not slow to avail themselves of it. In 1104 one of his friends, in writing to him, bewails the utter demoralization of the kingdom, of which the worst manifestation was that priests still continued to marry; and two years later another letter informs him that those who had apparently reformed their evil ways were all returning to their previous life of iniquity. Finally, Henry I. resolved to turn to account this clerical backsliding, as a financial expedient to recruit his exhausted treasury. All who were suspected of disobedience to the canons of the council of London were seized and tried, and the property of those who could be proved guilty was confiscated. By this time Anselm had been reconciled to the king, and he promptly interfered to check so gross a violation of ecclesiastical immunity. His remonstrances were met by Henry with well-feigned surprise, and finally the matter was compromised by discharging those who had not been fined, while those who had been forced to pay were promised three years' undisturbed possession of their positions.[1]

That it was impossible to effect suddenly so great a change in the habits and lives of the Anglican clergy was, indeed, admitted by Paschal II. himself, when, in 1107, he wrote to Anselm concerning the questions connected with the children of priests. While reminding him of the rules of the church, he adds that as, in England, the larger and better portion of the clergy fall within the scope of the prohibition, he grants to the primate power of dispensation, by which, in view of the sad necessity of the times, he can admit to the sacred offices those born during their parents' priesthood, who are fitted for it by their education and purity of life. A second epistle on the same subject attests the perplexity of the pope, recalling to Anselm's recollection his former injunctions, and recommending that, as there was no personal guilt involved,

---

could resist such a denunciation of marriage as that pronounced by the saint.

Plenum sorde thorum subeam plenumque dolorum?
Plenus, ait, tenebris thalamus sordet muliebris.
Displicet amplexus, horror mihi copula, sexus.
Conjugium vile, vilescit sponsa, cubile.
Nolo thorum talem, desidero spiritualem.

(Croke's Rhyming Latin Verse, p. 67.)

[1] Eadmer. Hist. Novor. Lib. IV.—Anselmi Lib. III. Epist. 109.

those of the proscribed class who were in orders should, if worthy of their positions, be allowed to retain them, without the privilege of advancement.[1]

It may be remarked that thus far the proceedings of the reformers were directed solely against the marriage of ecclesiastics. It may possibly be that this arose from general conjugal virtue, and that, satisfied with the privilege, no other disorders prevailed among the clergy; but it is more probable that the heresy of marriage was so heinous in the eyes of the sacerdotalists, that it rendered all other sins venial, and that such other sins might be tacitly passed over in the endeavor to put an end to the greater enormity. Be this as it may, the stubborn wilfulness of the offenders only provoked increasing rigor on the part of the authorities. We have seen that the council of 1102 produced little result, and that when the secular power interfered to enforce its canons, the church, jealous of its privileges, protested, so that many priests retained their wives, and marriage was still openly practised. King Henry, therefore, at length, in 1108, summoned another council to assemble in London, where he urged the bishops to prosecute the good work, and pledged his power to their support.[2] Fortified by this and by the consent of the barons, they promulgated a series of ten canons, whose stringent nature and liberal denunciation of penalties prove that the prelates felt themselves strengthened by the royal co-operation and able to compel obedience. The Nicene canon was declared the unalterable law of the church; those ecclesiastics who had disregarded the decrees of the previous council were debarred from performing their functions if longer contumacious; any priest requiring to see his wife was only to do so in the open air and in the presence of two

[1] Wilkins, I. 378-80.—Paschalis II. Epist. 221.

[2] Multi nempe presbyterorum statuta concilii Lundoniensis, necnon vindictam quam in eos rex exercuerat, quorum superius mentionem fecimus, postponentes, suas feminas retinebant, aut certe duxerant quas prius non habebant. Quod incontinentiæ crimen rex subvertere cupiens, adunatis ad curiam suam in solemnitate Pentecostes apud Lundoniam cunctis majoribus regni, de negotio cum Anselmo archiepiscopo et cæteris episcopis Angliæ tractavit, eosque ad malum illum extirpandum regali auctoritate atque potentia fultos roboravit.—Eadmeri Hist. Novor. Lib. IV.

legitimate witnesses; accusations of guilt were to be met by regular canonical purgation, a priest requiring six compurgators, a deacon four, and a subdeacon two, each of his own order. Disobedience to these canons was declared punishable with deprivation of function and benefice, expulsion from the church, and infamy. Only eight days of grace were allowed; further persistence in wrong doing being visited with instant excommunication, and confiscation to the bishops of the private property of the transgressors and of their women, together with the persons of the latter. A very significant clause, moreover, shows that grasping officials had discovered the speculative value of previous injunctions, and that the degrading custom of selling indulgence was already in common use, for the council required of all archdeacons and deans, under penalty of forfeiture, an oath that they would not receive money for conniving at infractions of the rule, nor permit priests who kept women to celebrate mass or to employ vicars to officiate for them.[1]

From the account of the historian, we may assume these to be rather acts of parliament than canons of a council, and that the assembly was convened for the special purpose of devising measures for subduing the recalcitrant clergy. The temporal power was thus pledged to enforce the regulations, and as so enterprising and resolute a monarch as Henry had undertaken the reform, there can be little doubt that he prosecuted it with vigor. Anselm died in 1109, and the clergy rejoiced in the hope that their persecution would cease with the removal of their persecutor, but the king undertook to enforce the regulations of the council of London with more vigor than ever, and soon obtained at least an outward show of obedience. Eadmer darkly intimates that the effect was a great increase of shocking crimes committed with those relatives whose residence was allowed, and he is at some pains to argue that Anselm and his attempted reforms were not responsible for such result. Finally, the ardor of the king cooled off; ecclesiastical officials were found readily accessible to bribes for permitting female intercourse, and those who

[1] Eadmeri Hist. Novor. Lib. IV.

had grown tired of the wives from whom they had been separated found no difficulty in forming more desirable unions with new ones. Eadmer sorrowfully adds that by this time there were few indeed who continued to preserve the purity with which Anselm had labored so strenuously to adorn his clergy.[1]

At length the condition of the Anglican church attracted the attention of the pontiffs who had bestowed so much fruitless energy on the morals of the Continental priesthood; and Honorius II. sent Cardinal John of Crema to England, for the purpose of restoring its discipline. In September, 1126, the legate held a council in London, where he caused the adoption of a canon menacing with degradation all those in orders who did not abstain from the society of their wives, or of other women liable to suspicion;[2] and the expressions employed show that previous legislation had not accomplished its purpose. That the cardinal's endeavors excited the opposition of at least a powerful portion of the clergy is fairly deducible from the unlucky adventure which put a sudden termination to his mission. After fiercely denouncing the concubines of priests and expatiating on the burning shame that the body of Christ should be made by one who had but just left the side of a harlot, he was that very night surprised in the company of a courtesan, though he had on the same day celebrated mass; and the suggestion that he had been entrapped by his enemies, while it did not palliate his guilt, may be assumed to indicate the power and determination of those who opposed his reforms.[3]

---

[1] Eadmeri Hist. Novor. Lib. IV.

[2] Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, canonicis uxorum, concubinarum et omnium omnino feminarum contubernia, auctoritate apostolica inhibemus, præter matrem aut sororem aut amitam, sive illas mulieres qui omnino careant suspicione. Qui decreti hujus violator extiterit confessus vel convictus, ruinam proprii ordinis patiatur.—Concil. Londinens. ann. 1126, c. 13 (Wilkins, I. 408).

[3] Henric. Huntingd. Lib. VII.—Matt. Paris ann. 1125.—Baronius (ann. 1125, No. 12) endeavors to disprove the story, but is only able to offer general negative allegations, of but little weight when opposed to the testimony of a contemporary like Henry of Huntingdon, who speaks of it as a matter of public notoriety, which covered the cardinal with disgrace and drove him from England.

Such conduct was a favorite theme of objurgation with the ascetics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—

Certe tu qui missam dicis
Post amplexum meretricis,
Potaberis ab inimicis
Liquore sulphuris et picis.

(Du Méril, Poésies Latines, p. 133.)

So also, among the poems which

The energy of the reformers and the stubborn obstinacy of the clergy are alike manifested by the council of Westminster, held the following year, which found it necessary to repeat the prohibition and to guard it with stringent provisions, based upon those of 1108.[1] This, however, proved as ineffectual as its predecessors, and another effort was made the next year under auspices which promised a happier result. King Henry seemed suddenly to recover the holy zeal which had lain dormant for a score of years, and in the summer of 1129 he convened a great assembly of all the bishops, archdeacons, abbots, priors, and canons of England, who found that they were summoned to meet for the purpose of putting an end to the immorality of the clergy. After long discussion, it was decreed that all who should not put away their wives by St. Andrew's day (November 30th) should be deprived of their functions, their churches, and their houses; and the assembly separated, intrusting to the zealous sovereign the execution of the decree. Perhaps Henry remembered how St. Anselm had interfered in 1106 to protect the guilty clergy from the royal extortioners; perhaps the experience of his long reign had shown him the fruitlessness of endeavoring to impose an impossible virtue on carnal-minded men. His exchequer, as usual, was in danger of collapse. The whole transaction may have been a deeply-laid scheme to extort money, or the sudden promptings of temptation may have been too powerful for his self-denial—who now can tell? We only know that he at once put into action an extended system of "cullagium," and having, by the blind simplicity of his prelates, the temporalities of nearly all the minor clergy in his power, he proceeded

pass under the name of Golias Episcopus is one of fierce invective directed against the priests, in which this is one of the principal accusations—

O sacerdos, hæc responde,
Qui frequenter et jocunde
Cum uxore dormis, unde
Mane surgens, missam dicis,
Corpus Christi benedicis,
Post amplexus meretricis
Minus quam tu peccatricis.
* * * * *
Plenus sorde, plenus mendis,
Ad autorem manus tendis,
Quem contempnis, quem offendis,
Meretrici dum ascendis.
* * * * *
Quali corde, quali ore
Corpus Christi, cum cruore
Tractas, surgens de fœtore,
Dignus plagis et tortore.

Mapes's Poems (Camd. Soc. Ed. pp. 49–50).

[1] Concil. Westmonast. ann. 1127, c. 5, 6, 7. (Wilkins, I. 410).

to traffic in exemptions shamelessly and on the largest scale. As a financial device, the plan was a good one; he realized a vast sum of money, and his afflicted priests were at least able to show their superiors a royal license to marry or to keep their concubines in peace.[1]

The repetition of almost identical enactments, year after year, with corresponding infinitesimal results, grows wearisome and monotonous. If, therefore, I refer to the synod of Westminster, held in 1138, by the papal legate Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, which deprived of function and benefice all married and concubinary ecclesiastics,[2] it is only to observe that no notice was taken of the doctrine of the invalidity of sacerdotal marriage, which at that period Innocent II. was engaged in promulgating. So, if I allude to an epistle of Lucius II. in 1144, reprehending the general English custom by which sons succeeded to the churches of their fathers, it is merely to chronicle the commencement of the direct efforts of the popes, fruitlessly continued during the remainder of the century, to abolish that wide-spread and seemingly ineradicable abuse.[3]

What was the condition of the church resulting from these prolonged and persistent efforts may be guessed from one or two examples. When, in 1139, Nigel, Bishop of Ely, revolted against King Stephen, he intrusted the defence of his castle of Devizes to his concubine, Maud of Ramsbury. She bravely fulfilled her charge and repulsed the assaults of the king, until he bethought him of a way to compel a surrender. Obtaining possession of Roger, son of Maud and Nigel, the unhappy youth was brought before the walls, and preparations were made to hang him in his mother's sight. At this her courage gave way, and she capitulated at once.[4] Though the monkish chronicler stigmatizes Maud as "pellex episcopi," she may probably have been his wife—in either case

[1] Henric. Huntingd. Lib. VII.—Anglo Saxon Chron. ann. 1129.—Matt. Paris ann. 1129.

[2] Concil. Westmonast. ann. 1138, c. 8 (Wilkins, I. 415).

[3] Rymer, Fœdera Tom. I. ann. 1144.—Post. Concil. Lateran, P. XIX., passim.—Lib. I. Tit. 17 Extra.

[4] Orderic. Vital. P. III. Lib. xiii. c. 20.

the publicity of the connection is a sufficient commentary on the morals and manners of the age.

If this be attributed to the unbridled turbulence of Stephen's reign, we may turn to the comparatively calmer times of Henry II., when Alexander III., amid his ceaseless efforts to restore the church discipline of England, in 1171, ordered the Bishops of Exeter and Worcester and the Abbot of Feversham to examine and report as to the evil reputation of Clarembald, abbot-elect of St. Augustine's of Canterbury. In the execution of this duty they found that that venerable patriarch had seventeen bastards in one village; purity he ridiculed as an impossibility, while even licentiousness had no attraction for his exhausted senses unless spiced with the zest of publicity.[1] That a man whose profligacy was so openly and shamelessly defiant could be elected to the highest place in the oldest and most honored religious community in England is a fact which lends color to the assertion of a writer of the time of King John, that clergy and laity were indistinguishably bad,[2] and perhaps justifies the anecdote told of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who assumed that the clergy were much worse than the laity.[3]

The efforts of Alexander and his successors were seconded by frequent national and local synods, to whose special in-

---

[1] Fluit semine et hinnit in feminas, adeo impudens ut libidinem, nisi quam publicaverit, voluptuosam esse non reputet. . . . Fornicationis abusum comparat necessitati. Proletarius est adeo quod paucis annis ei soboles tanta succrevit ut patriarcharum seriem antecedat.—Joann. Saresberiens. Epist. 310. Well might Alexander, in ordering his ejection, say "ipsum invenerint tot excessibus et criminibus publicis irretitum, quod per eorum nobis litteras recitata auribus nostris nimium præstiterunt tædium et dolorem."—Elmham, Hist. Monast. August. p. 413.

[2] Crescit malorum cumulus,
Est sacerdos ut populus,
Currunt ad illicitum,
Uterque juxta libitum
Audax et imperterritus.
(Wright, Polit. Songs of England, p. 9.)

And another indignant churchman exclaims:—

Qui sunt qui ecclesias vendunt et mercantur?
Qui sunt fornicarii? Qui sunt qui mœchantur?
Qui naturam transvolant et abominantur?
Qui? clerici; a nobis non longe extra petantur.
Mapes's Poems, pp. 156–7.

[3] A woman applied to Bishop Hugh for advice "super impotentia mariti, quia debitum ei reddere non poterat," when the prelate gravely replied, "Faciamus ergo si vis, eum sacerdotem, et statim illo in opere, reddita sibi facultate, proculdubio potens efficietur."—Girald. Cambrens. Gemm. Eccles. Div. II. c. xviii.

junctions it is scarcely worth while to refer in full. One noticeable point about them, however, is that the term "wife" disappears, and is replaced by "concubine" or "focaria"—the latter meaning a person who was a permanent occupant of the priest's hearth, but was not recognized by the authorities as a lawful wife. Deans and archdeacons were enjoined to hunt up these illegal companions, but from the frequency of the injunctions, we may safely conclude that the search was not often successful, and that the officials found the duty assigned to them too difficult or too unprofitable for execution. That it was not impossible, however, when earnestly undertaken, is shown by the readiness with which King John unearthed the unfortunate creatures when, in 1208, he persecuted the clergy in his blind impotence of wrath at the interdict set upon his kingdom by Innocent III. Discerning in these quasi-conjugal relations the tenderest spot in which to strike those who had rebelled against his authority by obeying the interdict, and at the same time as the surest and readiest means of extorting money, among his other schemes of spoliation he caused all these women to be seized, and then forced the unfortunate churchmen to buy their partners back at exorbitant prices.[1]

The ease, indeed, with which the eyes of the officials were blinded to that which was patent to the public was the subject of constantly recurring legislation, the reiteration and

[1] Presbyterorum et clericorum focariæ, per totam Angliam a ministris regis captæ sunt, et graviter ad se redimendum compulsæ.—Matt. Paris ann. 1208.

Perhaps it is to John's experience in this matter that may be attributed the fact that when, in 1214, he entered into a league with his knight-errant nephew, the Emperor Otho IV., against Philip Augustus, they also declared war against Innocent III., and proposed to carry out a gigantic scheme of spoliation by enriching, from ecclesiastical property, all who might rally to their standard. They proclaimed their intention of humbling the church, reducing the numbers of the clergy, stripping those who were left of all their temporalities, and leaving them only moderate stipends. Both John and Otho had been under excommunication, and could speak feelingly of the overweening power and abuses of the church, whose members they characterize as "genus hoc pigrum et fruges consumere natum, quod otia ducit, quodque sub tecto marcet et umbra, qui frustra vivunt, quorum omnis labor in hoc est, ut Baccho Venerique vacent, quibus crapula obesis poris colla inflat, ventresque abdomine onerat." (Lünig. Cod. Diplom. Italiæ I. 34). A few weeks later the Bridge of Bouvines put a sudden end to this prosperous plan of reformation.

increasing violence of which bears irrefragable testimony at once to its necessity and its impotence. Not only in grave synods and pastorals was the abuse reprehended and deplored, but it offered too favorable a subject for popular animadversion to escape the shafts of satire. In the preceding century, Thomas à Becket, in a vehement attack upon simony, includes this among the many manifestations of that multiform sin—

Symon auffert, Symon donat;
Hunc expellit, hunc coronat;
Hunc circumdat gravi peste,
Illum nuptiali veste.[1]

There were few more popular poems in the Middle Ages than the "Apocalypsis Goliæ," the more than doubtful authorship of which, at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, is claimed for Walter Mapes in England and Gautier de Châtillon in France; and the enduring reputation of which is attested by an English version as late as the sixteenth century. The author, whoever he be, inveighing against the evil courses of the archdeacons, assumes that the extortion of the "cullagium" was almost universal.

Seductam nuntii fraude præambuli
Capit focariam, ut per cubiculi
Fortunam habeat fortunam loculi,
Et per vehiculum omen vehiculi.
Decano præcipit quod si presbiteri
Per genitivos scit dativos fieri,
Accusans faciat vocatum conteri,
Ablatis fratribus a porta inferi.[2]

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, Peter de Vinea also has his fling at the same corruption, and though the part he took in the fierce quarrels between his master Frederic II. and the papacy renders him perhaps a prejudiced witness, still his ample experience of the disorders of the church makes him an experienced one.

Non utuntur clerici nostri vestimentis:
Sed tenent focarias, quod clamor est gentis—
— Dehinc reum convocant, et, turba rejecta,
Dicunt: Ista crimina tibi sunt objecta;

[1] Du Méril, Poésies Pop. Latines, p. 179.
[2] Mapes's Poems, p. 10.

Pone libras quindecim in nostra collecta,
Et tua flagitia non erunt detecta.
Reus dat denarios, Fratres scriptum radunt;
Sic infames plurimi per nummos evadunt:
Qui totam pecuniam quam petunt non tradunt,
Simul in infamiam et in pœnam cadunt.'[1]

The example which King John had set, however instructive, was not appreciated by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the "focariæ" were allowed to remain virtually undisturbed, at least to such an extent as to render them almost universal. Although by rigid churchmen they were regarded as mere concubines, there can be little doubt that the tie between them and the priests was of a binding nature, which appears to have wanted none of the rites essential to its entire respectability. Giraldus Cambrensis, who died at an advanced age about the year 1220, speaks of these companions being publicly maintained by nearly all the parish priests in England and Wales. They arranged to have their benefices transmitted to their sons, while their daughters were married to the sons of other priests, thus establishing an hereditary sacerdotal caste in which marriage appears to have been a matter of course.[2] The propriety of the connection, and the hereditary ecclesiastical functions of the offspring are quaintly

[1] Du Méril, op. cit. p. 171.

[2] Filius autem, more sacerdotum parochialium Angliæ fere cunctorum, damnabili quidem et detestabili, publicam secum habebat comitem individuam, et in foco focariam et in cubiculo concubinam.—Girald. Cambrens. Specul. Eccles. Dist. iii. c. 8. (Girald. Opp. III. 129.) However Giraldus and the severer churchmen might stigmatize these companions as concubines, they were evidently united in the bonds of matrimony. He says himself, respecting Wales, "Nosse te novi . . . canonicos Menevenses fere cunctos, maxime vero Walensicos, publicos fornicarios et concubinarios esse, sub alis ecclesiæ cathedralis et tanquam in ipso ejusdem gremio focarias suas cum obstetricibus et nutricibus atque cunabulis in laribus et penetralibus exhibentes. . . Adeo quidem ut sicut patres eorum ipsos ibi genuerunt et promoverunt, sic et ipsi more consimili prolem ibidem suscitant, tam in vitiis sibi quam beneficiis succedaneam. Filiis namque suis statim cum adulti fuerint et plene pubertatis annos excesserint, concanonicorum suorum filias, ut sic firmiori fœdere sanguinis scilicet et affinitatis jure jungantur, *quasi maritali copula dari procurant*. Postmodum autem . . . canonicas suas filiis suis conferri per cessionem non inefficaciter elaborant." (De Jure et Statu Menev. Eccles. Dist. i.) That this condition of affairs was not confined to the canons of cathedral churches is evident from his general remarks in the Gemm. Eccles. Dist. II. cap. xxiii.

His treatise De Statu Menevens. Eccles. was written after 1215, and therefore subsequent to the death of Innocent III.

alluded to in a poem of the period, wherein a logician takes a priest to task for entertaining such a partner—

L.—Et præ tot innumeris quæ frequentas malis,
Est tibi presbytera plus exitialis.
P.—Malo cum presbytera pulchra fornicari,
Servituros domino filios lucrari,
Quam vagas satellites per antra sectari:
Est inhonestissimum sic dehonestari.[1]

Even the holy virgins, spouses of Christ, seem to have claimed and enjoyed the largest liberty. To this period is attributed a homily addressed to nuns, which earnestly dissuades them from leaving their blessed state and subjecting themselves to the cares and toils inseparable from matrimony. The writer appeals to no rules of ecclesiastical law that could be enforced to prevent them from following their choice, but labors drearily to prove that they would not better their condition, either in this world or the next, by forsaking their heavenly bridegroom for an earthly one.—"And of godes brude. and his freo dohter. for ba to gederes ha is; bicumeth theow under mon and his threl to don al and drehen that him liketh."[2]

Innocent III. had not overlooked such a state of discipline, especially when the transactions between himself and John had rendered him the suzerain of England, and doubly responsible for the morals of the Anglican church. His zealous efforts to effect an impossible reform are chronicled by a rhymer of the period, who enters fully into the dismay of the good pastors at the prospect of the innovation, and who argues their cause with all the sturdy common sense of the Anglo-Saxon mind.

Prisciani regula penitus cassatur,
Sacerdos per hic et hæc olim declinabatur;
Sed per hic solummodo nunc articulatur,
Cum per nostrum præsulem hæc amoveatur.
* * * * * *
Quid agant presbyteri propriis carentes?
Alienas violant clanculo molentes,

[1] De presbytero et logico. Mapes's Poems, p. 256.

[2] Hali Meidenhad, p. 7. (Early English Text Society, 1866.)

Nullis pro conjugiis fœminis parcentes,
Pœnam vel infamiam nihil metuentes.
* * * * *
Non est Innocentius, immo nocens vere,
Qui quod Deus docuit studet abolere;
Jussit enim Dominus fœminas habere,
Sed hoc noster pontifex jussit prohibere.

Gignere nos præcipit vetus testamentum;
Ubi novum prohibet nusquam est inventum.
A modernis latum est istud documentum,
Ad quod nullum ratio præbet argumentum.[1]

Nor were the Anglican bishops remiss in seconding the efforts of the pope to break down the opposition which thus openly defied their power and ventured even to justify the heresy of sacerdotal marriage. Councils were held which passed canons more stringent than ever; bishops issued constitutions and pastorals denouncing the custom; inquests were organized to traverse the dioceses and investigate the household of every priest. The women were especially attacked. Christian sepulture was denied them; property left to them and their children by their partners in guilt was confiscated to the bishops; churching after childbirth was interdicted to them; and, if still contumacious after a due series of warnings, they were to be handed over to the secular arm for condign punishment.[2] How much all this bustling legislation effected is best shown by the declaration of the legate, Cardinal Otto, in 1237, at the great council of London. He deplores the fact that married men received orders and held benefices while still retaining their wives, and did not hesitate to acknowledge their children as legitimate by public deeds and witnesses. After descanting upon the evils of this neglect of discipline, he orders that all married clerks shall

[1] Mapes's Poems, pp. 171–2. This well-known poem has been attributed to the Venerable Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, as written on the occasion of the reformation of the French clergy by Calixtus II. (Croke, Rhyming Latin Verse, p. 85), but the character of that reverend prelate forbids such an assumption, even if the allusion to Innocent did not assign to it a later period.

[2] Concil. Eboracens. ann. 1195, c. 17.—Concil. Londinens. ann. 1200, c. 10.—Concil. Dunelmens. ann. 1220.—Concil. Oxoniens. ann. 1222, c. 28.—Constit. Archiep. Cantuar. ann. 1225 (Matt. Paris ann. 1225).—Constit. Episc. Lincoln. ann. 1230 (Wilkins, I. 627).—Constit. Provin. Cantuar. ann. 1236, c. 3, 4, 30.—Constit. Coventriens. ann. 1237 (Wilkins, I. 641), &c.

be deprived of preferment and benefice, that their property shall not descend to wife or children, but to their churches, and that their sons shall be incapable of holy orders unless specially dispensed for eminent merit; then turning upon concubinary priests, he inveighs strongly against their licentiousness, and decrees that all guilty of the sin shall within thirty days dismiss their women forever, under pain of suspension from function and benefice until full satisfaction, persistent contumacy being visited with deprivation. The archbishops and bishops are commanded to make thorough inquisition throughout all the deaneries, to bring offenders to light, and also to put an end to the iniquitous practice of ordaining the offspring of such connections as successors in their fathers' benefices.[1]

This legislation produced much excitement, and the legate even had fears for his life. Some prelates, indeed, maintained that it only was binding on the church of England during the residence of Otto, but they were overruled, and it remained at least nominally in force and was frequently referred to subsequently as the recognized law in such matters. Its effect was considerable, and some of the bishops endeavored to carry out its provisions with energy, as may be presumed from a constitution of William of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, issued in 1240, ordering his officials to investigate diligently whether any of the clergy of the diocese had concubines or were married.[2]

To this period and to the disturbance caused by these proceedings are doubtless to be attributed several satirical pieces of verse describing the excitement occurring among the unfortunate clerks thus attacked in their tenderest spot. The opening lines of one of these poems indicate the novelty and unexpectedness of the new regulations:—

[1] Matt. Paris ann. 1237.—Innotuit nobis, referentibus plurimis fide dignis, quod multi propriæ salutis immemores, matrimoniis contractis clandestine, retinere cum uxoribus ecclesias, et ecclesiastica beneficia adipisci, de novo promoveri ad sacros ordines, contra statuta sacrorum canonum non formidant. Deinde, processu temporis, proli susceptæ de tali copula expedire videtur, ipsis viventibus vel defunctis, per testes vel instrumenta probare contracta fuisse matrimonia inter eos.

[2] Wilkins, I. 672-3.

Rumor novus Angliæ partes pergiravit,
Clericos, presbyteros omnes excitavit,
* * * * * *
Nascitur presbyteris hinc fera procella:
Quisquis timet graviter pro sua puella.

The author then describes a great council, attended by more than ten thousand ecclesiastics, assembled to deliberate on the course to be pursued in so delicate a conjuncture. An old priest commences—

Pro nostris uxoribus sumus congregati:
Videatis provide quod sitis parati,
Ad mandatum domini papæ vel legati,
Respondere graviter ne sitis dampnati.[1]

Another poem of similar character describes a chapter held by all orders and grades to consider the same question. The various speakers declare their inability to obey the new rule, except two, whose age renders them indifferent. A learned doctor exclaims—

Omnis debet clericus habere concubinam;
Hoc dixit qui coronam gerit auro trinam:
Hanc igitur retinere decet disciplinam.

The general belief in the legality of the connection is shown by the remark of another—

Surgens unus presbyter turba de totali . . .
"Unam" dixit "teneo amore legali,
Quam nolo dimittere pro lege tali."

Another expects to escape by paying his "cullagium"—

Duodecimus clamat magno cum clamore:
"Non me pontifex terret minis et pavore:
Sed ego nummos præbeam pro Dei amore,
Ut in pace maneam cara cum uxore."

Another urges the indiscriminate immorality attending upon the attempt to enforce an impossible asceticism—

Addidit ulterius: "Sitis memor horum,
Si vetare præsul vult specialem torum,
Cernet totum brevi plenum esse chorum
Ordine sacrorum adulterorum."

---

[1] De Convocatione Sacerdotum (Mapes's Poems, pp. 180–2).

And at length the discussion closes with the speech of a Dominican, who ends his remarks by predicting—

Habebimus clerici duas concubinas:
Monachi, canonici totidem vel trinas:
Decani, prælati, quatuor vel quinas:
Sic tandem leges implebimus divinas.[1]

Notwithstanding these flights of the imagination, no organized resistance was offered to the reform. The clergy sullenly acquiesced, and submitted to a pressure which was becoming irresistible. The triumph of the sacerdotal party, however, was gradual, and no exact limit can be assigned to the recognition of the principle of celibacy. In 1250 the idea of married priests was still sufficiently prevalent to lead the populace of London to include matrimony among the accusations brought against Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, when his tyranny had aroused general resistance;[2] and in 1255 Walter Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, still felt it necessary to prohibit the marriage of his clergy under pain of suspension and deprivation.[3] It is perhaps noteworthy,

---

[1] Mapes's Poems, pp. 176–9.—All the poetasters of the period, however, were not enlisted on one side. There is extant an exhortation against marriage, addressed to the clergy, which consists of a violent invective against the sex, recapitulating the customary accusations against women with all the brutal coarseness of the age :—

Hæc est iniquitas omnis adulteræ
Qui virum proprium vellet non vivere,
Ut det adultero non cessat rapere—
Desistat igitur clerus nunc nubere.

Du Méril, op. cit. p. 184.

The "Confessio Goliæ" feelingly bewails the difficulty of rendering obedience to the new regulations :—

Res est arduissima vincere naturam,
In aspectu virginum mentem ferre puram;
Juvenes non possumus legem sequi duram,
Leviumque corporum non habere curam.
Quis in igne positus igne non uratur?
Quis in mundo demorans castus habeatur?
Ubi Venus digito juvenes venatur
Oculis illaqueat, facie prædatur?

Mapes's Poems, p. 72.

[2] Quem non Deus, non legitima vel libera promovit electio, sed rex illicite potius intrusit, illiteratum et uxoratum.—Matt. Paris ann. 1250.

This Boniface was brother of the Duke of Savoy, and was one of the Italian prelates whose intrusion into the choice places of the Anglican church was a source of intense irritation. The career of another brother, Philip, is an instructive illustration of the ecclesiastical manners of the age. He was in deacon's orders, and yet, as a leader of condottieri, he was a strenuous supporter of Innocent IV. in his quarrel with Frederic II. He was created Archbishop of Lyons, Bishop of Valence, Provost of Bruges, and Dean of Vienne, and, after enjoying these miscellaneous dignities for some twenty years, when at length Clement IV. insisted on his ordination and consecration, he threw off his episcopal robe, married first the heiress of Franche-Comté and then a niece of Innocent IV.—dying at last as Duke of Savoy. (Milman, Latin Christ. IV. 326.)

[3] Nullusque eorum uxorem ducat: et si antequam sacros ordines suscepit uxorem duxerit, seu postea, si beneficium habeat, ipso privetur, et ab

however, that, not long after this, Horne, in his Myrror of Justice, when treating of exceptions to the benefit of clergy, specifies second marriages, but not single marriages, as depriving clerks of the privilege of ecclesiastical trial.[1]

By this time, however, priestly marriage may be considered to have become nearly obsolete in England. When, in 1268, the Cardinal-legate Ottoboni held a great national council in London, and renewed the constitutions of his predecessor Otto, he made no allusion to marriage, and only denounced the practice of concubinage, which he endeavored to eradicate by commanding all archdeacons to make a thorough inquisition annually into the morals of the clergy under their jurisdiction.[2] These constitutions of Otto and Ottoboni long remained the law of the English church, and we find them constantly referred to in the canons of councils and pastorals of bishops, ceaselessly laboring to effect the impossible enforcement of discipline.[3] How hard was the task may be readily conceived when we see, in 1279, the primate Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, applying to Rome for assistance in prosecuting a certain bishop against whom he had long been vainly endeavoring to bring the law to bear. A concubine had confessed to having borne five children to the offender;[4] he had himself admitted his guilt in a private interview with Peckham, for which he had afterwards claimed the seal of the confessional; yet the archbishop complains that his efforts will be unsuccessful unless he is fortified with

---

exsecutione sui officii suspendatur, nisi in casu a jure concesso.—Constit. Walteri Episc. Dunelmens. (Wilkins, I. 705).

[1] Sir, il ne doit mie joyer du benefit de celle priviledge, car il ad forfait per vice de Bigamy; comme celui qui ad espousé vefve ou plusors femmes.—Myrror of Justice, cap. III. sect. V.

[2] Concil. Londinens. ann. 1168, c. 8 (Wilkins, II. 5).

[3] As late as 1399 the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered his suffragans to have these constitutions read and explained in the vulgar tongue in all their episcopal synods. — Convocat. Cantuar. ann. 1399, c. 13 (Wilkins, III. 240).

[4] The canon law maintained the extraordinary doctrine that the confession of the guilty woman could not be received as evidence against her accomplice, though it was good as against herself. "Unde nec sacerdotes accusare nec in eos testificari valent. . . . Quia ergo ista de se confitetur, super alienum crimen ei credi non oportet; sed contra eam sua confessio interpretanda est." (Gratian. P. II. c. XV. q. 3.) It would be hard to imagine a rule of practice better fitted to repress investigation and to shield offenders.

letters from the pope himself. His strict injunctions of secrecy on his correspondent, and his evident dread lest the criminal's agents in Rome should get wind of the application, show how difficult was the enterprise, and how rarely prelates could be expected to undertake duties so arduous and so unpromising.[1]

Perhaps the man to whom the church owed most for his energy and activity in promoting the cause of reform was the celebrated Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. The leading part which he took in the political troubles of the stormy reign of Henry III. has thrown his ecclesiastical character somewhat into the shade, and he is better known as the friend of Leicester than as the untiring churchman. Notwithstanding his consistent opposition to Henry III. and to the encroachments of the papacy, he was the inflexible enemy of clerical irregularities, and he enforced the decretals throughout his diocese with as firm a hand as that which he raised in defence of the rights of the nation and the privileges of the Anglican church. Thus, in 1251, he made a rigorous inquisition in his bishopric, forcing all his beneficed clergy to the observance of the strictest chastity, removing from their houses all suspicious women, and punishing transgressors with deprivation. It is not easy to approve of his brutal expedient for testing the virtue of the inmates of his nunneries,[2] the adoption of which could only be justified and suggested by the conviction that general licentiousness was everywhere prevalent; and though such treatment of the spouses of Christ was to the last degree degrading, yet it was doubtless more efficacious than the ordeal of the Eucharist, which was frequently resorted to in special cases. Not only, however, did he thus endeavor to reform the morals of his flock, but he made the closest scrutiny into the character of applicants for ordination. In this he was largely aided by his ascetic friend and admirer, Adam de Marisco, and the correspondence between them shows not only the importance which they reasonably attached to the subject, but the sleepless vigilance required to counteract the prevalent immorality of the clergy, and the

---

[1] Wilkins, II. 40.

[2] Ad domos religiosarum veniens, fecit exprimi mammillas earundem, ut sic physice si esset inter eas corruptela, experiretur.—Matt. Paris ann. 1251.

incredible laxity with which the patrons of livings bestowed the benefices in their gift.[1]

The rule was now fairly established and generally acknowledged; concubinage, though still prevalent—nay, in fact almost universal—was not defended as a right, but was practised with what concealment was possible, and was the object of unremitting assault from councils and prelates. To enter into the details of the innumerable canons and constitutions directed against the ineradicable vice during the succeeding half century would be unprofitable. Their endless iteration is only interesting as proving their inefficacy. A popular satirist of the reign of Edward II. declares that bribery of the ecclesiastical officials insured the domestic comfort of the clergy and their female companions;[2] while in time the canon law seems to have lost all its terrors. One of the earliest acts of the reign of Henry VII. was a law empowering the officials to imprison "religious men" convicted of incontinence.[3] That the aid of the secular legislator should thus have been invoked was the abject confession that the ceaseless labor of four centuries had utterly failed.

In one part of England, however, the reform seems to have penetrated even more slowly. We have seen above, on the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the early part of the thirteenth century the marriage of priests and the hereditary transmission of benefices were almost universal in Wales. As in the wild fastnesses of the Principality the ecclesiastical

---

[1] Adæ de Marisco Epist. passim (Monumenta Franciscana). How little the character of the clergy had improved under the ceaseless efforts of the preceding half century may be guessed from Adam's description of his contemporary brethren—"Nihil aliud pervicacissima caninæ voracitatis impudentia consectantur, quam caducam fastuum arrogantiam, quam mobilem quæstuum affluentiam, quam sordidam luxuum petulentiam, auctoritatem summæ salvationis in perditionis æternæ crudelitatem depravantes; cernimus usquequaquam quasi solutum Satanam effrænata tyrannide beatam hæreditatem benedicti Dei immanissime depopulari."—Ibid. Epist. CCXLVII. P. i. c. 18.

[2] And thise ersedeknes that ben set to visite holi churche,
Everich fondeth hu he may shrewedelichest worche;
He wole take mede of that on and that other,
And late the parsoun have a wyf and the prest another,
At wille;
Coveytise shal stoppen here mouth, and maken hem al stille.

Wright, Political Songs of England, p. 326.

[3] 1 Henry VII. cap. 4 (Froude, Hist. England, I. 85).

regulations seemed powerless, recourse was had to the secular law, which was employed to inflict various disabilities on offenders and their offspring, and the repetition of these shows how obstinately the custom was adhered to by the clergy until a comparatively late period. Thus, in the Gwentian and Dimetian Codes there is a provision that the son of a married priest, born after the ordination of his father, shall not share in the paternal estate;[1] and this provision is retained and repeated in a collection of laws which contains the date of 2 Henry IV., showing it to be posterior to the year 1400.[2] The same collection enumerates married priests among "thirteen things corrupting the world, and which will ever remain in it; and it can never be delivered of them."[3] In the same spirit, the Book of Cynog, which is of uncertain date, declares "nor is a married priest, as he has relinquished his law, to be credited in law," and it therefore directs that the testimony of such witnesses shall not be receivable in court;[4] while another collection of laws, occurring in a MS. of the fifteenth century, repeats the provision—"their testimony is not to be credited in any place, and they are excluded from the law, unless they ask a pardon from the pope or a bishop, through a public penance."[5] In fact, we may, perhaps, almost hazard the conclusion that, notwithstanding the efforts of both ecclesiastical and secular legislators, sacerdotal marriage scarcely became obsolete in Wales before it was once more recognized as legitimate under the Reformation.

---

[1] Gwentian Code, Book II. chap. xxx. "Because he was begotten contrary to decree."—Dimetian Code, Book II. chap. viii. § 27 (Aneurin Owen's Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales, Vol. I. pp. 761, 445). Of the latter of these codes, the recension which has reached us contains alterations made by Rys son of Grufudd, showing it to be posterior at least to the year 1180.

[2] Anomalous Laws, Book X. chap. vii. § 19 (Owen, Vol. II. p. 331).

[3] Ibid. chap. ix. (Vol. II. p. 347).

[4] Ibid. Book VIII. chap. xi. § 19 (Vol. II. p. 205).

[5] Ibid. Book XI. chap. iii. § 15 (Vol. II. p. 409).

XVIII.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

In a previous section it has already been shown that the rule of celibacy was observed by the Celtic churches of the British Islands during a period in which their Christianity was a model for the rest of Europe. Their religion, however, could not preserve its purity and simplicity amid the overwhelming barbarism of those dreary ages. From an ancient commentary on the "Cain Patraic," or Patrick's Law, of uncertain date, but probably belonging to the ninth or tenth century, it would seem as though there were at that time two classes of bishops, one bound by monastic vows, the other permitted to marry; and, what is somewhat singular, the law appears to favor the latter, for the "cumad espuc," or virgin bishop, is condemned to perpetual degradation or to the life of a hermit for offences which the "bishop of one wife" can redeem by prompt penance.[1]

The Feini, prior to the advent of St. Patrick, were far in advance of the contemporary barbarian tribes, and their conversion to Christianity introduced a new and powerful element of progress. It was not lasting, however, and they lapsed into a condition but little removed from that of savages. The marriage tie was virtually unknown or habitually disregarded among the laity.[2] What was the condition of the clergy may

---

[1] Senchus Mor. Introduction, pp. 57–9. (Edited by Hancock, Dublin, 1865.)

[2] Lanfranci Epist. 37, 38.—Bernardi Vit. S. Malachiæ cap. iii. viii.—The rudeness of the age may be measured by the fact that when Malachi determined to adorn the venerable monastery of Benchor with an oratory of stone such as he had seen abroad, the mere laying of the foundations aroused the wonderment of the people to whom buildings of that kind were unknown—"quod in terra illa necdum ejusmodi ædificia invenirentur"—and his enemies took advantage of the feeling to interfere with the work on the ground that such an enterprise

be inferred from the fact that the episcopates were regarded as the private property of certain families in which they descended by hereditary succession. Thus, in the primatial see of Armagh, fifteen archbishops were of one house, the last eight of whom were married. At length Celsus, who died in about the year 1130, bequeathed the dignity to his friend St. Malachi. The kindred rose in arms at this infringement of their rights, and two of their members successively occupied the position, which Malachi was not able to obtain until the anger of God had miraculously destroyed the whole family.[1]

During all this period the Irish church had been completely independent of the central authority at Rome, but the extension of influence resulting from the labors of Hildebrand and his successors soon began to make itself felt. In the quarrels concerning the succession of Archbishop Celsus, there figures a certain Bishop Gilbert, who is described as being the first papal legate seen in Ireland.[2] When Malachi abandoned Armagh and revived the extinct episcopate of Down, he resolved on a pilgrimage to Rome to obtain the *pallium*, a powerful instrument of papal authority, until then unknown on the island; and perhaps the opposition manifested to his wishes by his friends as well as by the authorities may be attributable to a repugnance towards the gradual encroachments of Romanizing influence.[3]

Malachi returned from Rome armed with legatine powers, and proceeded vigorously with the reforms which he had long before commenced. He held numerous councils, extirpating abuses everywhere, renovating the ancient rules of discipline

---

was unheard of, and that so stupendous an undertaking could never be accomplished. This piece of presumption was promptly rebuked by the death of the ringleader, and by the finding in the excavations of a treasure which enabled St. Malachi to execute his plans. (Vit. S. Malach. c. xxviii.) St. Bernard, who derived his impressions from Malachi and his companions, thus describes the Irish of Connaught, "sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicosos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam. Christiani nomine, re pagani. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; pœnitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus invenire. Ministri altaris pauci admodum erant."—Ibid. cap. viii.

[1] Ibid. c. x. xi. xii. xiii.

[2] Ibid. c. x.

[3] Ibid. c. xv.

and introducing new ones, bending all his energies to abrogating the national institutions and replacing them with those of Rome.[1] The earnest asceticism of his nature, exaggerated by the training of his youth, led him to give a strongly monastic character to the church of which he was thus the second founder. On his journey homeward from Rome, he had stopped a second time at Clairvaux to see his friend St. Bernard, and had left there four of his attendants to be exercised in the severe Cistercian discipline that they might serve as missionaries and as models for his compatriots, who had heard, indeed, of monkhood, but had never seen it.[2] His efforts, in this respect, were to a considerable extent successful, at least in a portion of the island, though his death, in 1149, at the comparatively early age of 54, cut short his labors before they could yield their full fruit.[3]

The incongruous character thus imparted to the Irish church is described by Giraldus Cambrensis some forty years later. The prelates were selected from the monasteries, and the church was completely monastic. Chastity was the only rule of discipline thoroughly preserved, and Giraldus confesses his wonder that it could be maintained, in contradiction to all former experience, when gluttony and drunkenness were carried to excess. The monastic principle of selfishness was all-pervading, and the pastors took no care of their flocks. Among the people, marriage was still unknown, incest was of common occurrence, even the rudiments of Christian faith were left untaught, and the church was regarded without reverence.[4] His account of the absence of regular stipends

---

[1] Ibid. c. xviii.—Fiunt de medio barbaricæ leges, Romanæ introducuntur.—Ibid. c. viii.

[2] Ibid. c. xvi.—Illæ gentes quæ a diebus antiquis monachi quidem nomen audierunt, monachum non viderunt.

[3] In the hymn in which St. Bernard celebrated the virtues of his friend he compares him to the Apostles—

Sobrius victus, castitas perennis,
Fides, doctrina, animarum lucra,
Meritis parem cœtui permiscet
Apostolorum.

[4] Cum enim omnes fere Hiberniæ prælati de monasteriis in clerum electi sint, quæ monachi sunt sollicite complent omnia, quæ vero clerici vel prælati fere prætermittunt universa . . Gens hæc gens spurcissima, gens vitiis obvolutissima, gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissima. Nondum enim decimas vel primitias solvunt, nondum matrimonia contrahunt. Non incestus vitant; non ecclesiam Dei cum debita reverentia frequentant, etc.—Sermo Giraldi in Concil. Dublinens. (De Rebus a se Gestis Lib. II. c. 14.)

and tithes is confirmed by the fact that an Irish bishop attending the council of Lateran in 1179, in complaining of the condition of his native church, stated that his only revenues were derived from three milch cows, which his flock were bound to replace as they became dry.[1] This poverty, however apostolic in itself, can only, in an age of magnificent sacerdotalism, be regarded as an indication of a church whose degradation could command neither the respect nor the support of its children. That the reforms of Malachi, one-sided as they were, extended only over a portion of the island, is evident from the inquiry which, a few years later, the Archbishop of Cashel addressed to Clement III. as to whether the children of bishops could receive orders and hold benefices; and the exceptional character of the Irish establishment was recognized by the pope when he decided that they could, provided they were born in wedlock, and were otherwise worthy of position.[2]

When about this period the English commenced the conquest which was to lead to five centuries of cruel anarchy, they of course carried with them their civil and ecclesiastical institutions. The original conquerors—the Butlers, the Clares, and the Fitzgeralds—speedily became incorporated with the native race, and were as Irish as the O'Briens and the McCauras. Although the royal authority was limited practically to the confines of the Pale, and embraced little beyond the Ostman ports, yet it is easy to understand that the clerical license habitual to the English spread beyond the political boundaries, and the monastic spirit of the Hibernians was grievously wounded by the unchastity which was disseminated like a contagion from the dissolute priests who followed in the wake of Strong-bow and Prince John.[3] Not twenty years after the

---

[1] Se non habere alios reditus præter très vaccas lactantes, quas in defectu lactis parochiani sui per alias innovabant.—Hist. Archiep. Bremens ann. 1179 (Lindenbrog. Script. Septent. p. 107).

It must be borne in mind, however, that in the Irish church bishops were almost as numerous as in the primitive church of Africa—"singulæ pene ecclesiæ singulos haberent episcopos."—Bernard. Vit. S. Malachiæ cap. x.

[2] Cap. 13 Extra Lib. I. Tit. xvii.

[3] Docens munditiam cleri Hyberniæ quanta fuerat, donec ex contagio advenarum, quoniam a convictu mores formantur, et qui picem tangit coinquinabitur ab ea, corruptelam contraxerunt.—Girald. Cambrens. op. cit. Lib. II. c. 13.

first invasion, a council, summoned in 1186 by John in Dublin, was troubled by a quarrel between the Saxon priests of Wexford, who mutually accused each other of publicly marrying and keeping wives. This being duly proved, they were promptly degraded, to the intense satisfaction of the Irish clergy, triumphant in their own comparative purity of morals.[1] Yet the church establishments were distinct, and when an Irish synod, therefore, was held in Dublin, in 1217, its canons cannot be considered as having authority beyond the narrow territory through which the king's writ would likewise run. Those canons show us that the morality of the Saxon priesthood had not improved by the example made of the priests of Wexford. The denunciations of concubinage indicate the prevalence of that vice, and the severities threatened against the unfortunate women contrast strangely with the lenity shown to their more guilty partners.[2] A century later, if we may believe the declaration of the synod of Ossory in 1320, the evil continued to flourish, open, avowed, and universal, resisting alike the authority of the church and the efforts to repress it by severity.[3] Whether the offenders dismissed their consorts after the thirty days' grace allowed by the synod may well be doubted.

In Scotland, the followers of St. Columba, Columbites or Culdees, in the age of darkness which succeeded the early transient gleam of civilization, rapidly degenerated from the standard erected by their leader. When they reappear in history, after that trackless night of barbarism, we find them in the eleventh century as an order of monks, indeed, in name, yet fulfilling the functions of the secular clergy with marriage as an established institution. With marriage had necessarily come the subdivision and appropriation of the

---

[1] Girald. Cambrens. loc. cit.

[2] Concil. Dublinens. ann. 1217 (Wilkins, I. 548).

[3] Quia putridum libidinosæ spurcitiæ contagium adeo apud clericos et presbyteros invaluit his diebus, quod nec auctoritas evangelica, nec canonica severitas illud hactenus extirpare potuit, quia in suæ perpetuæ damnationis periculum, et ordinis ecclesiasticæ ignominiam, populique perniciosum exemplum manifestum, adhuc suas publice detinent concubinas, etc.—Constit. Synod. Ossoriens. (Wilkins, II. 502.)

ecclesiastical estates, so that the ancient abbeys and churches were well nigh stripped of all their possessions, and the distinction between clergy and laity was rather in term than in fact. It may please the poet to construct a world of his own, peopled by imaginary beings of angelic purity—

Peace to their shades! The pure Culdees
  Were Albyn's earliest priests of God,
Ere yet an island of her seas
  By foot of Saxon monk was trod,
Long ere her churchmen by bigotry
Were barred from wedlock's holy tie.
'Twas then that Aodh, famed afar,
  In Iona preached the word with power,
And Reullura, beauty's star,
  Was the partner of his bower—

but in sober truth the Culdees were pure as long as they kept the tradition of their founder, and it was not until they sank to a level with their savage compatriots that they transgressed the rule and became worldly and corrupt. In 1125 the Cardinal-legate, John of Crema, whose unlucky adventure in London has been already alluded to, visited Scotland in the execution of his reformatory mission. There he found on the throne David I., a prince whose life was devoted to rescuing his subjects from their primeval barbarism. We know few details of the history of those times, but it is fair to conjecture that the exhortations of the legate had a share in arousing David to a realization of the deficiencies and the corruptions of the Scottish church, and in guiding him to the course which he adopted in their reformation. After some fruitless efforts to restore the order of Culdees to its original condition, he resolved on the sweeping measure of removing all who should prove incorrigible. They were accordingly turned out bodily from their establishments, such property as could be traced was restored, and donations on an extended scale were made both to the old foundations and to the new ones which the royal reformer established—donations which gained for him, from an ungodly descendant, the appellation of "Ane soir sanct for the crown." These foundations were then filled with regular clergy, brought from France and England—

chiefly canons of the order of St. Augustine—and the unfortunate Culdees were turned adrift.[1]

In a church thus constructed from the regular clergy, the heresy of marriage could find no foothold, especially as it had been so sternly punished in the expulsion of the Culdees. Still was the desired purity not yet attained. In 1225, Honorius III. ordered the Scottish ecclesiastics to assemble in council for the correction of the many enormities which were committed with impunity; and the council held in obedience to the papal command denounced the shameless licentiousness of the clergy as a disgrace to the church.[2] Inquests to detect the offenders, suspension and deprivation to punish them, were ordered with all the verbal energy of which we have already witnessed so many examples, and were attended with the same plentiful lack of success. With what disposition the clergy regarded these efforts for their improvement we may guess from the reception which they gave to the constitutions of Cardinal Ottoboni. Reference has already been made to the council held by that legate in London in 1268. The church of Scotland had been ordered to join in this council, and had sent two bishops and two abbots as its representative delegates. These took home with them the constitutions of Ottoboni, which the clergy of Scotland utterly refused to obey.[3]

---

[1] Professor Cosmo Innes, in his very clever work, "Scotland in the Middle Ages," to which I acknowledge my indebtedness, gives (p. 111) a translation of a charter of King David which well illustrates the summary process of his reformation—"I give to the canons of St. Andrews the island of Loch Leven, that they may there institute their order of canons; and the Culdees who shall be found there, if they please to live regularly, let them remain in peace under the canons; but if any of them resist this rule, I will and command that he be turned out of the island." We may assume that John of Crema or the pope must have conferred extraordinary powers on David before he could have the presumption to thus arbitrarily regulate and revolutionize the church. This, indeed, may readily be conceived as probable when we reflect how little authority Rome could have exercised over the Culdees, and how readily Scotland must have been subjected to the central power by placing her ecclesiastical establishment in the hands of the Sassenach monks.

[2] Concil. Scotican. ann. 1225, c. 18, 62 (Wilkins, I. 610).

[3] Quæ penitus clerus Scotiæ observare recusarunt.—Chron. Paslatens. ann. 1268 (Wilkins, II. 19).

XIX.

SPAIN.

We have already seen (p. 124) that among the Wisigoths of Spain the rule of celibacy had never been successfully enforced, and that during the later period of the Gothic dynasty the demoralization of the clergy was daily increasing. The Saracenic invasion, and the subsequent struggles of the Christians, who founded petty kingdoms among the wild mountainous regions of the North and East of the Peninsula, were not favorable to the growth of regular discipline and settled observances. The centralized sacerdotalism of Rome, which took so remarkable an extension in the ninth and tenth centuries, and which penetrated every portion of the Carlovingian empire, was powerless to intrude into the strongholds of the Djalikiah, whence the descendants of Pelayo and his companions gradually extended their frontiers from Oviedo to Toledo. Communication with the apostolic city was rare. The nominal subjection of Barcelona and Navarre to the Carlovingians, indeed, brought the eastern provinces of Spain under the domination of the Archbishops of Narbonne, and kept them, to a certain extent, under the influences which were moulding the rest of Europe; but the kingdoms of Leon and Castile grew up in complete ecclesiastical independence. Even at the close of the eleventh century a Spanish ecclesiastic describes his contemporary brethren as rude and illiterate, owning no obedience to the mother church of Rome, and governed by the discipline of Toledo.[1] Wild and insubordinate as was a large portion of

[1] Tunc temporis tota fere Hispania rudis et illiterata esset. Nullus equidem Hispanorum episcopus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matri nostræ servitii aut obedientiæ quidquam tunc reddebat. Hispania Toletanam, non Romanam legem recipiebat.—Hist. Compostellan. Lib. II. c. 1.

the European clergy, the ecclesiastics of Spain were even wilder and more insubordinate. Another writer of the period, himself a canon of Compostella, and subsequently Bishop of Mondonego, speaking of his brother canons previous to the reforms of Diego Gelmirez, denounces them as reckless and violent men, ready for any crime, prompt in quarrel, and even occasionally indulging in mutual slaughter.[1] How little, indeed, there was to distinguish the clerk from the layman is evident from a regulation promulgated by the council of Compostella in 1113. It provides that all priests, gentlemen, and peasants shall devote themselves to wolf-hunting on every Sunday except Easter and Pentecost, under a penalty of a fine of five sols for the priest and gentleman, and one sol, or a sheep, for the peasant—visitation of the sick being the only excuse exempting the priest from the performance of this duty. Every church, moreover, was bound to furnish for the hunt seven iron-tipped reeds.[2]

In such a state of society it is easy to imagine that the rule of celibacy received little attention. According to Mariana, the clergy of the period were, for the most part, publicly married;[3] and when, in 1056, the council of Compostella specifically forbade to bishops and monks all intercourse with women, except with mothers and sisters,[4] the inference is fair that even so elementary a prohibition was an innovation, and that the secular clergy, below the episcopate, were not regarded as subject to any restriction.

In the comprehensive efforts, however, made during the latter half of the eleventh century by the Roman church to bring all Christendom under its domination, the rising states of Spain were not likely to remain undisturbed in their independent isolation; nor was it to be expected that so complete a defiance of the canons would be passed unobserved by the pontiffs who were convulsing the rest of Europe in their efforts to reform the church. Accordingly, in 1068, we find the Cardinal Hugo of Silva Candida, as legate of Alexander II., assembling a council at Girona, and procuring the adoption

---

[1] Hist. Compostellan. Lib. I. c. 20.

[2] Didaci Decret. No. 15 (Hist. Compostellan. Lib. I. cap. 90.)

[3] Mariana, Lib. IX.

[4] Concil. Compostellan. ann. 1056, can. 3.

of a regulation reducing to the condition of laymanship all who, in holy orders, either entered into matrimony or kept concubines; while those who should dismiss their wives were promised immunity for the past and security for the future.[1] In 1077, Gregory VII. sent a certain Bishop Amandus as his legate, with an epistle addressed to the Spaniards, in which he told them that Spain had anciently belonged to St. Peter and the Roman church; that the carelessness of his predecessors, and the Saracenic conquest, had caused the papal rights to be forgotten, but that the time had come for them to be re-vindicated, and that he consequently claimed implicit obedience.[2] Accordingly, in 1078, we find the legate presiding over another council at Girona, which confirmed the canons of the previous one, and added several others to prevent the ordination of sons of priests, and the hereditary transmission of benefices.[3] Such slender reforms as may have resulted from these efforts were probably confined to Catalonia and Aragon; but not long afterwards influences were brought to bear upon the rest of Spain, which had a powerful effect in extending the authority of Rome over the Peninsula. Constance of Burgundy, Queen of Alphonso VI. of Castile and Leon, prevailed upon her husband to ask of Gregory a legate to reform the church, and to condemn the Gothic or Mozarabic ritual, which was jealously preserved by the people as a symbol of their independent nationality. The prayer, of course, was granted. Richard, Abbot of Marseilles, was sent, and in 1080 he held a council at Burgos, where he commanded the ordained clergy to put away their wives. The novelty and hardship of this order created great excitement. The pope, who was rightly regarded as its author, became the object of no little abuse and insult, and was held up to popular derision in innumerable lampoons.[4]

---

[1] Concil. Gerundens. ann. 1068, can. 7, 8 (Labbei et Coleti T. XII.). The council of Toulouse, in 1056 (see ante, p. 268), which ordered the separation of priests from their wives, undertook to include Spain in its legislation, presumably meaning the eastern portion of the Peninsula which was subject to the Archbishops of Narbonne.

[2] Gregor. VII. Regist. Lib. IV. Epist. 28.

[3] Concil. Gerundens. ann. 1078, can. 1, 3, 4, 5 (Labbei et Coleti T. XII.).

[4] Leges ecclesiæ veteres in mores revocatæ; ac præsertim, quod in Germania non absque motu facti-

All of these efforts were nugatory. The Spaniards, engaged in an interminable and often doubtful struggle with the Infidel, might well claim consideration from the Holy Father, while the independent spirit which they manifested in their resistance to the introduction of the Roman ritual was a warning that it would be prudent not to proceed too abruptly in the process of bringing them within the fold of St. Peter. Whatever be the motives, indeed, which induced such strenuous apostles of celibacy as Gregory, Urban, Paschal, and Calixtus to abstain from urging upon them the reform which was so earnestly enforced elsewhere, certain it is that little effort was made to deprive the Spanish clergy of their wives. In all the epistles of the popes up to 1130 I can find but one allusion to the subject, though communication between Spain and Italy became daily more frequent, and the papal authority was constantly exercised with greater decisiveness in the internal affairs of the Spanish church.

When, in 1101, Diego Gelmirez succeeded in obtaining the see of Compostella, Paschal II. addressed him an epistle, reproaching him with the utter contempt of discipline in his diocese, and commanding a reform. He chiefly complained of the incongruous common residence of monks and nuns, which he severely condemned and peremptorily prohibited, but he made some concession to the necessities of the time in permitting the ordination of the sons of priests who had, "according to the ordinary custom of the country," married prior to the promulgation of what the pope significantly terms the Roman law.[1]

Diego, who possessed no common measure of vigor and ambition, and who needed the particular favor of the popes for the success of his plans in elevating and aggrandizing his see, accordingly proceeded to reform his clergy.

---

tatum erat, uxores sacerdotibus detractæ; quas, prisci moris obliti, et voluptatum illecebris superati, plerique habere consueverant. Quæ res sanctissimo pontifici invidiam peperit, usque eo ut conviciis et contumeliis probrosisque carminibus passim ejus nomen proscinderent.—Mariana, Lib. IX. (Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. p. 1606).

[1] Paschal. PP. II. Epist. 57.

There is extant a minute and circumstantial contemporary history of his episcopate, written by his admiring disciples, who dwell with much instance on his labors and success in reducing to discipline the refractory canons of his cathedral seat; but in the numerous allusions to these reforms there is no mention of the enforcement of celibacy, while the fact that he would not allow them to minister at the altar without canonical vestments is made the subject of repeated gratulation and praise.[1] The absolute silence of the authors with respect to the clergy at large shows that there was no effort made to bring the secular priesthood under subjection to the Roman discipline.

That Diego's reforms, indeed, did not extend to the abrogation of clerical marriage is evident from several incidental circumstances. Thus, in 1114, the lords of the monastery of Botoa made it over to the church of St. Iago of Compostella, reserving to themselves their life interest, with a reversion to any of their descendants who should be ecclesiastics, and who might be willing to profess celibacy, showing that the matter was optional with the secular clergy.[2] That even the canons were bound by no absolute rules on the subject is manifested by a very curious transaction which may be worth recounting as illustrative in several aspects of the spirit of the age. In 1127, Diego, at the head of his Gallician troops, accompanied Alphonso VIII. on an expedition into Portugal. On their return, the army halted at Compostella, where the archbishop received and entertained his sovereign. They were bound by the closest ties, for Diego had baptized, knighted, and crowned him, and had, moreover, constantly stood his friend throughout his stormy youth, in the endless civil wars which marked the disastrous reign of his mother, Queen Urraca. Yet, prompted by evil counsellors who were jealous of Diego, the king suddenly demanded of him an

[1] Hist. Compostellan. Lib. I. cap. 20, 58, 81; Lib. II. cap. 3; Lib. III. cap. 46.—Even the moderate reforms introduced met with violent opposition —"nobis omnibus, veluti bruta animalia, nulla adhuc jugali asperitate depressa, reluctantibus"—and only a portion seem to have submitted "quosdam sibi acquiescentes doctrina et operatione conspicuos divina clementia reddidit."

[2] Ibid. Lib. I. cap. 100.—"Si qui ex eorum progenie clerici esse et sæculariter continere vellent."

enormous sum of money, to pay off the army, under threat of seizing and pillaging the city. After considerable resistance, Diego was forced to submit, and to pay a thousand marks of silver. He then sought a private interview, in which he solemnly and affectionately warned Alphonso of the ruin of his soul which would ensue if he did not undergo penance for thus impiously spoiling the Apostle St. Iago. Alphonso listened humbly, and professed entire willingness to repent, but for the difficulty that he had always been taught that penitence was fruitless without restitution, and restitution he was unable and unwilling to make. Diego then suggested that he should meet the chapter and discuss the case, to which he graciously assented. In the assembly which followed, Diego proposed that the king should follow the example of his father, Raymond of Gallicia, in commending himself to the peculiar patronage of St. Iago, and in bequeathing his body to be buried in their church, promising moreover that if he should do so they would pray specially for him, which, from the promise of his youth, bade fair to be no easy task. Alphonso was delighted to escape so easily: he eagerly accepted the proposition, and added that he would like to become a canon of their church, in order to enjoy the fullest possible share in the Masses of such holy men. To this the chapter assented at once; he was forthwith duly installed as a canon of the church which he had just despoiled, and his conscience was set at rest, while the church felt that it had acquired a moral supremacy over the spoiler.[1] In thus formally becoming a canon, there could have been no assumption of celibacy, expressed or implied. Alphonso was but twenty-one years of age, and in the following year he married Berengaria, daughter of the Count of Barcelona.

In fact, in the absence of urgency on the part of Rome, the question of sacerdotal celibacy seems to have been virtually ignored in Spain. How little importance was attached to the preëminent sanctity of asceticism becomes evident when we are told that in the whole of Gallicia there was no convent of nuns until Diego, in 1129, founded the house of S. Maria of

[1] Hist. Compostellan. Lib. II. cap. 87.

Conjo.[1] Equal indifference is manifested in the legislative assemblies of the church. The councils of Leon and Compostella, in 1114, only prohibited the residence of such women as were forbidden by the canons,[2] which, in the existing discipline of the Spanish church, may safely be presumed to offer no impediment to the marriage relation; and a synod held at Palencia in 1129 is even more significant in its reticence, for it merely provides that notorious concubines of the clergy shall be ejected, without apparently venturing to threaten any punishment on the reverend offenders.[3]

Towards the close of his restless life, however, Archbishop Diego found time, amid his military, political, and ecclesiastical schemes of aggrandizement, to undertake the much needed reform of a single monastery. The Abbot of S. Pelayo de Antealtaria was indeed a paragon of brutish sensuality, who wasted the revenues of his house in riotous living and took no shame in a numerous progeny. The archbishop remonstrated with him long and earnestly, both in public and private: seven times in the general chapter of the diocese he admonished and threatened the offender without result. At length, in 1130, after forbearance so remarkable, Diego held a chapter in the abbey for his trial, when he was proved by competent witnesses to have kept no less than seventy concubines. He was accordingly deposed, but was so far from being canonically punished, that a benefice in the abbey lands was assigned for his support. A new abbot was then appointed, who swore to observe the Benedictine rule as far as he should find himself able to do so.[4] It is a curious commentary on the state of discipline and opinion to find so weak an effort to remove and punish the grossest licentiousness characterized by the biographer of Diego with the warmest expressions of wondering admiration as a work which doubtless gave ineffable satisfaction to the Divine Omnipotence, and which was without example in previous history.

---

[1] Hist. Compostell. Lib. III. cap. 11.

[2] Ibid. Lib. I. cap. 101.—Concil. Legionens. ann. 1114, can. 8.

[3] Concil. Palentin. ann. 1129, can. 5.—Concubinæ clericorum manifestæ ejiciantur.

[4] Hist. Compostellan. Lib. III. cap. 20.—Pro modulo suæ possibilitatis.

It is very evident that the pontiffs who so energetically enforced the rule of celibacy throughout the rest of Europe were content to offer little opposition to the obstinacy of the Celtiberian priesthood. We can safely conclude, indeed, that matters were allowed to remain virtually undisturbed, and that the clergy were permitted to retain their wives. A council held in Gallicia in the early part of the thirteenth century, for the purpose of reforming ecclesiastical discipline, preserves absolute silence on the subject of marriage and concubinage;[1] and, about the middle of the same century, we find Alphonso the Wise of Castile obliged to formally interdict matrimony to those in holy orders. In the elaborate code drawn up by that monarch and known as "Las Siete Partidas," there is a law punishing sacerdotal marriage with deprivation of function and benefice; while the wives, if vassals of the church, are to be reduced to servitude, and if serfs, are to be sold and the proceeds appropriated for the benefit of the church of the offender. The wording of the law would seem to indicate that it was an enactment intended to repress existing disorders, and not merely a well-known provision inserted in the code for the purpose of completing a compilation of statutes;[2] while the existence in secular legislation of such invasions of the province of ecclesiastical law is a convincing proof of the continued independence of Rome asserted by the Spanish church and state. Although the prelates were further authorized to command the assistance of the secular power in enforcing these barbarous penalties to their full measure of severity, still the ecclesiastics found means to evade them. In Castile and Leon the code of Alphonso did not long retain its authority, and in the other Spanish kingdoms license prevailed almost unchecked.

In 1322 the council of Palencia, in Leon, under the presidency of the papal legate, William Bishop of Sabina,

[1] Concil. Hispan. Sæc. XIII. (Martene et Durand. IV. 167.)

[2] "De los clérigos que casan á bendiciones habiendo órdenes sagradas, que pena deben haber ellos et aquellas con quien casan."—Casándose algunt clérigo que hobiese órden sagrada non debe fincar sin pena, ca débenle vedar de oficio, et tollerle el beneficio que hobiere de la eglesía por sentencia de descomulgamiento fasta que la dexe et faga penitencia de aquel yerro, etc. —Siete Partidas, P. I. Tit. vi. l. 41.

animadverts strongly on the indecency of ecclesiastics, from the highest prelates down, being present at the nuptials of their children, both legitimate and illegitimate. For those who publicly kept concubines it provides a graduated scale of confiscation, ending in the deprivation of the persistently contumacious who gave no prospect of amendment. The acts of this council, moreover, are interesting as presenting the first authentic evidence of a custom which subsequently prevailed to some extent elsewhere, by which parishioners were wont to compel their priest to take a female consort for the purpose of protecting the virtue of their families from his assaults. The iniquity of this precaution seems to have especially scandalized the legate, and he treats the audacious laymen concerned in such transactions with much less ceremony than the concubinary clergy.[1] The elaborate regulations promulgated by this council produced little effect. In 1388, another was held at the same place, which states that they had been entirely neglected. It accordingly renews them, with an addition by which all beneficiaries were made to hold their preferment under an express condition of chastity.[2] The desolation which the enforcement of such a stipulation would have wrought may be inferred from the description which a contemporary, Alvarez Pelayo, Bishop of Silva in Portugal, gives us of his fellow ecclesiastics. He states that many of the clergy in holy orders throughout the Peninsula publicly associated themselves with women, frequently of noble blood, binding themselves against separation by notarial acts and solemn oaths, endowing their consorts with the goods of the church, and celebrating with the kindred these illegal espousals as joyously as though they were legitimate nuptials. Yet even this flagrant defiance of the canons was better than the promiscuous and unrestrained licentious-

---

[1] Concil. Palentin. ann. 1322 can. vi. vii.—*Nos* iniquitatem hujusmodi detestantes, excommunicationis sententiæ ipso facto decernimus subjacere quemlibet, cujuscumque status aut conditionis existat; necnon universitatem seu communitatem quamlibet sententiæ interdicti, quæ personam quamvis ecclesiasticam duxerit compellandam ad recipiendum in concubinam mulierem quamcunque.

[2] Concil. Palentin. ann. 1388, Rubr. ii.

ness of those who were not fettered by the forms of marriage, whose children, as Pelayo asserts, almost rivalled in number those of the laity.[1] We shall see hereafter that this state of affairs continued until the sixteenth century was well advanced.

[1] Et utinam continentiam nunquam promisissent, maxime Hispani et regnicolæ, in quibus provinciis in pauco maiori numero sunt filii clericorum quam laicorum . . . Sæpe cum parochianis mulieribus quæ ad confessionem admittunt, scelestissime fornicantur . . . De bonis ecclesiæ pascunt concubinam continue et filios, et de pecunia ecclesiæ emunt eis possessiones. Multi presbyteri et alii constituti in sacris, maxime in Hispania, Asturia et Gallicia et alibi, et publice et aliquoties per publicum instrumentum promittunt et jurant quibusdam, maxime nobilibus mulieribus, numquam eas dimittere; et dant eis arras de bonis ecclesiæ et possessionibus ecclesiæ, et publice eas ducunt, cum consanguineis et amicis et solenni convivio, acsi essent uxores legitimæ. — Alv. Pelag. de Planctu Ecclesiæ Lib. II. (Calixtus, p. 537–8).

XX.

GENERAL LEGISLATION.

In a former section we have seen the efforts made by Calixtus II. to enforce the received discipline of the church, and we have noted the scanty measure of success which attended his labors. He apparently himself recognized that they were futile, and that some action of more decided character than had as yet been attempted was necessary to accomplish the result so long and so energetically sought, and so illusory to its ardent pursuers. On his return to Italy, and his triumph over his unfortunate rival, the anti-pope Martin Burdino, he summoned, in 1123, the first general council of the West, to confirm the Concordat of Worms, which had just closed half a century of strife between the papacy and the empire. Nearly a thousand prelates obeyed his call, and that august assembly promulgated a canon which not only forbade matrimony to those bound by vows and holy orders, but commanded that if such marriages were contracted they should be broken, and the parties to them subjected to due penance.[1]

This was a bold innovation. With the exception of a decretal of Urban II. in 1090, to which little attention seems to have been paid, we have seen that, previous to Calixtus, while the marriage tie was held incompatible with the ministry of the altar and with the enjoyment of church property, it yet was respected and its binding force was admitted, even to the point of rendering those who assumed it unfitted for their sacred functions. At most, and as a concession to a lax and irreligious generation, the option was allowed of abandoning either the wife or the church. At Rheims, Calixtus had deprived them of this choice, and had ordered their separation from their wives. He now went a step further, and by the

---

[1] Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus et monachis concubinas habere, seu matrimonia contrahere, penitus interdicimus: contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi, et personas ad pœnitentiam redigi, juxta sacrorum canonum diffinitiones judicamus.—Concil. Lateran. I. c. 21.

Lateran canon he declared the sacrament of marriage to be less potent than the religious vow: the engagement with the church swallowed up and destroyed all other ties. This gave the final seal to the separation between the clergy and the laity, by declaring the priestly character to be indelible. When once admitted to orders, he became a being set apart from his fellows, consecrated to the service of God; and the impassable gulf between him and the laity bound him forever to the exclusive interests of the church. It is easy to perceive how important an element this irrevocable nature of sacerdotalism became in establishing and consolidating the ecclesiastical power.

The immensity of the change thus wrought in the practice, if not in the doctrine of the church, can best be understood by comparing the formal command thus issued to the Christian world with the unqualified condemnation pronounced in earlier times against those who attempted to dissolve marriage under religious pretexts.[1] And in all ages the church has regarded the chastity of the monastic orders as even more imperative than that of the secular clergy.

Revolutions never go backwards. Perhaps the Lateran fathers who adopted the canon scarcely realized its logical conclusions. If they did, they at all events shrank from expressing them openly and fully, and left the faithful to draw their own deductions as to the causes and consequences of such an order. Time, however, familiarized the minds of ardent churchmen to the idea, and it was seen that if the practice thus enjoined was correct, doctrine must be made to suit and to justify it. To this end an additional stimulus was

---

[1] Thus Gregory the Great, in 602: "Si enim dicunt religionis causa conjugia debere dissolvi sciendum est quia etsi hoc lex humana concessit, divina lex tamen prohibuit."—Gregor. I. Lib. xi. Epist. 45.

And St. Augustine: "Proinde qui dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias sed potius adulteria non mihi videntur satis acute ac diligenter considerare quid dicant . . . et cum volunt eas separatas reddere continentiæ faciunt maritos earum adulteros veros etc."—De Bono Viduit. c. 10.

It has suited the authorities of the church in recent times to deprive Calixtus of the credit of introducing these rules and to assert for them a much higher antiquity. How modern this theory is may be seen from the expression of the learned Doctor Juan Bernal Diaz, Bishop of Calahorra, in his "Practica Criminalis Canonica." (Cap. 74, p. 117, 4th Ed., Venice, 1560.) "Calixtus papa interdixit contractum matrimonii presbyteris, diaconibus, et subdiaconibus, et ab illis contracta debere disjungi, etc."

afforded by the failure of the canon to accomplish the results anticipated from it, for the custom of sacerdotal marriage was as yet by no means eradicated. The council of Liége, held by Innocent II. in 1131, referred to in a preceding section, and those of Clermont and Rheims, over which he likewise presided, in 1130 and 1131, show how little had been accomplished, and how generally the clergy of Europe disregarded the restrictions nominally imposed upon them, and the punishments which they so easily escaped.[1] In the canons of these councils not only is it observable that the question of marriage and celibacy is treated as though it were a matter now for the first time brought to the attention of the clergy, but also that the innovation attempted by the council of Lateran, only seven or eight years previous, is prudently suppressed and passed over without even an allusion.

Innocent, restored to Rome and to power, was bolder than when wandering through Europe, soliciting the aid of the faithful. Surrounded by a thousand bishops at the second great council of Lateran, in 1139, he no longer dreaded to offend the susceptibilities of the clergy, and he proceeded to justify the canon of 1123 by creating a doctrine to suit the practice there enjoined. After repeating the canons of Clermont and Rheims, he unhesitatingly pronounced that a union contracted in opposition to the rule of the church was not a marriage.[2] He draws no argument from the conflict of sacraments assumed to be incompatible; a simple vow dissolves

---

[1] Decrevimus ut ii qui a subdiaconatu et supra uxores duxerint, aut concubinas habuerint, officio atque beneficio ecclesiastico careant.—Concil. Claromont. ann. 1130, can. 4.

This is repeated verbatim in the council of Rheims in 1131, canon 4.

Concerning the latter a contemporary observes: "Placuit etiam domino apostolico et toti concilio, ne quis audiat missam presbyteri habentis concubinam vel uxorem. Assensu etiam omnium firmatum est ut clerici omnes a subdiacono et supra continentes sint, et qui non fuerint continentes, deponantur."—Udalr. Babenb. Cod. Lib. II. c. 1.

[2] Ut autem lex continentiæ et Deo placens munditia in ecclesiasticis personis et sacris ordinibus dilatetur, statuimus quatenus episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, regulares canonici et monachi atque conversi professi, qui sanctum transgredientes propositum uxores sibi copulare præsumpserint, separentur. Hujusmodi namque copulationem, quam contra ecclesiasticam regulam constat esse contractam, matrimonium non esse censemus. Qui etiam ab invicem separati, pro tantis excessibus condignam pœnitentiam agant.—Concil. Lateran. II. ann. 1139, c. 7.

the sacrament of marriage, and renders it null and void—or rather destroys its efficacy and anticipates its existence.

The abounding wickedness of a perverse generation caused this decree of the loftiest Christian tribunal to fall still-born and abortive as its forerunners had done.[1] The church, however, was irrevocably committed to the new doctrine and to all its consequences. When Eugenius III. was driven out of Rome by Arnold of Brescia, he presided, in 1148, over a council held at Rheims, where eleven hundred bishops and abbots from Northern and Western Europe assembled to do honor to the persecuted representative of St. Peter, and to condemn the teachings of Gilbert de la Porrée. From this great assembly he procured the confirmation of the new dogma by their adoption of the Lateran canon; while the repetition of that of Clermont and Rheims (of 1130 and 1131) shows that the evil which it was intended to repress still existed in full force.[2] The vague assertion of Eugenius that he was but following in the footsteps of the holy fathers, and a special reference to Innocent II. as his authority, render it probable that the members of the council demurred in committing themselves to the new dogma, and that it was only by showing that the matter was already decided under the irrefragable authority of a general council that the consent of the Trans-alpine churches was obtained.

Even in Rome itself the point was still disputed. At that very time Gratian, the greatest canonist of the age, was engaged in the compilation of his "Concordia discordantium Canonum," a work undertaken at the request of the papal authorities to restore to the canon law the pre-eminence which it was fast losing in consequence of the recently revived study of the Justinian jurisprudence. Published in 1151 under the auspices of Eugenius himself, and presented to the world as the authoritative exposition of the laws and discipline of the church, it was everywhere received with acclamation, and has remained to this day the foundation of

---

1 Sed nimis abundans per universum orbem nequitia terrigenarum corda contra ecclesiastica scita obduravit.—Orderic. Vital. P. III. Lib. xiii. c. 20.

2 Concil. Remens. ann. 1148, can. 3, 8. "Sanctorum patrum et prædecessoris nostri Papæ Innocentii vestigia inhærentes, statuimus quatenus episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, etc."

canonical jurisprudence. Yet Gratian himself, in this work without appeal, distinctly declares his opposition to the doctrine of Innocent and Eugenius, asserting that a deacon can lawfully marry if he chooses to abandon the ministry, and that the sacrament of marriage is so potent that no antecedent vow can render it void.[1]

The new law was long in winning its way to general respect, nor can it be a subject of wonder if those who disregarded the acknowledged canons of the church by marrying in orders, or by permitting such marriages in those under their charge, should neglect a rule of modern origin and of more than doubtful propriety. The church, however, was committed to it, and moreover could see in its eventual recognition a more effectual means of accomplishing the long desired object than in any expedient previously tried. By destroying all such marriages, pronouncing them null and void, inflicting an ineffaceable stigma on wife and offspring, subjecting the woman to the certainty of being cast off without resource and without option on the part of the husband, the position of the wife of an ecclesiastic would become most unenviable; her kindred would prevent her from exposing herself to such calamities, and no priest could succeed in finding a consort above the lowest class, whose union with him would expose him to the contempt of his flock.

How slender was the immediate result of these efforts, however, is manifested by the allusions of Geroch, Provost of Reichersperg, who, writing about the middle of the century, complains that any one who would shun intercourse with Nicolitan and simoniacal heretics must quit the world, for it was full of them, and he maintains the propriety of calling them heretics because they openly defended and justified their evil courses.[2] Indeed, so shamelessly were their transgres-

---

[1] Si vero diaconus a ministerio cessare voluerit, et contracto matrimonio licite potest uti. Nam etsi in ordinatione sua castitatis votum obtulerit, tamen tanta est vis in sacramento conjugii, quod nec ex violatione voti potest dissolvi ipsum conjugium.—Comment. in Can. i. Dist. XXVII.

The introduction of this doctrine into the church has given rise to some controversy. In the Encyclicals of Aug. 22, 1851, and Dec. 8, 1864, Pius IX. has condemned the error of attributing it to Boniface VIII.

[2] Quia si etiam in talibus interdicerentur, oportuerat nos exire de hoc mundo Nicolaitis et Simoniacis pleno.

sions displayed, that the faithful were sometimes scandalized by the sight of the priests' wives assisting their husbands in the ministry of the altar;[1] while conventual discipline had sunk so low that nuns were in the habit of deferring their formal vows until the lassitude of old age should render the restraints thereby assumed easy to be endured,[2] and canons led a life which was only distinguishable from that of the laity by its shamelessness.[3] Nor was this confined to Germany. In France, Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, complains that those who married in orders openly defended their evil practices and quoted Scripture to sustain themselves.[4] In England and Spain, as we have seen, the state of discipline was even worse.

The long pontificate of Alexander III., extending from 1159 to 1181, was absorbed for the most part by his deadly strife with Frederic Barbarossa. Yet, even before he was released from that ever present danger, he found leisure to urge the cause of sacerdotal celibacy; and after the humiliation of his mortal enemy he devoted himself to it with a zeal

. . Quis altaris ministros fornicantes et interdicta sibi officia usurpantes, talemque præsumptionem contra Sedis Apostolicæ doctrinam pertinaciter defendentes, dubitet hæreticos?—Gerhohi Tract. adv. Simoniac. c. 2.—About the year 1140, we find St. Bernard (Epist. 203) writing to the bishop and clergy of Trèves, urging them to labor for the reformation of a married sub-deacon of their church, in terms which show that no severe application of the canons was to be expected.

[1] Quando enim laici omnino illiterati vident hujusmodi clericos altari audenter ministrare, quibus interdum sic ministrantibus . . . assistunt eorum feminæ tanquam filiæ Babylonis miseræ.—Gerhohi Exposit. in Psalm. LXIV. cap. xlix.

[2] Gerhohi Exposit. in Psalm. LXIV. c. xxxv. An allusion in this passage to Eugenius III. and the council of Rheims shows that it was written between 1148 and 1153. It seems that the nuns rebelled against the canon (Concil. Remens. ann. 1148, can. iv.) confining them to their convents under threat of deprivation of Christian sepulture.

[3] Ibid. cap. xlvi.—"Unde apud illos inter sanctum et profanum nulla distantia est, inter sacerdotes et laicos modica discretio; nisi forte in eo discernantur, quod clerici plus laicis deviant, etc."

[4] Hujusmodi lapsos pro voto fracto mater ecclesia condemnat, pontificalis auctoritas communione privat. Ex his impudenter aliqui prorunnt et hæreticos pro se litigantes asciscunt, qui nobis Apostolum tumultuosa loquacitate proferunt, etc.—(Hugon. Rothomag. contra Hæret. Lib. III. cap. v.)—Hugh gives us in a new form the old calculation as to the comparative merits of virginity, continence, and marriage.—"Non centesimo honore cum virginibus gloriatur, non sexagesima continentiæ palma lætatur, sed tricesimo conjugii labore fatigatur."

which earned for him among his contemporaries the credit of establishing its observance.[1] He who, as the legate Roland, had nearly paid, under the avenging sword of Otho of Wittelsbach, the forfeit of his life for his rude boldness at the imperial court, was little likely to abate one jot of the claims which the church asserted on the obedience of layman and clerk; and he recognized too fully the potency of the canons of Lateran and Rheims not to insist upon their observance. The very necessity under which he found himself, however, of repeating those canons shows how utterly neglected they had been, and how successfully the clergy had thus far resisted their reception and acknowledgment. Thus when, in 1163, he held the council of Tours, he was obliged to content himself with a canon which allowed three warnings to those who publicly kept concubines, and it was only after neglect of these warnings that they were threatened with deprivation of functions and benefice;[2] and when, in 1172, his legates presided over the council of Avranches, which absolved Henry II. for the murder of A'Becket, the Norman clergy were emphatically reminded that those who married in holy orders must put away their wives, and this in terms which indicate that the rule had not been previously obeyed.[3] Yet notwithstanding this formal declaration, only a few years later we find the Archbishop of Rheims applying to him for counsel in the case of a deacon who had committed matrimony, to which Alexander of course replied that the marriage was no marriage, and that the offending ecclesiastic must be separated from the woman, and undergo due penance.[4] The persistence of the pope, and the necessity of his urgency, are farther shown by sundry epistles to various English bishops, in which the rule is enunciated as absolute

[1] Et constituit ut nullus in sacris ordinibus habeat uxorem vel concubinam.—Chron. S. Ægid. in Brunswig.

[2] Concil. Turon. ann. 1163, can. 4 (MS. St. Michael. ap. Harduin. Tom. VI. P. ii. p. 1600).

[3] Qui autem a subdiaconatu vel supra ad matrimonia convolaverint, mulieres etiam invitas et renitentes relinquant.—Concil. Abrincens. ann. 1172, c. 1. I give this on the authority of the Abate Zaccaria (Nuova Giustificazione del Celibato Sacro, p. 120); there is no such canon among those attributed to the council by Hardouin (T. VI. P. II. p. 1634).

[4] Post Concil. Lateran. P. XVIII. c. 12.

and unvarying;[1] and he takes occasion to stigmatize such marriages with the most degrading epithet, when he graciously pardons those concerned, and permits their restitution after a long course of penitence, on their giving evidence of a reformed life.[2]

Yet even Alexander was forced to abate somewhat of his stern determination, in consideration of the incorrigible perversity of the time, though he seems not to have remarked that he abandoned the principle by admitting exceptions, and that the reasons assigned in such individual cases might, with equal cogency, be applied to the total withdrawal of the rule. When the Calabrian bishops informed him that clerks in holy orders throughout their dioceses committed matrimony, he ordered that priests and deacons should be irrevocably separated from their wives; but, in the case of subdeacons of doubtful morals, he instructed the prelates that they should tacitly connive at the irregularity, lest in place of one woman, many should be abused, and a greater evil be incurred, in the endeavor to avoid a less.[3] This worldly wisdom also dictated his orders to the Bishop of Exeter, in whose diocese subdeacons were in the habit of openly marrying. He directs an examination into the lives and characters of the offenders; those whose regular habits and staid morality afford fair expectation of their chastity in celibacy, are to be forcibly separated from their wives; while those whose disorderly character renders probable their general licentiousness if condemned to a single life, are not to be disturbed—taking care, however, that they do not minister at the altar, or receive ecclesiastical benefices.[4]

---

[1] Post Concil. Lateran. P. xviii. c. 2, 6.

[2] Sane sacerdotes illi, qui nuptias contrahunt, quæ non nuptiæ sed contubernia sunt potius nuncupanda, post longam pœnitentiam et vitam laudabilem continentes, officio suo restitui poterunt, et ex indulgentia sui episcopi ejus executionem habere. —Can. 4 Extra, Tit. iii. Lib. iii.

[3] Si vero subdiaconi contraxerint matrimonium, eos dummodo ante tales fuerint, quod timendum sit ne pro una pluribus abutantur, dissimulare poteris cum suis mulieribus remanere, quia tolerandum est malum ut pejora vitentur.—Post Concil. Lateran. P. xviii. c. 4.

[4] Post Concil. Lateran. P. xviii. c. 13.—In a decretal addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, Alexander grants permission of marriage to a certain subdeacon, and forbids interference with such legitimate marriage, giving as a reason that the subdiaconate of the person referred to carried with it no preferment.—Ibid. c. 14.

Alexander adopted the principle that a simple vow of chastity did not prevent marriage or render it null, but that a formal vow, or the reception of orders, created a dissolution of marriage, or a total inability to enter into it;[1] but Celestin III. carried the principle still farther, and decreed that a simple vow, while it did not dissolve an existing connection, was sufficient to prevent a future one.[2]

Alexander did not confine himself to this portion of the question, but with ceaseless activity labored to enforce the observance of celibacy in general, and to repress the immorality which disgraced the church throughout Christendom —immorality which led Alain de l'Isle, the "Universal Doctor," to characterize the ecclesiastics of his time as being old men in their inefficiency and young men in their unbridled passions.[3] Alexander's efforts were particularly directed to put an end to the practice of hereditary priesthood, and its constant consequence, hereditary benefices. If I have made little allusion to this subject during the century under consideration, it is not that the church had relaxed her exertions to place some limit on this apparently incurable

---

[1] Post Concil. Lateran. P. vi. c. 9.

[2] Votum simplex impedit sponsalia de futuro, non autem dirimit matrimonium sequens; secus in voto solenni.—Can. 6 Extra Lib. iv. Tit. vi.

The practical rule deduced by a shrewd lawyer in the latter half of the thirteenth century from this varying legislation is, "Note deus relles; que simple vou et sollempnié lie maeme quant à Deu; et simple vou empêche à marier, mès il ne tost pas ce qui est fet; et note que vou, de la nature de soi, ne dépièce pas mariage, mès c'est de constitucion d'yglise."—(Livres de Jostice et de Plet, Liv. x. chap. vi. § 6.) This is likewise the conclusion reached by Thomas Aquinas, Summ. Theol. Supp. Quæst. LIII. Art. i. ii.

[3] Sacerdotes nostri temporis senes sunt et pueri. . . . Senes, quidem, morum desipientia, pueri lascivia; senes animi imbecillitate, pueri animi instabilitate; senes divini caloris defectu, pueri adulterini caloris effectu, etc.—Alani ab Insulis Lib. Pœnitentialis.

How little progress practically resulted from Alexander's labors, and how endless was the struggle perpetually recurring throughout Christendom, is well illustrated in a privilege addressed by his successor Lucius III. to Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris, about the year 1181.—"Relatum est nobis ex parte tua, quosdam presbiteros in tua diocesi constitutos infamia laborare, quod non erubescant detinere publice concubinas. Cum autem illos queris corrigere, obstaculum appellationis opponunt, ut canonicam correctionem evitent, et tamen a vitio et prava consuetudine non recedunt." (Chartular. Eccles. Paris. I. 35.) In 1189 we find a council at Rouen forbidding the clergy to keep "focariæ," without threatening any punishment, as though the prohibition were a novelty.—Concil. Rotomag. ann. 1180, can. iv.

disorder, or that the passive resistance to her efforts had been less successful than we have seen it on previous occasions. The perpetual injunctions of Alexander show at once the universality of the vice, and the determination of the pontiff to eradicate it. At the same time it became a frequent, and no doubt a profitable portion of the duties of the papal chancery, to grant special dispensations when those who held such preferment, or who desired to retain their wives, underwent the dangers and expense of a journey to Rome, and were rewarded for their confidence in the benignity of the Holy Father by a rescript to their bishops, commanding their reinstatement in the benefices from which they had been ejected.[1] The power to grant such dispensations was shrewdly reserved as the exclusive privilege of the papal court;[2] and a high churchman of the period assures us that there was no difficulty in obtaining them.[3] It need not, therefore, surprise us that Alexander's successor, Lucius III., found the hereditary transmission of the priestly office claimed as an absolute right.[4]

This conflicting legislation, at times enforced, and at times dispensed with by the supreme power, led to innumerable complications and endless perplexity in private life. Indeed, a large portion of the canons are founded on responses given by the popes to settle cases of peculiar difficulty arising from ignorance or neglect of the discipline enjoined, and many of these reveal extreme hardship inflicted on those who could be convicted of no intentional guilt. Perhaps the most noteworthy instance of the troubles caused by the new regulations was that of Bossaert d'Avesnes, which resulted in a desperate war to determine the possession of the rich provinces of Flanders and Hainault. As it illustrates the doubts

---

[1] Post. Concil. Lateran. P. XIX. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10.—Can. 10, 11, 12, 14, Extra, Lib. I. Tit. xvii.

[2] Can. 17, 18, Extra, Lib. I. Tit. xvii.

[3] Quia de talibus absque difficultate curia Romana dispensat, quia et de subdiaconibus quibusdam audivimus a domino Papa dispensatum.—Girald. Cambrens. Gemm. Eccles. Dist. II. cap. v.

[4] Consuetudinem introductam quod filii eorum qui vestras ecclesias tenuerunt. . . . patribus . . . consecuti, sub reprehensibili collusione volunt ipsas ecclesias jure successionis habere, etc.—Lucii. PP. III. Epist. 88.—Cf. Concil. Rotomag. ann. 1189, can. vi.

which still environed these particular points, and the conflicting decisions to which they were liable, even from the infallibility of successive popes, it may be worth briefly sketching here.

When Baldwin of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople, died in 1206, his eldest daughter Jane succeeded to his territories of Flanders and Hainault, while his second child, Margaret, was placed under the guardianship of Bossaert d'Avesnes. Bossaert was a relative of her mother, Mary of Champagne, and though he held the comparatively insignificant position of chantre of Tournay, he was yet a man of great repute and influence. With the assent and approbation of the estates of Flanders, Margaret and Bossaert were married, the issue of the union being three sons. Whether the fact of his having received the subdiaconate was publicly known or not is somewhat doubtful; but he seems at length to have been awakened to a sense of his uncertain position, when he went to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a dispensation and legitimating his children. Innocent III. not only refused the application, but commanded him to restore Margaret to her relatives and to do penance by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Disregarding these injunctions, he lived openly with his wife after his return and was excommunicated in consequence. At length Margaret left him and married Guillaume de Dampierre, while Bossaert was assassinated during a second visit to Rome, where he was seeking reconciliation to the church. When at last, in 1244, the Countess Jane closed her long and weary career by assuming the veil at Marquette, without leaving heirs, the children of Margaret by both marriages claimed the succession, and Margaret favored the younger, asserting, without scruple, that her elder sons were illegitimate. The difficult question was referred to St. Louis for arbitration, and in 1247 the good king assigned Flanders to Gui de Dampierre and Hainault to Jean d'Avesnes, thus recognizing both marriages as legitimate. This, of course, satisfied neither party. Innocent IV. was appealed to, and in 1248 he sent commissioners to investigate the knotty affair. They reported that the marriage of Bossaert had been contracted in the face of all Flanders, and that the d'Avesnes were legiti-

mate, which judgment was confirmed by Innocent himself in 1252. Thus fortified, Jean d'Avesnes resisted the proposed partition, and a bloody civil war arose. The victory of Vacheren placed the Dampierre in the hands of their half brothers, and promised to be decisive, until Margaret called in Charles de Valois, bribing him with the offer of Hainault to complete the disinheriting of her first-born. The war continued until Louis, returning from the East in 1255, compelled the combatants to lay down their arms, and to abide by his arbitration.[1]

Yet even the resolute spirit of Alexander III., dismayed at the arduous nature of the struggle, or appalled at the ineradicable vices which defied even papal authority, at times shrank from the contest and was ready to abandon the principle. If we may believe Giraldus Cambrensis, who, as a contemporary intimately connected with the highest ecclesiastical authorities in England, was not likely to be mistaken, and whose long sojourn at the court of Innocent III. would have afforded him ample opportunities of correcting a misstatement, Alexander had once resolved to introduce the discipline of the Greek church in Western Europe, permitting single marriages with virgins. To this he had obtained the assent of his whole court, except his chancellor Albert, who was afterwards pope under the name of Gregory VIII. The resistance of this dignitary was so powerful as to cause the abandonment of the project.[2] Alexander, indeed, was not alone in this conviction. Giraldus

[1] D'Oudegherst, Annales de Flandre, chap. CIII.—Baluz. et Mansi T. I.—Miræi Diplom. Lib. I. c. 88.—Grandes Chroniques, T. IV. pp. 339–42.

[2] In presbyteris autem nullum omnino remedium, nulla dispensatio locum habet, nisi forte per generale concilium, a summo pontifice et cardinalibus, consensu quoque totius ecclesiæ de desponsandis unicis et virginibus more Græcorum statueretur. Sicut de Alexandro tertio dicitur, quod id statuere propter pericula, quæ in occidentali ecclesia ex voti illius emissione cognoverat tanta, proculdubio proposuerat et firmiter animo decreverat; tota ecclesia Romana in hoc consentiente præter abbatem cancellarium, qui vir erat singulari quadam austeritate notabilis, qui et postmodum tamen tertius ab Alexandro est papa creatus et Gregorius quartus vocatus. Ob cujus dissensum solius tam utile tanti patris tamque discreti propositum, peccatis exigentibus, non fuit effectui mancipatum.—Girald. Cambrens. Gemm. Eccles. Div. II. cap. vi.

The "Gemma" was the favorite work of its author, who relates with pride the approbation specially bestowed upon it by Innocent III.

himself was fully convinced that such a change would be most useful to the church, though as archdeacon of St. David's he had displayed his zeal for the enforcement of the canon by measures too energetic for the degeneracy of the age, and though he occupies, in his "Gemma Ecclesiastica," twenty-one chapters with an exhortation to his clergy to abandon their evil courses.[1] Men of high character did not hesitate to take even stronger ground against the rule. The celebrated Peter Comestor, whose orthodoxy is unquestioned, taught publicly in his lectures that the devil had never inflicted so severe a blow on the church as in procuring the adoption of celibacy.[2]

These were but individual opinions. The policy of the church remained unaltered, and Alexander's successors emulated his example in endeavoring to enforce the canons. Clement III. took advantage of the profound impression which the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin (Oct. 1187) produced on all Europe, when the fall of the Latin kingdom was attributed to the sins of Christendom. He preached a general reformation. Abstinence from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays for five years, and various other kinds of mortification were enjoined on all to propitiate a justly offended Deity, but the clergy were the objects of special reproof. Their extreme laxity of morals, their neglect of the dress of their order, their worldly ambition and pursuits, drinking, gambling, and flocking to tournaments, and the unclerical deportment which left little difference between them and the laity, were some of the accusations brought against them. To their incontinence, however, was chiefly attributed the wrath of God, besides the measureless scandals to which their conduct exposed the church, and they were commanded to remove all suspected

---

[1] Yet so hopeless was this well-intentioned attempt, that Giraldus is willing to let off his recalcitrant clergy with the simple restriction demanded of the laity — abstinence for three days previous to partaking of the communion. "Qui igitur in immunditiæ veluti suo volutabro volvitur adhuc et versatur, hanc saltem altari sacro et sacrificiis reverentiam sacerdos exhibeat, ut vel tribus diebus et noctibus priusquam corpus Christi consecrare præsumat mundum . . . vas custodiat."—Ibid. cap. vii.

[2] Hoc autem magistrum Petrum Manducatorem in audientia totius scholæ suæ quæ tot et tantis viris literatissimis referta fuit dicentem audivi, quia nunquam hostis ille antiquus in aliquo articulo, adeo ecclesiam Dei circumvenit, sicut in voti illius emissione.—Ibid. cap. vi.

females from their houses within forty days, under pain of suspension from their functions and revenues.[1] That these rebukes were not the mere angry declamation of an ascetic is shown by the declaration of Celestine III., a few years later, that throughout Germany the custom still prevailed of fathers substituting in their benefices their sons, born during priesthood, so that frequently parent and offspring ministered together in the same church;[2] and the extent of the demoralization is evident when we find the sons of priests and deacons alluded to as a class ineligible to knighthood in a constitution of Frederic Barbarossa in 1187.[3]

Yet, with all his ardor, Clement admitted that celibacy was only a local rule of discipline, and that there was nothing really incompatible between marriage and the holy functions of the altar. The time had not yet come when the council of Trent could erect the inviolable continence of the priesthood into an article of faith, and Clement was willing to allow that priests of the Greek church, under his jurisdiction, could legitimately be married and could celebrate mass while their families were growing up around them.[4]

Innocent III., who, by the fortunate conjunction of the time in which he flourished with his own matchless force of character, enjoyed perhaps the culmination of papal power and prerogative, at length brought to the struggle an influence and a determination which could scarcely fail to prove decisive on any question capable of a favorable solution. By

---

[1] De incontinentia vero clericorum, unde ira Dei contra nos maxime provocatur, et scandala gravissima inter clerum et populum excitantur, apostolica auctoritate firmissime præcipimus, ut omnes suspectas personas de domo et procuratione sua, infra quadraginta dies removeant; quod si non fecerint, ab omni officio et beneficio ecclesiastico suspendantur. — Epist. Henr. Card. Albanens. (Ludewig, Rel. Msctor. II. 441).

[2] Baluz. et Mansi III. 380. Even the regular clergy shared in the general relaxation of discipline. In 1192, Odo, Bishop of Toul, deplored the wickedness of monks who left their monasteries and openly married. All such he excommunicated, with their wives and families.—Statut. Synod. Odon. Tullens. cap. vi. (Hartzheim, III. 456).

[3] De filiis quoque sacerdotum, diaconorum, rusticorum, statuimus, ne cingulum militare aliquatenus assumant; et qui jam assumpserunt, per judicem provinciæ a militia pellantur. —Feudor. Lib. v. Tit. x.—Conf. Conr. Urspergens. ann. 1187.

[4] Can. 7 Extra, Lib. v. Tit. xxxviii.

his decretals and his legates he labored assiduously to enforce obedience to the canons, and when, in 1215, he summoned the whole Christian world to meet in the fourth council of Lateran, that august assembly of about thirteen hundred prelates, acting under his impulsion, and reflecting his triumph over John of England and Otho of Germany, spoke with an authority which no former body since that of Nicæa had possessed. Its canons on the subject before us were simple, perhaps less violent in their tone than those of former synods, but they breathed the air of conscious strength, and there was no man that dared to openly gainsay them. A more rigid observance of the rules was enjoined, and any one officiating while suspended for contravention was punishable with perpetual degradation and deprivation of his emoluments. Yet the rule was admitted to be merely a local ordinance peculiar to the Latin church, for, in the effort made by the council to heal the schism with Constantinople, the right of the East to permit the marriage of its priests was acknowledged by a clause visiting with severe penalties those who by custom were allowed to marry, and who, notwithstanding this license, still permitted themselves illicit indulgences. The disgraceful traffic by which in some places prelates regularly sold permissions to sin was denounced in the strongest terms, as a vice equal in degree to that which it encouraged; and the common custom of fathers obtaining preferment in their own churches for their illegitimate offspring was reprobated as it deserved.[1]

---

[1] Ne vero facilitas veniæ incentivum tribuat delinquendi: statuimus, ut qui deprehensi fuerint incontinentiæ vitio laborare, prout magis aut minus peccaverint, puniantur secundum canonicas sanctiones, quas efficacius et districtius præcipimus observari, ut quos divinus timor a malo non revocat, temporalis saltem pœna a peccato cohibeat.

Si quis igitur hac de causa suspensus, divina celebrare præsumpserit, non solum ecclesiasticis beneficiis spolietur, verum etiam pro hac duplici culpa, perpetuo deponatur.

Prælati vero qui tales præsumpserint in suis iniquitatibus sustinere, maxime obtentu pecuniæ vel alterius commodi temporalis, pari subjaceant ultioni.

Qui autem secundum regionis suæ morem non abdicarunt copulam conjugalem, si lapsi fuerint, gravius puniantur, cum legitimo matrimonio possint uti.—Concil. Lateranens. IV. can. 14.

Ad abolendam pessiman, quæ in plerisque inolevit ecclesiis, corruptelam, firmiter prohibemus, ne canonicorum filii, maxime spurii, canonici fiant in sæcularibus ecclesiis, in quibus instituti sunt patres etc.—Ibid. can. 31.

There is nothing novel in these canons, nor can they in strictness be said to constitute an epoch in the history of sacerdotal celibacy. They enunciate no new principles, they threaten no new punishments, yet are they noteworthy as marking the settled policy of the church at a period when it had acquired that plenitude of power and vigor of organization which insured at least an outward show of obedience to its commands. The successive labors of so long a series of pontiffs, during more than a century and a half, carrying with them the cumulative authority of Rome, had gradually broken down resistance, and the Lateran canons were the definitive expression of its discipline on this subject. Accordingly, though we shall see how little was accomplished in securing the purity of the priesthood, which was the ostensible object of the rule, yet hereafter there are to be found few traces of marriage in holy orders. That was recognized as inadmissible, except in those countries which lay on the frontiers of Christendom, and even in them it was virtually extirpated long ere the close of the century.

XXI.

RESULTS.

THE unrelaxing efforts of two centuries had at length achieved an inevitable triumph. One by one the different churches of Latin Christendom yielded to the fiat of the successor of St. Peter, and their ecclesiastics were forced to forego the privilege of assuming the most sacred of earthly ties with the sanction of heaven and the approbation of man. Sacerdotalism vindicated its claim to exclusive obedience; the church successfully asserted its right to command the entire life of its members, and to sunder all the bonds that might allure them to render a divided allegiance. In theory, at least, all who professed a religious life or assumed the sacred ministry were given up wholly to the awful service which they had undertaken: no selfishly personal aspirations could divert their energies from the aggrandizement of their class, nor were the temporal possessions of the establishment to be exposed to the minute but all-pervading dilapidation of the wife and family.

If these were the objects of the movement inaugurated by Damiani and Hildebrand, and followed up with such unrelenting vigor by Calixtus and Alexander and Innocent, the history of the medieval church attests how fully they were attained. It is somewhat instructive, indeed, to observe that in the rise of the papal power to its culmination under Innocent III. it was precisely the pontiffs most conspicuous for their enforcement of the rule of celibacy who were likewise most prominent in their assertion of the supremacy, temporal and spiritual, of the head of the Roman church. Whether or not they recognized and acknowledged the connection, they labored as though the end in view was clearly appreciated,

and their triumphs on the one field were sure to be followed by corresponding successes on the other.

Yet in all this the ostensible object was always represented to be the purity of the church and of its ministers. The other advantages were either systematically ignored or but casually alluded to. If the results which were thus kept in the background were attained, what was the effect with regard to those which were held out as the sole and sufficient reason for reforming the great body of the church, and resuscitating the all but forgotten law which opened an impassable gulf between the ecclesiastic and the layman?

One warning voice, indeed, was raised, in a quarter where it would have at least commanded respectful attention, had not the church appeared to imagine itself superior to the ordinary laws of cause and effect. While Innocent II. was laboring to enforce his new doctrine that ordination and religious vows were destructive of marriage, St. Bernard, the ascetic reformer of monachism and the foremost ecclesiastic of his day, was thundering against the revival of Manicheism. The heresies of the Albigenses respecting marriage were to be combated, and, in performing this duty, he pointed out with startling vigor the evils to the church and to mankind of the attempt to enforce a purity incompatible with human nature. Deprive the church of honorable marriage, he exclaimed, and you fill her with concubinage, incest, and all manner of nameless vice and uncleanness.[1] It was still an age of faith; and while earnest men like St. Bernard could readily anticipate the evils attendant upon the asceticism of heretics, they could yet persuade themselves, as the Council of Trent subsequently expressed it, that God would not deny the gift of chastity to those who rightly sought it in the bosom of the true church. Thus, despite the divine warning, they were resolved deliberately to tempt the Lord, and it remains for us to see what was the success of the attempt.

---

[1] Tolle de ecclesia honorabile connubium et torum immaculatum; nonne reples eam concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus et omni denique genere immundorum?—Bernardi Serm. lxvi. in Cantic. § 3.—This series is understood to have been written in 1135.

It is somewhat significant that when, in France, the rule of celibacy was completely restored, strict churchmen should have found it necessary to revive the hideously suggestive restriction which denied to the priest the society of his mother or of his sister. Even in the profoundest barbarism of the tenth century, or the unbridled license of the eleventh; even when Damiani descanted upon the disorders of his contemporaries with all the cynicism of the most exalted asceticism, horrors such as these are not alluded to. It is reserved for the advancement of the thirteenth century and the enforcement of celibacy to show us how outraged human nature may revenge itself and protest against the shackles imposed by blind and unreasoning bigotry. In 1208, Guala, Cardinal of St. Martin, Innocent's legate in France, issued an order in which he not only repeated the threadbare prohibitions respecting focariæ and concubines, but commanded that even mothers and other relatives should not be allowed to reside with men in holy orders, the devil being the convenient personage on whom, as usual, was thrown the responsibility of the scandals which were known to occur under such circumstances.[1] That this decree was not allowed to pass into speedy oblivion is shown by a reference to it as still well known and in force a century later, in the statutes of the church of Tréguier.[2] And that the necessity for it was not evanescent may be assumed from its repetition in the regulations of the see of Nismes, the date of which is uncertain, but probably attributable to the close of the fourteenth century.[3] At the same time, we have evidence that Cardinal Guala's efforts were productive of little effect. Four years later, in 1212, we find Innocent formally authorizing the prelates of France to mercifully pardon those who had been excommunicated under Guala's rules, with the suggestive proviso that the power thus

---

[1] Moneantur quoque ne matres vel uxores, aliasque conjunctas personas secum habeant: cum quibus etsi nihil sævi criminis fœdus naturale existimari permittat, tamen frequenter, suggerente diabolo, cum talibus noscitur fuisse facinus perpetratum.—Constit. Gallonis cap. I. (Harduin. T. VI. P. II. p. 1975).—Giraldus Cambrensis, a few years earlier, makes the same assertion (Gemma. Eccles. Dist. II. cap. XV.).

[2] Statut. Eccles. Trecorens. c. 32 (Martene et Durand IV. 1102).

[3] Statut. Eccles. Nemausens. Tit. VII. c. 5 (Ibid. IV. 1044).

conferred was not to be used for the purpose of extorting unhallowed gains.[1] Still more significant is the fact that in the same year Innocent dispatched another legate, Cardinal Robert, duly commissioned to renew the endless task of purifying the Gallican church. Guala's efforts would seem to have already passed into oblivion, for in a council which Cardinal Robert held in Paris he gravely promulgated a canon forbidding the priesthood from keeping their concubines so openly as to give rise to scandal, and threatening the recalcitrant with excommunication if they should persist in retaining their improper consorts for forty days after receiving notice.[2]

The clergy of France were not exceptional, and, unfortunately, there can be no denial of the fact that notorious and undisguised illicit unions, or still more debasing secret licentiousness, was a universal and pervading vice of the church throughout Christendom. Its traces amid all the ecclesiastical legislation of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries are too broad and deep to be called into question, and if no evidence remained except the constant and unavailing efforts to repress it, that alone would be sufficient. National and local synods, pastoral epistles, statutes of churches, all the records of ecclesiastical discipline are full of it. Now deploring and now threatening, exhausting ingenuity in devising new regulations and more effective punishments, the prelates of those ages found themselves involved in a task as endless and as bootless as that of the Danaidæ. Occasionally, indeed, it is lost sight of momentarily, when the exactions and usurpations of the laity, or the gradual extension of secular jurisdiction monopolized the attention of those who were bound to defend the privileges of their class; but, with these rare exceptions, it may be asserted as a general truth that scarcely a synod met, or a body of laws was drawn up to govern some local church, in which the subject did not receive a prominent position and careful consideration. It would be wearisome and unprofitable to recapitulate here the details of this fruit-

[1] Innocent. PP. III. Regest. Lib. xv. Epist. 113.

[2] Concil. Parisiens. ann. 1212, can. 4 (Harduin. T. VI. P. II. p. 2001).

less iteration. Without by any means exhausting the almost limitless materials for investigation, I have collected a formidable mass of references upon the subject, but an examination of them shows so little of novelty and so constant a recurrence to the starting point, that no new principles can be evolved from them, and their only interest lies in their universality, and in demonstrating how resultless was the unceasing effort to remove the uneffaceable plague-spot.[1]

Nor is it only from these sources that are to be collected the evidences of the open and avowed shame of the church. The Neapolitan code, promulgated about 1231 by the enlightened Frederic II., absolutely interfered to give a quasi legitimacy to the children of ecclesiastics, and removed, to a certain extent, their disability of inheritance. The imperial officials were ordered to assign appropriate shares in parental property to such children, notwithstanding their illegitimacy, conditioned on the payment of an annual tax to the imperial court; and parents were not allowed to alienate their property to the prejudice of such children, any more than in

[1] One reference, perhaps, may be allowed, from its comprehensiveness. When, in 1259, Alexander IV. sought to check the licentiousness which shamelessly paraded the concubines of the clergy before the faces of the people, he did not hesitate to attribute to the dissolute ecclesiastics all the evils under which the church was groaning. "Per tales maxime nomen Dei Domini blasphematur in terris: per tales derogatur sacramentis fidei orthodoxæ, cum vasa Domini pollutis eorum manibus profanantur: per tales ergo perdit religionem Catholicam devotio reverentiæ Christianæ: per tales decipitur populus in divinis, et ecclesiastica substantia dissipatur. Hinc detrahitur verbo Dei, dum immundis labiis talium nunciatur: hinc hæretici mussitant et insultant: hinc tyranni sæviunt: hinc perfidi persequuntur: hinc grassantur audacius in Christi patrimonio sacrilegi exactores, a quibus, proh pudor! ob hujusmodi carnes putridas, quas disciplinalis mucro non resecat, sicut decet, sincerum Catholicæ matris corpus in ostentum ducitur et contemptum." The sincerity of his conviction was manifested by his ordering the prelates of Christendom to prosecute all such offences with the utmost severity under the canons, and, as the only way to render this effectual, he forbade all appeals to Rome in such cases, thus surrendering the power which had cost his predecessors so many struggles to obtain.—Chron. Augustens. ann. 1260 (Freher. et Struv. I. 546–7).

This Bull caused considerable stir. Many prelates were stimulated by it to reform their flocks, and large numbers of ecclesiastics were expelled from the church. A contemporary rhymester, Adam de la Halle (better known perhaps as Le Bossu d'Arras), thus alludes to its effects:—

Et chascuns le pape encosa
Quant tant de bons clers desposa.—
—Romme a bien le tierche partie
Des clers fais sers et amatis.

(Michel, Théat. Fran. au Moyen Age, p. 23.)

cases of the offspring of lawful wedlock.[1] The numbers and influence of the class thus protected must indeed have been great to induce such interference in their favor.

The direct encouragement thus given to these illicit connections, by providing for the children sprung from them, contravened one of the principal modes by which the church endeavored to suppress them. The innumerable canons issued during this period, forbidding and pronouncing null and void all testamentary provisions in favor of concubines and descendants, prove not only how much stress was laid upon it as an efficient means of repression, but also how little endeavor was made by the guilty parties to conceal their sin. As all testaments came within the sphere of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it would seem that there should have been no difficulty in enforcing regulations of this kind, yet their constant repetition proves either that those who were intrusted with their execution were habitually remiss, or else that the popular feelings were in favor of the unfortunates, and interfered with the efficacy of the laws.

A single instance, out of many that might be cited, will illustrate this. In 1225 the Cardinal-legate Conrad held, at Mainz, a national council of the German empire, of which one of the canons declared that, in order to abolish the custom of ecclesiastics leaving to their concubines and children the fruits of their benefices, not only should such legacies be void, but those guilty of the attempt should lie unburied, and all who endeavored to enforce such testaments should be anathematized.[2] The terrible rigor of these provisions shows how deep seated was the evil aimed at; nor were they uncalled for when we see a will, executed in 1218 by no

---

[1] Constit. Sicular. Lib. III. Tit. 25, c. 1.—"Quia filii clericorum in paternis et maternis bonis vel rebus, pro legitimo defectu natalium, jus successionis amittunt . . . ea quæ per successionem habere non possunt, jure locationis a nostra clementia recognoscant."

It is possible that Frederick's legislation may have attracted attention to the irregularities of the Neapolitan church, for in 1230 Gregory IX. addressed an encyclical letter to the prelates of that kingdom "præsertim super cohabitatione mulierum;" and two years later he deemed it necessary to repeat his admonitions.—Raynaldi Annal. ann. 1230, No. 20.

[2] Concil. Mogunt. ann. 1225, c. 5. This council was assembled to check the prevalent vices of concubinage and simony, and its elaborate provisions show how fruitless previous efforts had been.

less a personage than Gotfrid, Archdeacon of Wurzburg, in which he leaves legacies to the children whom he confesses to have been born in sin, and of whom he expects his relatives to take charge.[1] Had any earnest attempt been made to enforce the canons of the Legate, they would have been amply sufficient to eradicate the evil; yet their utter inefficiency is demonstrated by the council of Fritzlar in 1246, and that of Cologne in 1260. The former of these was held by the Archbishop of Mainz; it has no canons directed against concubinage, which was as public as ever, but it deplores the dilapidation of the temporalities of the church by the testamentary provisions of priests in favor of their guilty partners and children, and it repeats, with additional emphasis, the regulations of 1225.[2] The latter renews the complaint that priests not only continue their evil courses throughout life, but are not ashamed, on their death-beds, to leave to their children the patrimony of Christ; and another provision is equally significant in forbidding priests to be present at the marriages of their children, or that such marriages should be solemnized with pomp and ostentation.[3] The following year another council, held at Mainz, repeated the prohibition as to the diversion of church property to the consorts and natural children of priests;[4] while that regarding the solemnization of their children's marriages was renewed by the synod of Olmutz in 1342.[5]

---

[1] Puerulis etiam quos in peccato generavi, ne ad illicita cogantur opera, lego maiori xx. marcas, etc.—(Gudeni Cod. Diplom. II. 36.) Not a few testaments of this kind are preserved.

[2] Concil. Fritzlar. ann. 1246, can. xi. (Hartzheim, III. 574).

[3] Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1260, c. 1.

[4] Concil. Mogunt. ann. 1261, can. xxvii. xxxix. (Hartzheim, III. 604, 607). The latter canon is very prolix and earnest, and inveighs strongly against the "cullagium," or payment exacted by archdeacons and deans for permitting irregularities. The authorities apparently grew gradually tired of attempting the impossible. In 1284 the Council of Passau, in a series of long and elaborate canons, contented itself with a vague threat of prosecuting priests who publicly kept concubines, and with prohibiting them from ostentatiously celebrating the marriage of their children.—Concil. Patav. ann. 1284, can. ix. xxxi. (Ibid. pp. 675, 679).

[5] Synod. Olomucens. ann. 1342, cap. viii. (Hartzheim, IV. 338). In 1416 the synod of Breslau deplores that the old canons were forgotten and despised, and that priests were not ashamed to bequeath to their bastards accumulations of property which would form fit portions for

We have already seen ecclesiastical authority for the assertion that in the Spanish Peninsula the children sprung from such illicit connections rivalled in numbers the offspring of the laity. That they were numerous elsewhere may be presumed when we see Innocent IV., in 1248, forced to grant to the province of Livonia the privilege of having them eligible to holy orders, except when born of parents involved in monastic vows,[1] for necessity alone could excuse so flagrant a departure from the canons enunciated during the preceding two centuries. A similar conclusion is deducible from the fact that in the municipal code in force throughout Northern Germany during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were deemed of sufficient importance to be entitled to a separate place in the classification of wehr-gilds, or blood-moneys; while the aim of the lawgiver to stigmatize them is manifested by his placing them below the peasant, deeming them only superior to the juggler;[2] and that this was not a provision of transient force is clear from the commentary upon it in a body of law dating from the end of the fourteenth century.[3] Nor is the evidence less convincing which may be drawn from the use of the old German word *pfaffenkind*, or priest's son, which became generally used as equivalent to bastard.[4] It would not, indeed, be difficult to understand the numbers of this class of the population if ecclesiastics in general followed the example of Henry III., Bishop of Liége, whose natural children amounted to no less than sixty-five.[5]

---

lofty nobles.—Synod. Wratislav. ann. 1416, § 1 (Hartzheim, V. 153).

How thoroughly it was deemed a matter of course for the children of ecclesiastics to marry well, and have good dowries, is to be seen in Chaucer's description of the wife of "deinous Simekin," the proud miller of Trompington—

> A wif he hadde, comen of noble kin;
> The person of the toun hire father was.
> With hire he yaf ful many a panne of bras,
> For that Simkin shuld in his blood allie.
> She was yfostered in a nonnerie, etc.
>
> —The Reves Tale.

[1] Baluz. et Mansi I. 211.

[2] Specul. Saxon. Lib. III. art. 45.

[3] Richstich Landrecht, Lib. II. c. 25.

[4] Michelet, Origines des Loix, p. 68. This popular phrase gives point to the story told by Henri Estienne of a German ambassador to Rome, to whom, on his farewell audience, the pope gave a message to his master, commencing, "Tell our well-beloved son"—The honest Teuton could not contain himself at what he took to be a flagrant insult, and he interrupted the diplomatic courtesies with an angry exclamation that his noble master was not the son of a priest.—Apol. pour Herodote Liv. I. chap. iii.

[5] This admirable prelate, after en-

As time wore on, and the clergy, despite the innumerable admonitions and threats which were everywhere showered upon them, persisted in retaining their female companions, they appear, in some places, to have gradually assumed the privilege as a matter of right; and, what is even more remarkable, they seem to have had a certain measure of success in the assumption. The pious Charles the Lame of Naples, whose close alliance with Rome rendered him eager in everything that would gratify the head of the church, about the year 1300 imposed a heavy fine on the concubines of priests if they persisted in their sin for a year after excommunication. This law, like so many similar ones, soon fell into desuetude, but in 1317, under his son Robert the Good, the justiciary of the Principato Citra undertook to put it into execution. In the diocese of Marsico the clergy openly resisted these proceedings, boldly laid their complaints before the king, and were so energetic that Robert was obliged to issue an ordinance directing the discontinuance of all processes before the lay tribunals, and granting that the concubines should be left to the care of the ecclesiastical courts alone. These women thus, by reason of their sinful courses, came to be invested with a quasi-ecclesiastical character, and to enjoy the dearly prized immunities attached to that position, at a time when the church was vigorously striving to uphold and extend the privileges which the civil lawyers were systematically laboring to undermine. Nor was the pretension thus advanced suffered to lapse. Towards the close of the

---

joying the episcopate for twenty-seven years, was at length deposed in 1274 by Gregory X., at the council of Lyons, in consequence of the complaints of his flock "super defloratione virginum ac aliis factis enormibus."—Mag. Chron. Belgic.

The excesses of the lower orders of the clergy are scarcely to be wondered at when we consider the prevalent superstitions which deemed them almost irresponsible to God or man. In the early part of the fifteenth century there was a wide-spread belief that even a layman insured his eternal salvation, no matter what crimes he might have committed, by wrapping himself up in the Franciscan habit on his death-bed. For ages the robe of the monk had thus assuaged the fears of the dying sinner, but the merits of St. Francis gave peculiar virtue to this claim upon his special protection, for every year he visited purgatory, and carried with him to heaven the souls of his followers. So easy a purchase of salvation, however, was equally dangerous to the welfare of the faithful and to the revenues of the church, and the superstition was promptly condemned as a most pernicious error. — Concil. Hammaburg. ann. 1406 (Hartzheim, VI. 2).

same century, Carlo Malatesta of Rimini applied to Ancarono, a celebrated doctor of canon and civil law ("juris canonici speculum et civilis anchora"), to know whether he could impose penalties on the concubines of priests, and the learned jurist replied decidedly in the negative; while other legal authorities have not hesitated to state that such women are fully entitled to immunity from secular jurisdiction, as belonging to the families of clerks—*de familia clericorum*.[1] When a premium was thus offered for sin, and the mistresses of priests—like the *maîtresses-en-titre* of the Bourbons—acquired a certain honorable position among their fellows from the mere fact of their ministering to the unhallowed lusts of their pastors, it is not to be wondered at if such connections multiplied and flourished, and if the humble laity came to regard them as an established institution.

Robert of Naples was not the only potentate who found an organized resistance to his well-meant endeavors to restore discipline. When, in 1410, the stout William, Bishop-elect of Paderborn, had triumphed with fire and sword over his powerful foes, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Count of Cleves, he turned his energies to the reformation of the dissolute morals of his monks. They positively refused to submit to the ejection of their women from the monasteries, and he at length found the task too impracticable even for his warlike temper. For seven long years the quarrel lasted, legal proceedings being varied by attempts at poison on the one side, and reckless devastations by the episcopal troops on the other, until the prelate, worn out by the stubbornness of his flock, was obliged to give way.[2]

---

[1] Giannone, Apologia cap. XIV.

[2] Gobelinæ Personæ Cosmodrom. Ætat. VI. c. 92, 93.—How utterly monastic discipline was neglected in Germany is shown by the fact that a century earlier, in 1307, a council of Cologne found it necessary to denounce the frequency with which nuns were seduced, left their convents, lived in open and public profligacy, and then returned unblushingly to their establishments, where they seem to have been received as a matter of course.—Concil. Colon. ann. 1307, c. xvii. (Hartzheim, IV. 113.) That this had little effect is proved by a repetition of the threats of punishment, three years later (Concil. Colon. ann. 1310, c. ix.; Hartzheim, IV. 122). In 1347, John van Arckel, Bishop of Utrecht, was obliged to prohibit men from having access to the nunneries of his diocese, in order to put an end to the scandals which were apparently frequent (Hartzheim, IV. 350). In 1350, the Emperor Charles IV. felt called

Equal success waited on the resistance of the Swiss clergy when, in 1230, the civil authorities of Zurich sacrilegiously ordered them to dismiss their women. They resolutely replied that they were flesh and blood, unequal to the task of living like angels, and unable to attend to the kitchen and other household duties. The townsmen entered into a league against them, and succeeded in driving away some of the sacerdotal consorts, when the Bishop of Constance and his chapter, allowing perhaps the pride of the churchman to get the better of ascetic zeal, interfered with a threat of excommunication on all who should presume to intervene in a matter which related specially to the church. He absolved the leaguers from the oaths with which they were mutually bound, and thus restored security to the priestly households. About the same time Gregory IX. appointed a certain Boniface to the see of Lausanne. On his installation, the new bishop commenced with ardor to enforce the canons, but the clergy conspired against his life, and were so nearly successful that he incontinently fled, and never ventured to return.[1]

If the irregular though permanent connections which everywhere prevailed had been the only result of the prohibition of marriage, there might perhaps have been little practical evil flowing from it, except to the church itself and to its guilty members. When the desires of man, however, are once tempted to seek through unlawful means the relief denied to them by artificial rules, it is not easy to set bounds to the unbridled passions which, irritated by the fruitless effort at repression, are no longer restrained by a law which has been broken or a conscience which has lost its power. The records of the Middle Ages are accordingly full

upon to address an earnest remonstrance to the Archbishop of Mainz concerning the unclerical habits of his canons and clergy who spent the revenues of the church in jousts and tourneys, and who, in dress, arms, and mode of life, were not to be distinguished from laymen (Ibid. IV. 358). How little was effected by these efforts is manifest when, in 1360, William, Archbishop of Cologne, was obliged to refute the assertions of those monks and nuns who alleged in their defence that custom allowed them to leave their convents and contract marriage "etiamsi allegent, quod de consuetudine monasteria sua deserere et matrimonium contrahere possint."—(Ibid. IV. 493.)

[1] Henke, Append. ad Calixt. pp 585–6.

of the evidences that indiscriminate license of the worst kind prevailed throughout every rank of the hierarchy. The subject is too repulsive to be presented in all its loathsome details, but one or two allusions may be permitted as completing the picture of the moral condition of the medieval church.

The abuse of the awful authority given by the altar and the confessional was a subject of sorrowful and indignant denunciation in too many synods for a reasonable doubt to be entertained of its frequency or of the corruption which it spread throughout innumerable parishes.[1] The almost entire impunity with which these and similar scandals were perpetrated led to an undisguised and cynical profligacy which the severer churchmen themselves admitted to exercise a most deleterious influence on the morals of the laity, who thus found in their spiritual guides the exemplars of evil.[2] Chaucer, with his wide range of observation and shrewd native sense, was not likely to let a matter so important escape him, and in the admirable practical sermon which forms his "Persone's Tale," he records the conviction which every pure-minded man felt with regard to the demoralizing tendency of the sacerdotal licentiousness of the time.[3] Thomas of

[1] Graviore autem sunt animadversione plectendi, qui proprias filias spirituales, quas baptizaverint vel semel ad confessionem admiserint, violaverint.—Constit. Synod. Gilb. Episc. Circestrens. ann. 1289. (Wilkins, II. 169.) Similar allusions are unfortunately too frequent, and, as we shall see hereafter, are to be found until a comparatively recent period.

[2] In his bull of 1259, Alexander IV. does not hesitate to state that the people, instead of being reformed, are absolutely corrupted by their pastors —"Prout testatur nimia de plerisque regionibus clamans Christiani populi corruptela, quæ cum deberet ex sacerdotalis antidoti curari medelis, invalescit proh dolor! ex malorum contagione quod procedit a clero." The evil continued undiminished. In 1414, at the request of Henry V., the University of Oxford prepared a series of articles for the reformation of the church. The 38th of the series is directed against priestly immorality, and declares "Quia carnalis vita et lubrica sacerdotum universam hodie scandalizat ecclesiam, et eorum publica fornicatio penitus impunita, nisi forte levi et latente pœna pecuniaria perniciosis cæteris trahitur in exemplum, sanctum igitur videtur ad expurgationem ecclesiæ quod sacerdos, cujuscumque ordinis extiterit, si publicus fornicator existat, a celebratione missarum abstineat, per tempus limitatum in jure, et pœnas in publico subeat corporales." (Wilkins, III. 364-5.) It is not easy to imagine a more humiliating confession.

[3] Swiche preestes be the sones of Hely . . . hem thinketh that they be free and have no juge, no more than

Cantinpré, indeed, one of the early lights of the Dominican order, is authority for a legend which represents the devil as thanking the prelates of the church for conducting almost all Christendom to hell.[1] The popular feeling on the subject perhaps receives its fittest expression in a satire on the mendicant friars, written by a Franciscan novice who became disgusted with the order and turned Wickliffite. The exaggerated purity and mortification of the early followers of the blessed St. Francis had long since yielded to the temptations which attended on the magnificent success of the order; and the asceticism, which had been powerful enough to cause visions of the holy Stigmata, degenerated into sloth and crime which took advantage of the opportunities afforded by the privilege to hear confessions.[2]

---

hath a free boll, that taketh which cow that him liketh in the toun. So faren they by women; for right as on free boll is ynough for all a toun, right so is a wicked preest corruption ynough for all a parish, or for all a countree.

The demoralization caused by the clergy, in fact, was an inexhaustible subject of indignation or mockery with the poets and popular writers. Thus, in the earliest French pastoral, "Li Gieus de Robin et de Marion," written in the latter half of the thirteenth century, occurs the following dialogue:—

WARNIERS. Segneur je sui trop courechiés.
GUIOS. Comment?
WARNIERS. Mehalès est agute,
M'amie, et s'a esté dechute;
Car on dist que ch'est de no prestre.
ROGAUS. En non Dieu! Warnier, bien puet estre;
Car ele i aloit trop souvent.
WARNIERS. Hé, las! jou avoie en couvent
De li temprement espouser.
GUIOS. Tu te pues bien trop dolouser,
Biaus très dous amis; ne te caille,
Car ja ne meteras maaille,
Que bien sai, à l'enfant warder.

(Michel, Théatre Français au Moyen Age, p. 129.)

[1] According to Thomas of Cantinpré, this occurrence took place at Paris, in a synod held in 1248, and Satan explained his candor by saying that he was compelled to it by God.—(Hartzheim, IX. 663.)

[2] I cannot quote the grosser accusations, which are unfitted to the ideas of modern decency, but the spirit in which the friars were regarded is sufficiently indicated by the following verses—

For when the gode man is fro hame
And the frere comes to oure dame,
He spares, nauther for synne ne shame,
That he ne dos his will.
* * * * *
Ich man that here shal lede his life
That has a faire doghter or a wyfe
Be war that no frer ham shryfe
Nauther loude ne still.

(Monumenta Franciscana, pp. 602-4.)

This testimony concerning the Franciscans is not confined to heretics and laymen. About the close of the fourteenth century, a council of Magdeburg took occasion to reprove them for the dissolute and unclerical mode of life of which they offered a conspicuous example. It appears that they dignified with the name of "Marthas" the female companions who, in primitive ages, were known as "agapetæ," and who had latterly acquired among the secular clergy the title of "focariæ"—"et in domibus suis frequenter soli cum mulieribus quas ipsorum *Martas* (ut eorum verbis utamur) habitare non verentur."—Concil. Magdeburg. ann. 1403, Rubr. de Pœnis. (Hartzheim, V. 717.)

When such was the moral condition of the priesthood, and such were the influences which they cast upon the flocks intrusted to their guidance, it is not to be wondered at if those who deplored so disgraceful a state of things, and whose respect for the canons precluded them from recommending the natural and appropriate remedy of marriage, should regard an organized system of concubinage as a safeguard. However deplorable such an alternative might be in itself, it was surely preferable to the mischief which the unquenched and ungoverned passions of a pastor might inflict upon his parish; and the instances of this were too numerous and too glaring to admit of much hesitation in electing between the two evils. Even Gerson, the leader of mystic ascetics, who recorded his unbounded admiration for the purity of celibacy in his "Dialogus Naturæ et Sophiæ de Castitate Clericorum," saw and appreciated its practical evils, and had no scruple in recommending concubinage as a preventive, which, though scandalous in itself, might serve to prevent greater scandals.[1] It therefore requires no great stretch of credulity to believe the assertion of Sleidan that, in some of the Swiss Cantons, it was the custom to oblige a new pastor, on entering upon his functions, to select a concubine, as a necessary protection to the virtue of his female parishioners, and to the peace of the families intrusted to his spiritual direction.[2] Indeed, we have already seen, on the authority of the council of Palencia in 1322, that such a practice was not uncommon in Spain.

---

[1] Vel inexperti forte erant hi doctores quam generale et quam radicatum sit hoc malum, et quod deteriora flagitia circa uxores aut filias parochianorum et abominationes horrendæ in aliis provenerint apud multas patrias, rebus stantibus ut stant, si quærentur per tales censuras arceri. Scandalum certe magnum est apud parochianos curati ad concubinam ingressus, sed longe deterius si erga parochianas suas non servaverit castitatem.—De Vita Spirit. Animæ. Lect. IV. Corol. XIV. prop. 3.

[2] De Statu. Relig. Lib. I. (Giannone Apolog. cap. 14.)

In 1398, Cardinal Peter d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, speaks of the manner in which his clergy lived with their concubines, as man and wife, and brought up their children without concealment in their houses—"tenentes secum in suis domibus suas concubinas, et mulieres publice suspectas, in scandalum plurimorum cohabitant simul copulati, eisdem domo, mensa, et lecto, residendo, acsi essent vir et uxor matrimonialiter conjuncti: proles super terram gradientes ex hujusmodi suis concubinis susceptas una cum eisdem in suis domibus publice secum habendo et tenendo."—(Hartzheim, VI. 709.)

Even supposing that this fearful immorality were not attributable to the immutable laws of nature revenging themselves for their attempted violation, it could readily be explained by the example set by the central head. Scarcely had the efforts of Nicholas and Gregory put an end to sacerdotal marriage in Rome when the morals of the Roman clergy became a disgrace to Christendom. How little the results of the reform corresponded with the hopes of the zealous puritans who had brought it about may be gathered from the martyrdom of a certain Arnolfo, who, under the pontificate of Honorius II., preached vehemently against the scandals and immorality of the ecclesiastics of the apostolic city. They succeeded in making way with him, notwithstanding the protection of Honorius, and the veneration of the nobles and people who regarded him as a prophet.[1] When such was the condition of clerical virtue, we can scarcely wonder that sufficient suffrages were given in 1130 by the sacred college to Cardinal Pier-Leone to afford him a plausible claim to the papacy, although he was notoriously stained with the foulest crimes. Apparently his children by his sister Tropea, and his carrying about with him a concubine when travelling in the capacity of papal legate, had not proved a bar to his elevation in the church nor to his employment in the most conspicuous and important affairs.[2]

What were the influences of the papal court in the next century may be gathered from the speech which Cardinal Hugo made to the Lyonese, on the occasion of the departure of Innocent IV. in 1251 from their city, after a residence of eight years—"Friends, since our arrival here, we have done much for your city. When we came, we found here three or four brothels. We leave behind us but one. We must own, however, that it extends without interruption from the eastern to the western gate"—the crude cynicism of which greatly disconcerted the Lyonese ladies present.[3] Robert Grosseteste,

[1] Platina sub Honor. II.

[2] Pagi, Critica IV. 464.

[3] Amici magnam fecimus postquam in hanc urbem venimus, utilitatem et eleemosynam. Quando enim primo huc venimus, tria vel quatuor prostibula invenimus. Sed nunc recedentes, unum solum relinquimus. Verum ipsum durat continuatum ab Orientali porta civitatis usque ad Occidentalum.—Matt. Paris ann. 1251.

Bishop of Lincoln, therefore only reflected the popular conviction when, on his deathbed in 1253, inveighing against the corruption of the papal court, he applied to it the lines—

> Ejus avaritiæ totus non sufficit orbis,
> Ejus luxuriæ meretrix non sufficit omnis.[1]

A hundred years later saw the popes again in France. For forty years they had bestowed on Avignon all the benefits, moral and spiritual, arising from the presence of the Vicegerent of Christ, when Petrarch recorded, for the benefit of friends whom he feared to compromise by naming, the impressions produced by his long residence there in the household of a leading dignitary of the church. Language seems too weak to express his abhorrence of that third Babylon, that Hell upon Earth, which could furnish no Noah, no Deucalion to survive the deluge that alone could cleanse its filth—and yet he intimates that fear compels him to restrain the full expression of his feelings. Chastity was a reproach and licentiousness a virtue. The aged prelates surpassed their younger brethren in wickedness as in years, apparently considering that age conferred upon them the license to do that from which even youthful libertines shrank; while the vilest crimes were the pastimes of pontifical ease.[2] Juvenal and Brantôme can suggest nothing more shameless or more foul.

---

[1] Matt. Paris Hist. Angl. ann. 1253.—The same author preserves a legend that when Innocent IV. heard of the death of Grosseteste, he ordered a letter to be prepared commanding Henry III. to dig up and cast out the remains of the bishop. The following night, however, Grosseteste appeared in his episcopal robes and with his crozier inflicted a severe castigation on the vengeful pope, who thereupon abandoned his unchristian purpose.—Ibid. ann. 1254.

[2] Portions of Petrarch's descriptions are unfit for transcription; the following, however, will give a sufficient idea of his impressions. "Veritas ibi dementia est, abstinentia vero rusticitas, pudicitia probrum ingens. Denique peccandi licentia magnanimitas et libertas eximia, et quo pollutior eo clarior vita, quo plus scelerum eo plus gloriæ, bonum nomen cœno vilius, atque ultima mercium fama est. . . . Taceo utriusque pestis artifices, et concursantes pontificum thalamis proxonætas . . . Quis, oro, enim non irascatur et rideat, illos senes pueros coma candida, togis amplissimis, adeoque lascivientibus animis ut nihil illuc falsius videatur quam quod ait Maro 'Frigidus in Venerem senior.' Tam calidi tamque præcipites in Venerem senes sunt, tanta eos ætatis et status et virium capit oblivio, sic in libidines inardescunt, sic in omne ruunt dedecus, quasi omnis eorum gloria non in cruce Christi sit, sed in commessationibus et ebrietatibus, et quæ has sequuntur in cubilibus, im-

The Great Schism perhaps could scarcely be expected to improve the morals of the papal court. Yet when the church universal, to close that weary quarrel, agreed to receive one of the competitors as its head, surely it might have selected, as the visible representative of God upon earth, some more worthy embodiment of humanity than Balthazar Cossa, who, as John XXIII., is alone, of the three competitors, recognized in the list of popes. When the great council of Constance in 1415 adopted the awful expedient of trying, condemning, and deposing a pope, the catalogue of crimes—notorious incest, adultery, defilement, homicide, and atheism—of which the fathers formally accused him, and which he confessed without defending himself,[1] gives a fearful insight into the corruption which could not only spawn such a monster but could elevate him to the highest place in the hierarchy, and present him for the veneration of Christendom.

The latter half of the fifteenth century scarcely saw a supreme pontiff without the visible evidences of human frailty around him, the unblushing acknowledgment of which

---

pudicitiis: . . . atque hoc unum senectutis ultimæ lucrum putant, ea facere quæ juvenes non auderent . . . Mitto stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria qui jam pontificalis lasciviæ ludi sunt, etc." (Lib. sine Titulo, Epist. xvi.)

In his VII. Eclogue Petrarch describes the cardinals individually. Their portraits, though metaphorically drawn, correspond with the general character of the above extracts. See also the Lib. sine Titulo Epist. vii. viii. ix.

[1] Quod dominus Johannes papa cum uxore fratris sui et cum sanctis monialibus incestum, cum virginibus stuprum, et cum conjugatis adulterium et alia incontinentiæ crimina, propter quæ ira Dei descendit in filios diffidentiæ commisit. . . . Item quod dictus dominus Johannes papa fuit et sit homo peccator, notorie criminosus de homicidio, veneficio, et aliis gravibus criminibus quibus irretitus dicitur graviter diffamatus, dissipator bonorum ecclesiæ et dilapidator eorundem, notorius simoniacus, pertinax hæreticus et ecclesiam Christi notorie scandalizans. Item quod dictus Johannes Papa XXIII. sæpe et sæpius coram diversis prælatis et aliis honestis et probis viris pertinaciter, diabolo suadente, dixit, asseruit, dogmatizavit et adstruxit, vitam æternam non esse, neque aliam post hanc, etc. —Concil. Constantiens. Sess. XI.

Even supposing some of these special charges to have been manufactured for the purpose of effecting the desirable political object of getting rid of the objectionable pontiff, yet the profound conviction of his vileness, evinced by the proffering of such accusations, is almost equally damaging.

The good fathers of the council themselves were apparently not all given to mortifying the flesh, for, in a list of the multitudes assembled at Constance, we find, after an enumeration of the numbers of cardinals, bishops, abbots, and nobles, "Item, fistulatores, tubicenæ, joculatores, 516; item, meretrices, virgines publicæ, 718."—Laur. Byzynii Diar. Bell. Hussit.

is the fittest commentary on the tone of clerical morality. The success of Innocent VIII. in increasing the population of Rome was a favorite topic with the wits of the day;[1] but the epitaph which declared that filth, gluttony, avarice, and sloth lay buried in his tomb[2] did not anticipate the immediate resurrection of the worst of those vices in the person of his successor Alexander VI. If the crimes of Borgia were foul, their number and historical importance have rendered them so well known that I may be spared more than a passing allusion to a career which has made his name synonymous with all that can degrade man to a level at once with the demon and the brute.[3]

Such men as Alexander can hardly be deemed exceptional, save inasmuch as brilliant talents and native force of character might enable them to excel their contemporaries in guilt as in ambition. They were the natural product of a system which for four centuries had bent the unremitting energies of the church to securing temporal power and wealth, with exemption from the duties and liabilities of the citizen. Such were the fruits of the successful theocracy of Hildebrand, which, intrusting irresponsible authority to fallible humanity, came to regard ecclesiastical aggrandizement as a full atonement for all and every crime. That the infection had spread even to the ultimate fibres of the establishment can readily be believed.

My object has been to consider the subject of ascetic celibacy as a portion simply of ecclesiastical history, and yet I cannot well conclude this section without a hasty glance at its influence on society at large. That influence, as far as the

---

[1] Innocuo priscos æquum est debere Quirites.
Progenie exhaustam restituit patriam.
(Sannazarii Epigram. Lib. I.)

[2] Spurcities, gula, avaritia, atque ignavia deses,
Hoc, Octave, jacent quo tegeris tumulo.
(Marulli Epigram. Lib. IV.)

[3] Sannazaro, as was meet in a Neapolitan, hated Alexander cordially, and was never weary of assailing his wickedness. The relations between him and his daughter Lucretia were a favorite topic—

Ergo te semper cupiet Lucretia Sextus?
O fatum diri nominis! hic pater est?
(Sannazar. Epigr. Lib. II.)

Humana jura, nec minus cœlestia,
Ipsosque sustulit Deos:
Ut silicet liceret (heu scelus) patri
Natæ sinum permingere,
Nec execrandis abstinere nuptiis
Timore sublato simul.
(Ibid.)

secular clergy were its instruments, was evidently one of almost unmixed evil. The parish priest, if honestly ascetic, was thereby deprived of the wholesome common bond of human affections and sympathies, and was rendered less efficient for good in consoling the sorrows and aiding the struggles of his flock. If, on the other hand, he was a hypocrite, or if he had found too late that the burden he had assumed was too heavy for his strength, the denial of the natural institution of marriage was the source of immeasurable corruption to those intrusted to his charge, who looked up to him not only as a spiritual director, but as a superior being who could absolve them from sin, and whose partnership in guilt was in itself almost an absolution. That such was the condition of innumerable parishes throughout Europe, there is unfortunately no reason to doubt. The incongruity of this may perhaps explain to some extent the anomaly of the practical grossness of the Middle Ages, combined with the theoretical ascetic purity which was held out as the duty of every Christian who desired to be acceptable to his Creator. The curious contrasts and confusion of the standard of morality, arising from this striving against nature, are well illustrated by a tract of the thirteenth century which has been recently published.

This is a homily against marriage addressed to youthful nuns, which exhausts all the arguments that the ingenuity of the writer could suggest. On the one hand he appeals to the pride which could be so well gratified by the exalted state of virginity; he pictures the superior bliss vouchsafed in heaven to those who were stained by no earthly contamination, confidently promising them a higher rank and more direct communing with the Father than would be bestowed on the married and the widowed; he rapturously dwells upon the inward peace, the holy ecstasy which are the portion of those who, wedded to Christ, keep pure their mystic marriage vow; and his ascetic fervor exhausts itself in depicting the spiritual delights of a life of religious seclusion. Mingled inextricably with these exalted visions of beatific mysticism, he presents in startling contrasts the retribution awaiting the sin of licentiousness and the evils inseparable from a life of domestic

marriage. With a crude nastiness that is almost inconceivable, he minutely describes all the discomforts and suffering, physical and mental, attendant upon wifehood and maternity, entering into every detail and gloating over every revolting circumstance that his prurient imagination can suggest. The license of Shakspeare, the plain speaking of Chaucer, Boccaccio, and the medieval trouvères show us what our ancestors were, and what they were is easily explained when such a medley of mysticism and grossness could be poured into the pure ears of innocent young girls by their spiritual director.[1]

In considering, however, the influence of the regular clergy, or monastic orders, we find a more complex array of motives and results. The earlier foundations of the West, as we have seen, to a great extent neutralized the inherent selfishness of monachism by the regulations which prescribed a due proportion of labor to be mingled with prayer. The duty which man owes to the world was to some extent recognized as not

[1] Hali Meidenhad. (Early English Text Society, 1866.) The author at times trenches closely on Manicheism. It is true that he revives, with some variation, the ancient computation of the relative merits of the various conditions of life—"For wedlock has its fruit thirtyfold in heaven, widowhood sixtyfold; maidenhood with a hundredfold overpasses both" (p. 22); but while he thus faintly disavows an intention to revile marriage, he again and again alludes to it as wicked and impure *per se*. "Well were it for them, were they on the day of their bridal borne to be buried. . . . If thou askest why God created such a thing to be, I answer thee: God created it never such; but Adam and Eve turned it to be such by their sin, and marred our nature" (p 8).

Virginity he asserts to be the highest attribute of humanity, and in heaven virgins are the equals of angels and the superiors of saints.—"Maidenhood is a grace granted thee from heaven. . . 'Tis a virtue above all virtues, and to Christ the most acceptable of all" (p. 10). "To sing that sweet song and that heavenly music which no saints may sing, but maidens only in heaven. . . . But the maiden's song is altogether unlike these, being common to them with angels. Music beyond all music in heaven. In their circle is God himself; and his dear mother, the precious maiden, is hidden in that blessed company of gleaming maidens, nor may any but they dance and sing" (pp. 18–20).

As for matrimony and maternity, nothing can redeem them in the eyes of the ascetic.—"All other sins are nothing but sins, but this is a sin and besides denaturalizes thee and dishonoreth thy body. It soileth thy soul and maketh it guilty before God, and moreover defileth thy flesh. . . . Now what joy hath the mother? She hath from the misshapen child sad care and shame, both, and for the thriving one fear, till she lose it for good, though it would never have been in being for the love of God, nor for the hope of heaven, nor for the dread of hell" (p. 34).—But I dare not follow him in his more nauseous flights of imagination.

incompatible with the duty which he owes to his God, and civilization has had few more efficient instruments than the self-denying work of the earnest men who, from Columba to Adalbert, sowed the seeds of Christianity and culture among the frontier lands of Christendom. When discipline such as these men inculcated could be enforced, the benefits of monachism far outweighed its evils. All the peaceful arts, from agriculture to music, owed to the Benedictines their preservation or their advancement, and it would be difficult to estimate exactly the influence for good which resulted from institutions to which the thoughtful and studious could safely retire from a turbulent and barbarous world. These institutions, however, from their own inherent defects, carried in them the germs of corruption. The claims to supereminent sanctity, which secured for them the privileges of asylums, were inevitably used as means for the accumulation of wealth wrung from the fears or superstition of the sinner. With wealth came the abandonment of labor; and idleness and luxury were the prolific parents of license. True-hearted men were not wanting to combat the irrepressible evil. From Chrodegang to St. Vincent de Paul, the history of monachism is full of illustrious names of those who devoted themselves to the mission of reforming abuses and restoring the ideal of the perfect monk, dead to the seductions of the world, and living only to do the work which he deems most acceptable to God. Many of these mistakenly assumed that exaggerated mortification was the only gateway to salvation, and the only cure for the frightful immorality which pervaded so many monastic establishments. Others, with a truer insight into the living principles of Christianity, sought to turn the enthusiasm of their disciples to account in works of perennial mercy and charity, at a period when no other organizations existed for the succor of the helpless and miserable.

Yet when we reflect how large a proportion of the wealth and intellect of Europe was absorbed in the religious houses, it will be seen that the system was a most cumbrous and imperfect one, which gave but a slender return for the magnitude of the means which it involved. Still, it was the only system existing, and possibly the only one which could

exist in so rude a structure of society, individualized to a degree which destroyed all sense of public responsibility, and precluded all idea of a state created for the well-being of its component parts. Thus, the monastery became the shelter of the wayfarer, and the dispenser of alms to the needy. It was the principal school of the poor and humble; and while the Universities of Oxford and Paris were devoting their energies to unprofitable dialectics and the subtle disputations of Aristotelian logic, in thousands of abbey libraries quiet monks were multiplying priceless manuscripts, and preserving to after ages the treasures of the past. When fanciful asceticism did not forbid the healing of the sick, monks labored fearlessly in hospitals and pest-houses, and distributed among the many the benefactions which they had wrung from the late repentance of the few. As time wore on, even the religious teaching of the public passed almost exclusively into their hands, and to the followers of Dominic and Francis of Assisi the people owed such insight as they could obtain into the promises of the gospel. If the enthusiasm which prompted labors so strenuous did not shrink from lighting the fires of persecution, we must remember that religious zeal, accompanied by irresponsible power, has one invariable history.

While thus, in various ways, the ascetic spirit led to institutions which promoted the progress of civilization, in others it necessarily had a directly opposite tendency. Nothing contributes more strongly to the advance of knowledge and of culture than the striving for material comfort and individual advancement in worldly well-being. Luxury and ambition thus have their uses in stimulating the inquiring and inventive faculties of man, in rendering the forces of nature subservient to our use, and in softening the rugged asperities which are incompatible with the regular administration of law. Every instinct of human nature has its destined purpose in life, and the perfect man is to be found in the proportionate cultivation of each element of his character, not in the exaggerated development of those faculties which are deemed primarily good, nor in the entire repression of those which are evil only when their prominence

destroys the balance of the whole. The ascetic selected for eradication one group of human aspirations, which was the most useful under proper discipline, and not perhaps the worst even in its ordinary excess. Only those who have studied the varied aspects of medieval society can rightly estimate the enormous influence which the church possessed, in those ages of faith, to mould the average habits of thought in any desired direction. It can readily be seen that if the tireless preaching of the vanity of human things and the beatitude of mortification occasionally produced such extravagances as those of the flagellants, the spirit which now and then burst forth in such eruption must have been an element of no little power in the forces which governed society at large, and must have exercised a most depressing influence in restraining the general advance of civilization. Not only did it thus more or less weigh down the efforts of almost every man, but the ardent minds that would otherwise have been leaders in the race of progress were the ones most likely, under the pervading spirit of the age, to be the foremost in maceration and self-denial; while those who would not yield to the seduction were either silenced or wasted their wisdom on a generation which believed too much to believe in them. When idleness was holy, earnest workers had little chance.

It required the unbelief of the fifteenth century to give free rein to the rising commercial energies and the craving for material improvement that paved the way for the overthrow of ascetic sacerdotalism. The fearful corruptions of the church, which indirectly caused and accompanied that awakening of the human mind, will be alluded to hereafter when we come to consider the movements leading to the great Protestant Reformation. At present we must turn aside for a moment to consider one or two external developments of the religious activity of the Middle Ages.

XXII.

THE MILITARY ORDERS.

THE Military Orders were the natural expression of the singular admixture of religious and warlike enthusiasm, reacting on each other, which produced and was fostered by the Crusades. When bishops considered that they rendered a service acceptable to God in leading vast hosts to slaughter the Paynim, it was an easy transition for soldiers to turn monks, and to consecrate their swords to the bloody work of avenging their Redeemer.

When the Hospitallers—Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, or of Malta—first emerged from their humble position of ministering to the afflictions of their fellow-pilgrims, and commenced to assume a military organization under Raymond du Puy, about the year 1120, their statutes required the three ordinary monastic vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity.[1] In fact, they were at first Benedictines; but when they became numerous enough to form a separate body, they adopted the rule of St. Augustine.

When the rule for the Templars—"Regula pauperum commilitonum sanctæ civitatis"—was adopted in 1128, at the council of Troyes, it contained no special injunction to administer a vow of celibacy, but the context shows that such a condition was understood as a matter of course.[2] Some

---

[1] Videlicet castitatem, obedientiam . . . atque vivere sine proprio.—Statut. Ord. S. Johan. Hierosol. Tit. I. § 1 (Lünig Cod. Ital. Diplom. T. II. p. 1743).

[2] Thus Cap. LV.: "Hoc enim injustum consideramus ut cum fratribus Deo castitatem promittentibus fratres hujusmodi in una eademque domo maneant." Cap. LVI. and LXXII., by the latter of which even the kiss of a mother was denied them, render evident the extreme asceticism which was proposed by the founders of the order. (Harduin. T. VI. P. II. pp. 1142, 1146.)

At a subsequent period we learn that the Templar's oath of initiation promised "obedientiam, castitatem, vivere sine proprio, et succurrere terræ sanctæ pro posse suo."—See the proceedings against them in 1309, in Wilkins, II. 331 et seq.

little difficulty was evidently experienced at first, since, from the nature of the case, novices had to be trained warriors who must frequently have been bound by family ties, and whose education had not been such as to fit them for the restraints of their new life. It is probable also that the perpetual nature of the obligations assumed was not easy to be enforced upon the fierce members of the brotherhood, for, in 1183, Lucius III., in confirming the privileges of the order, specially commands that no one who enters it shall be allowed to return to the world.[1]

The history of these two orders is too well known to require it to be traced minutely here. If, with the growth of their reputation and wealth, the austere asceticism of their early days was lost, and if luxury and vice took the place of religious enthusiasm and soldierly devotion to the Cross, they but obeyed the universal law which in human institutions is so apt to render corruption the consequence of prosperity. One conclusion may be drawn, however, from the proceedings by which the powerful order of the Temple was extinguished at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding the open and scandalous licentiousness of the order, it is a little singular that the interminable articles of accusation against the members contain no allusion to unchastity, while crimes most fantastic, practices most beastly, and charges most frivolous are heaped upon them in strange confusion.[2] As the object of those who conducted the prosecution was to excite a popular abhorrence that would justify the purposed spoliation, it is evident that the simple infraction of vows of chastity was regarded as so venial a fault and so much a matter of course that its proof could in no way serve the end of rousing indignation against the accused.

It is somewhat remarkable that the same century which saw the foundation of the orders of the Hospital and Temple also witnessed one which, although bound by the rule of St. Augustine, and subjected to the ordinary vows of obedience, property in common, and inability to return to the world, yet

[1] Post factam in vestra militia professionem et habitum religionis assumptum revertendi ad sæculum nullam habere præcipimus facultatem.—Rymer, Fœdera, I. 55.

[2] Wilkins, II. 331-2.—Raynouard Condamnation des Templiers, p. 83.

allowed to its members the option of selecting either marriage or celibacy. This was the Spanish Order of St. James of the Sword. What we have seen of the want of respect paid by the Spanish church to asceticism may lessen surprise at the founding of an order based upon such regulations, yet it is difficult to understand how so great a violation of established principles could be sanctioned by Alexander III., who confirmed the order in 1175,[1] or by Innocent III. and Honorius III., who formally approved their privileges.[2] Perhaps these military vassals of the pope, to whom they were bound in implicit obedience as their head, were too important a source of power and influence to be lightly rejected. Perhaps, also, Honorius III. may have quieted his conscience when, in confirming their charters in 1223, he commanded that their principal care and watchfulness should be devoted to seeing that those who were married preserved conjugal fidelity, and that those who elected a single life maintained inviolable chastity.

The example was one of evil import in the Peninsula. During the universal license of the fifteenth century, when ascetic vows became a mockery, and the profligacy of those who took them exposed all such observances to contempt, Eugenius IV. released the ancient and renowned Order of Calatrava from the obligation of celibacy, for reasons which would have led him to extend the privilege of marriage to the whole church, had the purity of ecclesiastics been truly the object of the rule. He recounts with sorrow the disorderly lives of the knights, and, quoting the text which says that it is better to marry than to burn, he grants the privilege of marriage because he deems it preferable to live with a wife than with a mistress.[3] How could he avoid applying his own reasoning to the church in general?

---

[1] Alexandri III. Epist. Append. III. No. 20 (Harduin. VI. P. II. p. 1557).

[2] Raynald. Annal. ann. 1210, No. 6, 7; ann. 1223, No. 54; ann. 1496, No. 33.

[3] Concessimus ut illius ordinis professio non contineret castitatis votum . . . audiebamus præterea multos inhoneste vivere, et ea agere quæ merito apud Deum et homines reprehendi possent, et cum secundum Apostoli sententiam melius esset nubere quam uri, visum est nobis utilius cum uxore vivere quam cum meretrice (Raynaldi Annal. ann. 1441, No. 20).—The Order of Calatrava was under the strictest of the rules, the Cistercian. (Giustiniani Ordini Militari s. v.)

Similar arguments were employed to extend the same privilege to the Orders of Avis and of Jesus Christ, of Portugal. The former was founded in 1147 by Alphonso I., under the Cistercian rule, and chastity was one of its fundamental obligations;[1] the latter was the continuation of the order of the Temple, which, preserved in Portugal by the humanity of King Dionysius, assumed in the fourteenth century the name of Jesus. Both institutions became incurably corrupted; their preceptories were dens of avowed and scandalous prostitution, and their promiscuous amours filled the kingdom with hate and dissension. When at length, in 1496, King Emanuel applied to Alexander VI. to grant the privilege of marriage, in hopes of reforming the orders, it is interesting to observe how instinctively the minds of men turned to this as the sole efficient remedy for the immorality which all united in attributing to the hopeless attempt to enforce a purity impossible in the existing condition of society. Alexander assented to the request, and bestowed on the orders the right of marriage on the same conditions as those enjoined on the Knights of St. James of the Sword.[2]

There was another Portuguese order of a somewhat different character. Twenty years after founding the Knights of Avis, Alphonso I., in 1167, to commemorate his miraculous victory over the Moors at Santarem, instituted the Order of St. Michael. The knights were allowed to marry once; if widowed, they were obliged to embrace celibacy; and the Abbot of Alcobaça, who was the superior of the Order, was empowered to excommunicate them for irregularity of life,

---

[1] Quibus munus sit religionem defendere in bello, charitatem exercere in pace, castitatem servare in toro.—Reg. Ord. Mil. Avisii a B. Joanne Cirita edita (Migne's Patrologia, T. 188, p. 1669).

[2] Alexander's Bull declares that "Milites dictarum militiarum pro majori parte, continentiæ et castitatis voto, qui in eorum professione emittunt, contempto, concubinas etiam plures, et in eorum ac præceptoriarum et prioratum dictarum militiarum propriis domibus et locis, non sine magno religionis opprobrio, publice tenere et eis cohabitare, et etiam adulteria cum aliis mulieribus conjugatis committere non verentur: ex quo ab eorundem regnorum incolis et habitatoribus maximo odio habentur, dissensiones et inimicitiæ oriuntur, diversa scandala quotidie concitantur etc."—Raynaldi Annal. ann. 1496, No. 33.

Raynaldus quotes a passage from Osorius to the effect that this greatly lowered the character of the orders, diverted them from the object of their institution, opened the door to unworthy members, and dissipated their property.

to compel them to give up their mistresses. They were moreover bound to perform the same religious exercises as lay brothers of the Cistercians. The Order is interesting as forming a curious link between the secular, religious, and military elements of the period.[1]

During all this, the knights of St. John adhered to their ancient statutes, and endeavored from time to time to reform the profligacy which seemed inseparable from the institution. When the ascetic Antonio Fluviano, who held the grand mastership from 1421 to 1437, promulgated a regulation that any one guilty of public concubinage should receive three warnings, with severe penalties for contumacy,[2] it suggests a condition of morals by no means creditable to the brethren. So, a century later, the stern Villiers de l'Isle-Adam was forced to declare that any one openly acknowledging an illegitimate child should be forever after incapacitated for office, benefice, or dignity.[3] What the knights were soon afterwards, the scandalous pages of Brantôme sufficiently attest.

The Marian or Teutonic Order, perhaps the most wealthy and powerful of all, was founded in 1190, and adopted the rule of the Templars as regards its religious government, with that of the Hospitallers to regulate its duties of charity and hospitality. Transferred from the Holy Land to North-eastern Germany, it bore a prominent part in Christianizing those regions, and what it won by the sword it retained possession of in its own right. With wealth came indolence and luxury, and its history offers nothing of special interest to us until, in 1525, the grand master Albert of Brandenburg went over to Lutheranism with many of his knights, founded the hereditary dukedom of Prussia, and married—of which more hereafter. Those of the order who adhered to Catholicism maintained the organization on the rich possessions which the piety of ages had bestowed upon them, throughout Germany, until this worn-out relic of the past disappeared in the convulsions of the Napoleonic wars.

---

1 Patrologia, T. 188, p. 1674.

2 Statut. Ord. S. Johan. Hierosol. Tit. XVIII. § 50.

3 Ibid. Tit. XVIII. § 51.

XXIII.

THE HERESIES.

ALLUSION has already been made to the introduction of Manicheism into Western Europe through Bulgaria and Lombardy. Notwithstanding its stern and unrelenting suppression wherever it was discovered during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, its votaries multiplied in secret. The disorders of the clergy, their oppression of the people, and their quarrels with the nobles over their temporal possessions, made them many enemies among the laity; and the simplicity of the Manichean belief, its freedom from aspirations for temporal aggrandizement, and its denunciations of the immorality and grasping avidity of the priesthood, found for it an appreciative audience and made ready converts. Towards the close of the twelfth century the South of France was discovered to be filled with heretics, in whom the names of Cathari, Paterins, Albigenses, &c., concealed the more odious appellation of Manicheans.

It is not our province to trace out in detail the bloody vicissitudes of Dominic's Inquisition and Simon de Montfort's crusades. It is sufficient for our purpose to indicate the identity of the Albigensian belief with that of the ancient sect which we have seen to exercise so powerful an influence in moulding and encouraging the asceticism of the early church. The Dualistic principle was fully recognized. No necessity was regarded as justifying the use of meat, or even of eggs and cheese, or in fact of anything which had its origin in animal propagation. Marriage was an abomination and a mortal sin, which could not be intensified by adultery or other excesses.[1]

---

[1] Communis opinio Catharorum est quod matrimonium carnale fuit semper mortale peccatum, et quod non punietur quis gravius in futuro propter adulterium vel incestum quam propter legitimum conjugium, nec

The Catholic polemics, in controverting the exaggerated asceticism of these heretics, had a narrow and difficult path to tread. Their own authorities had so exalted the praises of virgin purity, that it was not easy to meet the arguments of those who merely carried out the same principle somewhat further, in fearlessly following out the premises to their logical conclusion.[1] There is extant a curious tract, being a dialogue between a Catholic and a Paterin, in which the latter of course has the worst of the disputation, yet he presses his adversary hard with the texts which were customarily cited by the orthodox advocates of clerical celibacy—"qui habent uxores sint tanquam non habentes," "qui non reliquerit uxorem et filios propter me non est me dignus," &c.; and the Catholic can only elude their force by giving to them metaphorical explanations very different from those which of old had been assumed in the canons requiring the separation of man and wife on ordination.[2]

The stubborn resistance of the Albigenses to the enormous odds brought against them, shows the unconquerable vitality of the antisacerdotal spirit which was then so widely diffused

---

etiam inter eos propter hoc aliquis gravius puniretur.—Summa F. Renieri (Martene et Durand. V. 1761).

This Regnier describes himself as a heresiarch previous to his conversion, and his summary of the creed of his former associates may be regarded as correct in the main, though perhaps somewhat heightened in repulsiveness.

[1] Bishop Gerard, of Cambrai, confesses this in his refutation of the Artesian Manicheans in 1025—"De quibus nos responsuros quodam discretionis gubernaculo nostri sermonis carinam subire oportet, ne quasi inter duos scopulos naufragium incurrentes, occasionem demus in alterutrum, scilicet aut omnes indiscrete a conjugiis exterrendo, aut omnes indiscrete ad connubia commonendo."—Concil. Atrebatens. ann. 1025, cap. x. (Hartzheim, III. 89).

When St. Bernard, in his fiery denunciation of the Manichean errors, exclaimed, "non advertant qualiter omni immunditiæ laxat habenas qui nuptias damnat" (In Cantica Serm. lxvi. § 3), he did not pause to reflect how severe a sentence he was passing on the saints of the fifth century who, as we have seen, would only admit marriage to be a pardonable offence.

[2] Disputat. inter Cathol. et Paterin. c. ii. (Martene et Durand. V. 1712–13).

It is somewhat singular that Manicheism should have been attributed to a sect of heretics in Bosnia who styled themselves Christians, and who were brought back to the fold in 1203 by a legate of Innocent III. It would appear that, so far from entertaining Manichean doctrines, neglect of ecclesiastical celibacy was actually one of their erroneous practices, for in their pledge of reformation they promise that separation of man and wife shall thenceforth be enforced "neque de cætero recipiemus aliquem vel aliquam conjugatam, nisi mutuo consensu, continentia promissa, ambo pariter convertantur."—Batthyani, II. 293.

throughout Southern Europe. In a different shape it had already manifested itself during the first half of the twelfth century, when Pierre de Bruys infected all the South of France with the heresy called, after him, the Petrobrusian. This was an uncompromising revolt against the whole system of Roman Christianity. It not only abrogated pædo-baptism, and promulgated heretical notions respecting the Eucharist, but it abolished the visible symbols and ceremonies which formed so large a portion of the sacerdotal fabric—churches, crucifixes, chanting, fasting, gifts and offerings for the dead, and even the mass. But little is known respecting the Petrobrusians, except what can be derived from the refutation of their errors by Peter the Venerable. He says nothing specifically respecting their views upon ascetic celibacy, but we may assume that this was one of the doctrinal and practical corruptions which they assailed, from a passage in which, describing their excesses, he complains of the public eating of flesh on Passion Sunday, the cruel flagellation of priests, the imprisonment of monks, and their being forced to marry by threats and torments.[1] The controversial talents of Peter the Venerable were not the only means brought to the suppression of this formidable heresy. De Bruys was burned at the stake in 1146, and, though his disciple Henry maintained the contest for awhile, persecution finally triumphed.

In Britanny, about the same period, there existed an obscure sect concerning whom little is known, except that they were probably a branch of the Petrobrusians. Their errors were nearly the same, and the slender traces left of them show that their doctrine was a protest against the over-

---

[1] Die ipso passionis Dominicæ publice carnes comestæ, sacerdotes flagellati, monachi incarcerati et ad ducendas uxores terroribus sunt ac tormentis compulsi.—S. Petri Venerab. contra Petrobrusian.

In 1144, the church of Liége addressed to Lucius II. a letter concerning a heresy recently discovered in that city, which is probably a branch of the Petrobrusian. It is described as originating near Montélimart in Dauphiné, and pervading all France and the neighboring regions. Its sectaries denied the efficacy of baptism, the Eucharist, and the imposition of hands; rejected not only all oaths and vows, but marriage itself, and denied that the Holy Spirit could be gained except through the agency of good works. These heretics, however, had not in them the spirit of martyrdom, and speedily recanted on being discovered.—Epist. ad Lucium Papam, Epist. iv. (Patrolog. T. 179, p. 957).

whelming sacerdotalism of the period. The papal legate, Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, sought to convert them by an elaborate denunciation of their tenets, among which he enumerates promiscuous licentiousness and disregard of clerical celibacy. Daniel, he gravely assures them, symbolizes virginity; Noah, continence; and Job, marriage. Then, quoting Ezekiel XIV. 13–20, wherein Jehovah, threatening the land with destruction, says, "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls through their righteousness," he proceeds triumphantly to the conclusion that recantation alone can save his adversaries from the fate which their errors have deserved.[1]

Connected in some way with these movements of insubordination, was probably the career of the singular heresiarch, Éon de l'Étoile. During one of the epidemics of maceration and fanaticism which form such curious episodes in medieval history, Éon, born of a noble Breton family, abandoned himself to the savage life of a hermit in the wilderness. Drawn by a vision to attend divine service, his excited mysticism caught the words which ended the recitation of the collect, "Per *eum* qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;" and the resemblance of "eum" with his own name inspired him with the revelation that he was the Son of God. Men's minds were ready for any extravagance, and Éon soon had disciples who adored him as a deity incarnate. Nothing can be wilder than the tales which are related of him by eyewitnesses—the aureole of glory which surrounded him, the countless wealth which was at the disposal of his followers,

---

[1] Omnes ergo qui per istos tres designantur, per Danielem virgines, per Noe continentes, et per Job conjuges, pro sua justitia salvantur. Cæteri hominum qui de aliquo istorum trium ordine nullatenus sunt, vel ab eis apostatando recidunt, mala imminentia atque promerita non evadunt.—Hugon. Rothomag. contra Hæret. Lib. III. cap. VI. This is by no means an unusual specimen of the inconsequential character of medieval polemics. Archbishop Hugh was a man of mark among his contemporaries, both as a theologian and as a statesman. It was he who, in 1139, at the council of Winchester, saved King Stephen from excommunication by the English bishops. (Willelmi Malmesb. Hist. Novell. Lib. II. § 26.) For a somewhat similar specimen of fanciful theology, the reader may consult the exposition of the esoteric meaning of the plagues of Egypt by St. Martin of Leon, a writer of the twelfth century.—S. Martin. Legionens. Serm. XV.

the rich but unsubstantial banquets which were served at his bidding by invisible hands, the superhuman velocity of his movements when eluding those who were bent upon his capture. Éon declared war upon the churches which monopolized the wealth of the people while neglecting the duties for which they had been enriched; and he pillaged them of their treasures, which he distributed lavishly to the poor. At last the Devil abandoned his protégé. Éon, when his time had come, was easily taken and carried before Eugenius III. at the Council of Rouen, in 1148. There he boldly proclaimed his mission and his power. Exhibiting a forked staff which he carried, he declared that when he held it with the fork upwards, God ruled heaven and hell, and he governed the earth; but that when he reversed its position, then he had at command two-thirds of the universe, and left only the remaining third to God. He was pronounced hopelessly insane, but even this would not have saved him had not his captor, the Archbishop of Rheims, represented that his life had been pledged to him on his surrender. He was, therefore, delivered to Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, to be imprisoned, and he soon afterwards died. Even this did not shake the faith of his disciples. Many of them, in their fierce fanaticism, preferred the stake to recantation, and numbers of them were thus put to death before the sect could be extinguished.[1]

When, about the middle of the twelfth century, the sudden death of a companion so impressed Peter Waldo of Lyons that he distributed his fortune among the poor, and devoted himself to preaching the supereminent merits of poverty, nothing was further from his thoughts than the founding of a new heresy. Ardent disciples gathered around him, disseminating his views, which spread with rapidity; but their intention was to establish a society within the church, and they applied, between 1181 and 1185, to Lucius III. for the

[1] Guillielm. Neubrig. (Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. II. p. 1306).—Ottonis Frising. de Gest. Frid. I. Lib. I. cap. liv. lv.—Sigeberti Chron. Continuat. Gemblac. ann. 1146.—Ejusdem Continuat. Præmonstrat. ann. 1148.—Roberti de Monte Chron. ann. 1148.

papal authorization. Lucius, however, took exception to their going barefoot, to their neglect of the tonsure, and to their retaining the society of women. They were stubborn, and he condemned them as heretics.[1] The enthusiasm which the church might have turned to so much account, as it subsequently did that of the Franciscans and Dominicans, was thus diverted to unorthodox channels, and speedily arrayed itself in opposition. The beginning of revolt is shown in the *Nobla Leyczon*, written probably but a few years after this, which declares that all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and abbots together cannot obtain pardon for a single mortal sin; thus leading directly to the conclusion that no intercessor could be of avail between God and man—

> Tuit li papa que foron de Silvestre entro en aquest,
> Et tuit li cardinal et tuit li vesque e tuit li aba,
> Tuit aquisti ensemp non han tan de potesta,
> Que ilh poissan perdonar un sol pecca mortal.
> Solament Dio perdona, que autre non ho po far.[2]

Still, they did not even yet consider themselves as separated from the church, for they consented to submit their peculiar doctrines to the chances of a disputation, presided over by an orthodox priest. Of course, the decision went against them, and a portion of the "Poor men of Lyons" submitted to the result. The remainder, however, maintained their faith as rigidly as ever. From Bernard de Font-Cauld, who records this disputation, and from Alain de l'Isle, another contemporary, who wrote in confutation of their errors, we have a minute account of their peculiarities of belief. Their principal heresy was a strict adherence to the Hildebrandine doctrine that neither reverence nor obedience was due to priests in mortal sin, whose ministrations to the

---

[1] Conrad. Urspergens. ann. 1212.—"Hoc quoque probrosum in eis videbatur, quod viri et mulieres simul ambulabant in via, et plerumque simul manebant in una domo, ut de eis diceretur, quod quandoque simul in lectulis accubabant." The follies of the early Christians were doubtless imitated by the new sectaries.

[2] Quoted by Schmidt, Histoire des Cathares, II. 288.—Schmidt, I think, proves satisfactorily that the *Nobla Leyczon* dates from near the end of the twelfth century, and also that the antiquity claimed for their church by the Vaudois, as descended from the Leonistæ, through Claudius of Turin, has no foundation in fact, though admitted by many modern writers.

living and whose prayers for the dead were equally to be despised. In the existing condition of sacerdotal morals, this necessarily destroyed all reverence for the church at large, and Bernard and Alain had no hesitation in proving it to be most dangerously heterodox. Their recurrence to Scripture, moreover, as the sole foundation of Christian belief, with the claim of private interpretation, was necessarily destructive to all the forms of sacerdotalism, and led them to entertain many other heretical tenets. They admitted no distinction between clergy and laity. Every member of the sect, male or female, was a priest, entitled to preach and to hear confessions. Purgatory was denied, and the power of absolution derided. Lying and swearing were mortal sins, and homicide was not excusable under any circumstances.[1]

Such doctrines could only result in open revolt against sacerdotalism in general, and it shortly came. The Waldensian exaltation of poverty was grateful to the nobles, who were eager to grasp the possessions of the church; its condemnation of the pride and immorality of the clergy secured for its sectaries the goodwill of the people, who everywhere suffered from the oppression and vices of their pastors. Under such protection the sect multiplied with incredible rapidity, not only throughout France, but in Italy and Germany. Enveloped, with the Albigenses, in merciless persecution, they endured with fortitude the extremity of martyrdom. The Germans and Italians sought refuge in the recesses of the Alpine valleys, while some feeble remnants managed to maintain an obscure existence in Provence. Their tacit revolt, however, could not be forgotten or forgiven, and at intervals they were exposed to pitiless attempts at extermination. These are well known, and the names of Cabriéres and Merindol have acquired a sinister notoriety which renders further allusion to the Waldenses unnecessary, except to mention that in 1538 they formally merged themselves with the German reformers by an agreement of which the 8th and 9th articles declare that marriage is permissible,

[1] Bernardi Fontis Calidi Lib. contra Waldenses.—Alani de Insulis contra Hæret. Lib. II.

without exception of position, to all who have not received the gift of continence.[1]

The antisacerdotal spirit, however, did not develop itself altogether in opposition to the church. Devout and earnest men there were, who recognized the evil resulting from the overgrown power and wealth of the ecclesiastical establishment, without shaking off their reverence for its doctrine and its visible head, and the authorities saw in these men the effective means of combating the enemy. In thus availing themselves of one branch of the reformers to destroy the other and more radical portion, the chiefs of the hierarchy were adopting an expedient effective for the present, yet fraught with danger for the future. The Franciscans and Dominicans were useful beyond expectation. They restored to the church much of the popular veneration which had become almost hopelessly alienated from it, and their wonderfully rapid extension throughout Europe shows how universally the people had felt the want of a religion which should fitly represent the humility, the poverty, the charity of Christ. Yet when Innocent III. hesitated long to sanction the mendicant orders, he by no means showed the want of sagacity which has been so generally asserted by superficial historians; rather, like Lucius III. with the Waldenses, his far-seeing eye took in the possible dangers of that fierce ascetic enthusiasm which might at any moment break the bonds of earthly obedience, when its exalted convictions should declare that obedience to man was revolt against God.

Before the century was out, the result was apparent. When St. Francis erected poverty into an object of adoration, attaching to it an importance as insane as that attributed to virginity by the early ascetics, he at once placed himself in opposition to the whole system of the church establishment, though his exquisite humility and exhaustless charity might disguise the dangerous tendency of his doctrines.[2]

---

[1] Pluquet, Dictionnaire des Hérésies, art. Vaudois.

[2] The heresy of one age becomes the orthodoxy of another. The views of St. Francis, when promulgated in the fifth century by the Timotheists, were stigmatized as heretical.—v. Harduin. Concil. I. 525.

As his order grew in numbers and wealth with unexampled rapidity, it necessarily declined from the superhuman height of self-abnegation of which its founder was the model;[1] and this falling off naturally produced dissatisfaction among those impracticable spirits who still regarded St. Francis as their exemplar as well as their patron. The breach gradually widened, until at length two parties were formed in the order. The ascetics finally separated themselves from their corrupted brethren, and under the name of Begghards in Germany, Frèrots in France, and Fraticelli in Southern Europe, assumed the position of being the only true church. Their excommunication at the council of Vienne, in 1311, in no wise disconcerted them. The long-forgotten doctrines of Arnold of Brescia were revived and intensified. Poverty was an absolute necessity to true Christianity; the holding of property was a heresy, and the Roman church was consequently heretic. Rome, indeed, was openly denounced as the modern Babylon.

While thus carrying out to its necessary consequences the sanctification of poverty, which was the essence of Franciscanism, they were equally logical with regard to the doctrines of ascetic purity which had been so earnestly enforced by the church. Their admiration of virginity thus trenched closely on Manicheism, and in combating their errors the church was scarcely able to avoid condemning both the vow of poverty and that of celibacy, which were the corner-stones of the monastic theory.[2] Active persecution, of course,

---

[1] Already, in 1261, the council of Mainz can hardly find words severe enough to express its condemnation of the mendicant friars who wandered around, selling indulgences and squandering their unhallowed gains in the vilest excesses. — Concil. Mogunt. ann. 1261, can. xlviii. (Hartzheim, III. 612.)—One of these lights of the order publicly preached, in the horse-market of Strasburg, the doctrine that a nun who surrendered her virtue to a monk was less guilty than if she had an amour with a layman. (Ibid. 615.)

[2] Thus, a council held at Cologne in 1306, in denouncing the mendicancy of the Begghards, quotes Gen. III. 18: "In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo," and proceeds: "Quod ad fortes et sui compotes moraliter intelligitur esse dictum: et tales in ocio victum vendicantes, eleemosynas rapiunt, quæ infirmis et debilibus fuerant pauperibus ministrandæ." And in objecting to their views of celibacy, "Ajunt etiam: Nisi mulier virginitatem in matrimonio deperditam doleat et dolendo deploret, salvari non potest: quasi matrimonium sit peccatum, cum tamen ipsum ante peccatum in loco sancto a sanctorum sanctissimo fuerit institutum: quæ vir-

aroused equally active resistance. The Fraticelli espoused the cause of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, in his long and disastrous quarrel with John XXII., whom they did not hesitate to excommunicate. Exterminated after a prolonged and desperate struggle, their memory was blackened with the slanders disseminated by a priesthood incapable of emulating their ascetic virtues; and principal among these slanders was the accusation which we find repeated on all occasions when an adversary is to be rendered odious—that of promiscuous and brutal licentiousness. No authentic facts, however, can be found to substantiate it.[1]

The Fraticelli form a connecting link in the generations of heresy. Their errors, as taught by one of their most noted leaders, Walter Lolhard, who was burned at Cologne in 1322, had a tinge of the Manicheism of the Albigenses, for Satan was to them an object of compassion and veneration.[2] Their prevalence in Bohemia prepared the ground for Huss, and left deep traces in the popular mind which were not eradicated in the eighteenth century; while their proselytes in England served to swell the party of Wickliffe, and eventually gave to it their name, though their peculiar doctrines bore little resemblance to his.[3] Antisacerdotalism, however, was the common tie, and in this Luther, Zwingli, and Knox were the legitimate successors of Dolcino and Michael di Cesena.

---

ginitas in fœtum sobolis compensatur, per quam humana natura stabilitate perdurat," which contrasts strangely with the teachings quoted above from "Hali Meidenhad." Great stress, moreover, is laid upon the indissolubility of the marriage vow, and the wickedness of separating husband and wife. "Quomodo spiritu Dei agantur qui contra spiritum Dei agunt, prohibentis virum ab uxore, et e converso sine causa dimitti?"—Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1306, cap. i. ii. (Hartzheim, IV. 100–101). The good fathers of the council were discreetly blind to the antagonism of their teachings to the received doctrines and practices of the church.

[1] A collection of documents illustrating the history of this singular and powerful sect will be found in Baluze and Mansi, III. 206 et seq.

How persistent and profound was the conviction which created the heresy is shown by its prolonged existence. Even as late as 1421 Martin V. found it necessary to issue a Bull denouncing it (Raynaldi Annal. ann. 1421, No. 4); and in Germany the council of Wurzburg in 1446 revived the old denunciations against the Begghards and Beguines (Hartzheim, V. 336).

[2] Their customary salutation and password was an invocation of the fallen angel—"Salutet te injuriam passus."—"May the wronged one preserve thee!"—Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. ann. 1315.

[3] Trithem. loc. cit.—Raynaldi Annal. ann. 1318, No. 44.—Hartzheim, Concil. German. IV. 630.

In the ineradicable corruption of the church, every effort to purify it could only lead to a heresy. Except on the delicate point of Transubstantiation, Wickliffe proposed no doctrinal innovation, but he keenly felt and energetically sought to repress the disorders which had brought the church into disrepute. His schême swept away bishop, cardinal, and pope, the priesthood being the culminating point in his system of ecclesiastical polity. The temporalities which weighed down the spiritual aspirations of the church were to be abandoned, and with them the train of abuses by which the worldly ambition of churchmen was sustained—indulgences, simony, image-worship, the power of excommunication, and the thousand other arts by which the authority to bind and to loose had been converted into broad acres or current coin of the realm. In all this he was to a great extent a disciple of the Fraticelli, but his more practical mind escaped their leading error, and he denounced as an intolerable abuse the beggary of the mendicant friars. Indeed, the monastic orders in general were the objects of his special aversion, as having no justification in the precepts of Christ.[1] It is remarkable, however, that with all his tendency to regard the Scriptures as his sole authority, and notwithstanding the boldness with which he disregarded tradition, he adhered to celibacy with the fervor of a Jerome or a Hildebrand. The sternness of his mind made little allowance for human weakness, and, in his zeal for a purified church, he urged the necessity of chastity with a simple earnestness that had long become obsolete.[2] All this was unreasonable enough in a perverse and

[1] Inter omnia monstra quæ unquam intraverunt ecclesiam, monstrum horum fratrum est seductivius, infundabilius, et a veritate ac a charitate distantius.—Univ. Oxon. Litt. de Error. Wicklif. Art. 103. (Wilkins, III. 344.)

[2] For the gretnes of the synne in prestis, ouer the synne in other men is schewid be many resouns; and for it is mikil greuowsare than simple fornicacoun bi thwex an onlepy man and an onlepi womman, and it is grettar than spouse brokun of seculer men bodily, and neuer the lese both thwo are dedly synne. And that it be more semith bi this; for ai the heiar degre, the sarrar is the falle, but presthed is heiar degre than bodili matrimoyn, and thus the prest in doing fornicacoun doth sacrile and breakith his wow; for bi the vertu of his degre he made the vow of chastite.—Apology for Lollard Doctrines, p. 38 (Camden Soc. Ed.).

The strictness of the asceticism attributed to him is even more strikingly manifested in one of the heresies condemned by the Convocation of 1396, Art. 7, viz., that those who

stiff-necked generation, but his unpardonable error was his revival of the doctrine of Gregory VII. regarding the ministrations of unfaithful priests, which he carried out resolutely to its logical consequences. According to him, a wicked priest could not perform his sacred functions, and forfeited both his spiritualities and temporalities, of which laymen were justified in depriving him. Nay more, priest and bishop were no longer priest or bishop if they lived in mortal sin, and his definition of mortal sin was such as to render it scarce possible for any one to escape.[1]

It is easier to start a movement than to restrain it. Wickliffe might deny the authority of tradition, and yet preserve his respect for the tradition of celibacy, but his followers could not observe the distinction. They could see, if he could not, that the structure of sacerdotalism, to the overthrow of which he devoted himself, could not be destroyed without abrogating the rule which separated the priest from his fellow-men, and which severed all other ties in binding him to the church. In 1394, only ten years after Wickliffe's death, the Lollards, by that time a powerful party, with strong revolutionary tendencies, presented to Parliament a petition for the thorough reformation of the church, containing twelve conclusions indicating the points on which they desired change. Of these, the third denounced the rule of celibacy as the cause of the worst disorders, and argued the necessity of its abrogation; while the eleventh attacked the vows of nuns as even more injurious, and demanded permission for their marriage with

---

marry from any other motive than that of having offspring are not truly married—non vere matrimonialiter copulantur.—(Wilkins, III. 229.)

[1] Si Deus est, domini temporales possunt legitime ac meritorie auferre bona fortunæ ab ecclesia delinquente. —Conclus. Magist. Johan. Wycliff. Art. vi. (Wilkins, III. 123.)

Licet regibus auferre temporalia a viris ecclesiasticis ipsis abutentibus habitualiter. Ibid. Art. xvii.

So in the proceedings conducted by Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, against Wickliffe in 1382, among the articles presented as extracted from his writings were—

Art. 4. Quod si episcopus vel sacerdos existat in peccato mortali, non ordinat, consecrat nec baptizat.

Art. 16. Quod nullus est dominus civilis, nullus est episcopus, nullus est prælatus dum est in peccato mortali.—(Wilkins, III. 157.)

Even "verbum otiosum" and "ira quantumlibet levis" were denounced by him as mortal sins according to the University of Oxford.—Litt. de Error. Art. 210, 211. (Wilkins, III. 347.)

but scanty show of respect.[1] This became the received doctrine of the sect, for in a declaration made in 1400 by Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Lollard heresies, we find enumerated the belief that those in holy orders could take to themselves wives without sin, and that monks and nuns were at liberty to abandon their profession, and marry at pleasure.[2]

The fierce persecutions of Henry V., to repress what he rightly considered as a formidable source of civil rebellion as well as heresy, succeeded in depriving the sect of political power; yet its religious doctrines still continued to exist among the people, and even sometimes obtained public expression.[3] They unquestionably tended strongly to shake the popular reverence for Rome, and had no little influence in eventually paving the way for the revolt of the sixteenth century.

---

[1] Tertia conclusio est quod lex continentiæ injuncta sacerdotio, quæ in præjudicium mulierum prius fuit ordinata, inducit sodomiam in totam sanctam ecclesiam. . . . Corollarium istius est, privatæ religiones et inceptores sive origo istius peccati essent maxime dignæ adnullari. . . . Undecima conclusio, quod votum continentiæ factum in nostra ecclesia per mulieres, quia sunt fragiles et imperfectæ in natura, est causa inductionis maximorum horribilium peccatorum possibilium humanæ naturæ, &c. . . . Corollarium est quod viduæ et tales quæ accipiunt mantellum et annulum delicatæ pastæ vellemus quod essent desponsatæ, quia nescimus eas excusare a privatis peccatis.—Conclusiones Lollardorum. (Wilkins, III. 221-3.)

[2] Item, asserere quod presbyteri et constituti in sacris jure divino nubere possunt sine periculo et peccato. . . . Item, asserere quod licitum est et etiam meritorium religiosis personis utriusque sexus, et in quacumque religione approbata eorum libero arbitrio egredi religionem, et redire ad sæculum, et ducere uxores, et e converso. (Wilkins, III. 248.)

[3] In 1426, ten years after the execution of Lord Cobham, a Franciscan named Thomas Richmond was brought before the council of York for publicly preaching the high Wickliffite doctrine "Sacerdos in peccato mortali lapsus, non est sacerdos. Item quod ecclesia nolente vel non puniente fornicarios, licitum est sæcularibus eosdem pœna carceris castigare, et ad hoc astringuntur vinculo charitatis." (Wilkins, III. 488.) This practical application of the Hildebrandine principle did not suit the church of the fifteenth century. It was pronounced heretical, and Friar Thomas was forced to recant.

Equally offensive to the memory of Gregory was the decision of the Sorbonne in 1486, condemning as heretical the propositions of the puritan Bishop of Meaux—"3. Un prêtre fornicateur ne doit pas dire Dominus vobiscum ni reciter l'office en aucun lieu sacré. Ce qui est faux et suspect d'heresie."—"4. Les sacremens administrez ou l'office dit par un tel prêtre ne valent pas mieux que les cris des chiens. Proposition fausse et erronée dans la premiere partie, héretique scandaleuse et offensant les oreilles pieuses dans la seconde."—Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Liv. CXVI. No. 39.

John Huss was rather a reformer than a heresiarch. Admirer though he was of Wickliffe, even to the point of wishing to risk damnation with him,[1] he avoided the doctrinal errors of the Englishman on the subject of the Eucharist. Yet his predestinarian views were unorthodox, and he fully shared Wickliffe's Gregorian ideas as to the effect of mortal sin in divesting the priesthood of all claim to sacredness or respect. No one could be the vicar of Christ or of Peter unless he were an humble imitator of the virtues of him whom he claimed to represent; and a pope who was given to avarice was only the representative of Judas Iscariot.[2] This right of private judgment threatened results too formidable to the whole structure of sacerdotalism, and his condemnation was inevitable. Still, like Wickliffe, he was a devout believer in ascetic purity. His denunciations of the wealth and disorders of the clergy raised so great an excitement throughout Bohemia, that King Wenceslas was forced to issue a decree depriving immoral ecclesiastics of their revenues. The partisans of Huss took a lively interest in the enforcement of this law, and brought the unhappy ecclesiastics before the tribunals with a pertinacity which amounted to the persecution of an inquisition.[3]

Unlike the Lollards, the Hussites maintained the strictness of their founder's views on the subject of celibacy. If the fiercer Taborites cruelly revenged their wrongs upon the religious orders, it was to punish the minions of Rome, and not to manifest their contempt for asceticism; and, at the same time, even the milder Calixtins treated all lapses from clerical virtue among themselves with a severity which proved

[1] When, after the fearful disaster of Taass, the Council of Bâle, in 1432, commenced the conferences which resulted in the nominal reconciliation of the Hussites, the fathers of the council were much scandalized at hearing the Bohemian deputies reverently quote Wickliffe as the Evangelical Doctor. In fact, Peter Payne, his disciple, who first carried his doctrines into Bohemia, was still alive, and was one of the disputants. (Hartzheim, V. 762–4.)

[2] Artic. Damnat. Joannis Husz, No. viii. x. xi. xii. xiii. xxii. xxx. (Concil. Constantiens. Sess. xv.)

[3] Pluquet, Dict. des Hérésies, s. v. Huss.—Synod. Olomucens. ann. 1413, can. 1. "asserentes etiam . . . quod bona clericorum male viventium possunt rapere et eos spoliare sine pœna excommunicationis . . . Ex eadem radice et hæretica pravitate dicunt alii, quod sacerdos in mortali existens peccato, non possit conficere corpus Christi." (Hartzheim, V. 39, 40.)

their sincerity and earnestness, and which had long been a stranger to the administration of the church.[1] Traces of the teachings of the Fraticelli, moreover, are to be found in the doctrines which dissevered temporal from spiritual power, and denied to the clergy all ownership or dominion over landed possessions.[2]

The Hussite movement thus was a protest against some of the forms of sacerdotalism, but was too limited in its objects to require more than this passing allusion at our hands, even had its domination not been confined to so narrow a territory and so short an epoch as to deprive it of all lasting influence on the purification of the church. Against the wishes of the papacy, at the council of Bâle, the church assented to a reconciliation, and attempted an internal reformation, which postponed for a century the inevitable revolution.

Wickliffe and Huss were not the only inheritors of the anti-sacerdotal spirit of the Fraticelli. About the close of the fourteenth century there arose in Thuringia a heresiarch named Conrad Schmidt, whose teachings swept away the forms and observances which had so thickly incrusted the simple doctrines of Christianity. The sacrifice of the mass, image-worship, fasting, feasts, purgatory, confession, and absolution, all fell before the fearless logic of the reformer, and his disciples fondly treasured him in memory as a second incarnation of Enoch. For forty years the sect flourished in secret, but at length it was discovered in Meissen, where its members were known as Brethren of the Cross, and where it was exterminated in 1414 by the fagots of Sangerhausen. The licen-

[1] Conciliab. Pragens. ann. 1420, can. xii. xiii.—At this time the Hussites had full sway in Bohemia; the council was held by Conrad, Archbishop of Prague, who had adopted their faith, and its canons were intended for the internal regulation of their own church. (Hartzheim, V. 198.) In the long conferences, extending from 1431 to 1438, which resulted in their reunion with the Catholic church, there is no allusion to the subject of celibacy. (Ibid. 760–73.)

This did not, however, save them from the customary accusations of immorality. Thus, in 1431, Conrad, Archbishop of Mainz, in convoking a council to take action against them, says of the sect "exterminavit clerum et omnem cœlibatum commercio nephando stupravit."—Gudeni Cod. Diplom. IV. 185.

[2] Conciliab Pragens. ann. 1420, can. viii.

tious doctrines attributed to them by the monkish chronicler show that sacerdotal celibacy was one of the observances which they repudiated.[1] Similar in its tendency, and almost identical in details, was the heresy which, in 1411, was condemned in Flanders by Pierre d'Ailly, Archbishop of Cambrai. Giles Cantor, a layman, and a Carmelite known as William of Hilderniss gathered around them followers who assumed the title of Men of Intelligence. Like Conrad Schmidt, they rejected the empty formalism which had to so great an extent usurped the place of religion, but there was little of the temper of martyrs about them, and a public renunciation of their errors at Brussels speedily deprived them of all importance.[2]

While thus trampling out these successive heresies, the church was blind to the lesson taught by their perpetual recurrence. The minds of men were gradually learning to estimate at its true value the claim of the hierarchy to veneration, and at the same time the vices of the establishment were yearly becoming more odious, and its oppression more onerous. The explosion might be delayed by attempts at partial reformation, but it was inevitable.

---

[1] The spirit of the sectaries of Schmidt is shown by one of their doctrines—"Propter sacerdotum nequitiam, licentiavit Deus et abjecit sacerdotium evangelicum," and by their argument for abolishing masses for the dead "nihil prosint defunctis, sed sint solatia vivorum et repleant marsupia clericorum."—Gobelin. Person. Cosmodrom. Ætat. vi. cap. xciii.

[2] Raynaldi Annal. ann. 1411, No. 11.

XXIV.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THAT the church was sorely in want of purification need hardly, I apprehend, be insisted on. Yet the great council of Constance, one of whose leading objects was its reformation, shrank timidly from the tremendous task, though it had dared to depose a pope, and had no scruples in immolating the unfortunate Huss. Exhausted, we may charitably believe, by these efforts, it could not, in all its three years of existence, find leisure for correcting the morals of its delinquent constituency, and in its canon "De Vita et Honestate Clericorum" it could only regulate the dress of ecclesiastics, the unclerical cut of whose sleeves was especially distasteful to the reverend fathers.[1]

Perhaps the council recognized that reformation was beyond its power, unless it was prepared to remodel the entire structure of the church. That a reformation was required it could not but know. One of its leading members, Nicholas de Clemangis, had publicly declared in writing that the corruption of the clergy was so universal that those who fulfilled their vows were the object of the most degrading and disgusting suspicions, so little faith was there in the possible purity of any ecclesiastic. He also records the extension of a custom to which I have already alluded, when he states that in a majority of parishes the people insisted on their pastors keeping concubines, and that even this was a precaution insufficient for the peace and honor of their families.[2]

Perhaps the council flattered itself that, in providing for the infamous John XXIII. a successor of unimpeachable character and high ability, the work which it had neglected

---

[1] Concil. Constant. Sess. XLIII.

[2] Taceo de fornicationibus et adulteriis, a quibus qui alieni sunt probro cæteris ac ludibrio esse solent, spadonesque aut sodomitæ appellantur; denique laici usque adeo persuasum habent nullos cœlibes esse, ut in plerisque parochiis non aliter velint presbyterum tolerare nisi concubinam habeat, quo vel sic suis sit consultum uxoribus, quæ nec sic quidem usquequaque sunt extra periculum.—Nic. de Clemangis de Præsul. Simoniac. (Bayle, Dict. Hist. s. v. Hall.)

would be performed. Martin V., in fact, did attempt it. In 1422 Cardinal Branda, of Piacenza, his legate, when sent to Germany to preach a crusade against the Hussites, was honored with the title of Reformer General, and full powers were given to him to effect this portion of his mission. The letters-patent of the pope bear ample testimony to the fearful depravity of the Teutonic church,[1] while the constitution which Branda promulgated declares that in a portion of the priesthood there was scarcely left a trace of decency or morality.[2] According to this document, concubinage, simony, neglect of sacred functions, gambling, drinking, fighting, buffoonery, and kindred pursuits, were the prevalent vices of the ministers of Christ; but the punishments which he enacted for their suppression—repetitions of those which we have seen proclaimed so many times before—were powerless to overcome the evils which had become part and parcel of the church itself.

While the Armagnacs and Burgundians were rivalling the English in carrying desolation into every corner of France, it could not be expected that the peaceful virtues could flourish, or sempiternal corruption be reformed. Accordingly, it need not surprise us to see Hardouin, Bishop of Angers, despondingly admit, in 1428, that licentiousness had

[1] For instance, as regards the religious houses—"In nonnullis quoque monasteriis . . . norma disciplinæ respuitur, cultus divinus negligitur, personæ quoque hujusmodi, vitæ ac morum honestate prostrata, lubricitati, incontinentiæ, et aliis variis carnalis concupiscentiæ voluptatibus et viciis non sine gravi divinæ majestatis offensa tabescentes, vitam ducunt dissolutam."—Martin. V. ad Brandam § iii. (Ludewig, Reliq. Msctorum XI. 409.)

[2] Usque adeo nonnullorum clericorum corruptela excrevit, ut morum atque honestatis vestigia apud eos pauca admodum remanserint.—Constit. Brandæ § 1. (Op. cit. XI. 385.) This condition of affairs was not the result of any abandonment of the attempt to enforce the canons. Local synods were meeting every year, and scarcely one of them failed to call attention to the subject, devising fresh penalties to effect the impossible. The result is shown in the lament of the council of Cologne in 1423—"Quia tamen, succrescente malitia temporis moderni, labes hujusmodi criminis in ecclesia Dei in tantum inolevit, quod scandala plurima in populo sunt exorta, et verisimiliter exoriri poterunt in futurum, et ex fide dignorum relatione percepimus quod quidam ecclesiarum prælati et alii, etiam capitula . . . tales in suis iniquitatibus sustinuerunt et sustinent." So far, however, were the decrees of the council from being effective, that the Archbishop was obliged to modify them and to declare that they should only be enforced against those ecclesiastics who were notoriously guilty, and who kept their concubines publicly.—Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1423, can. i. viii. (Hartzheim, V. 217, 220.)

become so habitual among his clergy that it was no longer reputed to be a sin; that concubinage was public and undisguised, and that the patrimony of Christ was wasted in supporting the guilty partners of the priesthood. That gambling, swearing, drunkenness, and all manner of unclerical conduct should accompany these disorders, is too probable to require the concurrent testimony which the worthy bishop affords us.[1]

Such was the state of sacerdotal morals when the great council of Bâle attracted to itself the hopes of Christendom as the sole instrument by which the purification of the church could be effected—a purification which was felt to be the only safeguard against a revolutionary uprising of the indignant laity.[2] The good fathers evidently recognized the

---

[1] Adeo carnis vitium inolevit, et ideo factum est, quod peccatum quasi non reputatur. . . . et in inhonestarum hujusmodi mulierum sustentationem stipendia ecclesiastica, et Christi patrimonium et pauperum expendere non verentur.—Harduini Andegav. Epist. Statut. Præf. (Martene et Durand. IV. 523–4).

[2] See the curious letter addressed to Pope Eugenius in Dec. 1431 by his legate, Cardinal Cæsarini, refusing to obey the Bull dissolving the council: "Incitavit me huc venire deformitas et dissolutio cleri Alemaniæ, ex qua laici supra modum irritantur adversus statum ecclesiasticum. Propter quod valde timendum est, nisi se emendent, ne laici, more Hussitarum, in totum clerum irruant, ut publice dicunt. Et quidem hujusmodi deformatio magnam audaciam præbet Bohemis, multumque colorat errores eorum qui præcipue invehunt contra turpitudinem cleri. Qua de re, etiam si hic non fuisset generale concilium institutum, necessarium fuisset facere unum provinciale, ratione legationis per Germaniam pro clero reformando; quia revera timendum est, nisi iste clerus se corrigat, quod etiam, extincta hæresi Bohemiæ, suscitarentur alia . . . Celebrata tot sunt diebus nostris concilia, ex quibus nulla sequuta est reformatio. Expectabant gentes ut ex hoc sequeretur aliquis fructus. Sed si hoc dissolvatur, dicetur quod nos irridemus Deum et homines. Et cum jam nulla spes supererit de nostra correctione, irruent merito laici in nos more Hussitarum: et certa fama publica de hoc est. Animi hominum prægnantes sunt: jam incipiunt evomere venenum, quo nos perimant: putabunt se sacrificium præstare Deo, qui clericos aut trucidabunt aut spoliabunt, quoniam reputabuntur jam in profundum malorum venisse, fiunt odiosi Deo et mundo, et cum modica nunc ad eos sit devotio, tunc omnis peribit. Erat istud concilium quoddam retinaculum sæcularium; sed cum viderint spem omnem deficere, laxabunt habenas publice persequendo nos." As a proof of his assertions, the legate refers to various local troubles, which he regards as symptoms of a wide-spread revolt on the point of breaking out. Magdeburg had expelled her archbishop and clergy; was preparing wagons with which to fight after the Bohemian fashion, and was even said to have sent for a Hussite to command her forces. Passau had revolted against her bishop, and was even then laying close siege to his citadel. Bamberg was engaged in a violent quarrel with her bishop and chapter. These cities were regarded as the centres of formidable secret confederacies, and were even said to be negotiating with the Hussites.—Æneæ Sylvii Comment. de Gest. Conc. Basil. ad calcem (Opp. Basil. 1551, pp. 66–68).

full magnitude of the danger, and addressed themselves resolutely to the removal of its cause. All who were guilty of public concubinage were ordered to dismiss their consorts within sixty days after the promulgation of the canon, under pain of deprivation of revenue for three months. Persistent contumacy or repetition of the offence was visited with suspension from functions and stipend until satisfactory evidence should be afforded of repentance and amendment. Bishops who neglected to enforce the law were to be held as sharing the guilt which they allowed to pass unpunished; and those prelates who were above the jurisdiction of local tribunals or synods were to be remanded to Rome for trial. The council deplored the extensive prevalence of the "cullagium," by which those to whom was intrusted the administration of the church did not hesitate to enjoy a filthy gain by selling licenses to sin. A curse was pronounced on all involved in such transactions; they were to share the penalties of the guilt which they encouraged, and were, in addition, to pay a fine of double the amount of their iniquitous receipts.[1]

Honest, well-meant legislation this; yet the fathers of the council could hardly deceive themselves with the expectation that it would prove effectual. If legislation could accomplish the desired result, there had already been enough of it since the days of Siricius. The compilations of canon-law were full of admirable regulations, by which generation after generation had endeavored to attain the same object by every imaginable modification of inquisition and penalty. Ingenuity had been exhausted in devising laws which were only promulgated to be despised and forgotten. Something more was wanting, and that something could not be had without overturning the elaborate structure so skilfully and laboriously built up by the craft, the enthusiasm, and the religion of ten centuries.

How utterly impotent, in fact, were the efforts of the council, is evident when, within five years after the adoption of the Basilian canons, Doctor Kokkius, in a sermon preached before the council of Freysingen, could scarcely find words

[1] Concil. Basiliens. Sess. xx. (Jan. 22, 1435).

strong enough to denounce the evil courses of the clergy as a class;[1] and when, within fifteen years, we find Nicholas V. declaring that the clergy enjoyed such immunity that they scarcely regarded incontinence as a sin—a declaration sustained by the regulations promulgated for the restraint of the officials of his own court, which imply the previous open and undisguised defiance of the canons.[2]

Even in this attempt of Nicholas, however, is to be seen one of the causes which perpetuated the corruption of the church. He orders that all who thereafter persist in keeping concubines in defiance of the regulations shall be incapable of receiving benefices without special letters of indulgence from the Holy See.[3] Shrouded under a thin veil of formality, this in substance indicates the degrading source of revenue which was so energetically condemned in inferior officials. The pressing and insatiable pecuniary needs of the papal court, indeed, rendered it impotent as a reformer, however honest the wearer of the tiara might himself be in desiring to rescue the church from its infamy. Reckless expenditure and universal venality were insuperable obstacles to any comprehensive and effective measures of reformation. Every one was preoccupied either in devising or in resisting extortion. The local synods were engaged in quarrelling over the subsidies demanded by Rome, while the chronicles of the period are filled with complaints of the indulgences sold year after year to raise money for various purposes. Sometimes the objects alleged are indignantly declared to be purely supposititious; at other times intimations are thrown out that the collections were diverted to the

---

[1] Quoniam nostri temporis clerici sunt, heu, affectu crudeles, affatu mendaces, gestu incompositi, victu luxuriosi, actu impii, et sub vacuo sanctitatis nomine sancti nominis derogant disciplinæ (Hartzheim, V. 266). The council contented itself with repeating the canons of Bâle.

[2] Quod plerique, propter illius impunitatem, sibi blandiuntur minime verendum, imo quasi non fore peccatum.—Lib. III. Tit. i. c. 3, in Septimo.

[3] Quicunque alii concubinas et mulieres hujusmodi, contra præsentem prohibitionem tenere præsumentes, inhabiles censeantur ad beneficia obtinenda, et in dicta curia officia hujusmodi exercenda, nec illorum capaces efficiantur, nisi inhabilitatem suam antea per dictæ sedis literas obtinuerint aboleri.—Ubi sup.

private gain of the popes and of their creatures.[1] The opinion which the church in general entertained of the papal court is manifested with sufficient distinctness in a letter from Ernest, Archbishop of Magdeburg, to his ambassador at Rome. The prelate states that he has deposited five hundred florins in Fugger's bank at Augsburg, for which he desires to procure certain bulls, one to enable him to sell indulgences, the other to compel the chapter of Magdeburg to allow him to dispose of the salt-works of Halle, in defiance of the vested rights of his church—thus taking for granted a cynicism of venality which it would be difficult to parallel in the secular affairs of the most corrupt of courts.[2]

The aspirations of Christendom had culminated in the council of Bâle in the most potential form known to the church universal, and such were the results while the influences of the council were yet recent, and while the antagonistic papacy was under the control of men sincerely desirous to promote the best interests of the church, such as Nicholas V. and Pius II. We can feel no wonder, therefore, if the darkness continued to grow thicker and deeper under the rule of such pontiffs as Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI. Savonarola found an inexhaustible subject of declamation in the fearful vices of the ecclesiastics of his times, whom he describes as *ruffiani e mezzani*.[3] In the assembly of the Trois États of France, held at Tours in 1484, the orator of the Estates, Jean de Rély, afterwards Bishop of Angers, in his official address to Charles VIII., declared it to be notorious that the religious orders had lost all devotion, discipline, and obedience to their rule, while the canons (and he was himself

---

[1] Comp. Doeringii Chron. passim. Döringk was minister, or head of the powerful Franciscan order in Saxony, and therefore may be considered an unexceptionable witness.

[2] Ludewig Reliq. Msctorum. XI. 415.

[3] "Si vous saviez tout ce que je sais! des choses dégoûtantes! des choses horribles! vous en frémiriez! Quand je pense à tout cela, à la vie que mènent les prêtres, je ne puis retenir mes larmes." And again, "Ma peggio ancora. Quello che sta la notte con la concubina, quell' altro con il garzone, e poi la mattina va a dire messa, pensa tu come la va. Che vuoi tu fare di quella messa?"—Jérome Savonarole d'après les Documents Originaux, par F. T. Perrens, pp. 71-72. Paris, 1856.

a canon of Paris) had sunk far below the laity in their morals, to the great scandal of the church.[1]

In England, the facts developed by the examination which Innocent VIII. in 1489 authorized Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, to make into the condition of the religious houses, present a state of affairs quite as bad. Innocent describes them, in his bull to the archbishop, as wholly fallen from their original discipline, and this is fully confirmed by the results of the visitation. The old and wealthy abbey of St. Albans, for instance, was little more than a den of prostitutes, with whom the monks lived openly and avowedly. In two priories under its jurisdiction, the nuns had been turned out, and their places filled with courtezans, to whom the monks of St. Albans publicly resorted, indulging in all manner of shameless and riotous living, the details of which can well be spared.[2] These irregularities were emulated by the secular ecclesiastics. Among the records of the reign of Henry VII. is a memorial from the gentlemen and farmers of Carnarvonshire, complaining that the seduction of their wives and daughters was pursued systematically by the clergy.[3]

Spain was equally infected. When Cardinal Ximenes, in 1496, was elevated to the primatial see of Toledo, he undertook to reform the clergy of his diocese. A Franciscan himself, the members of his own order gave him especial trouble. After exhausting every expedient of opposition, rather than submit to the rule of their institution, more than one thousand monks left the country, and, according to some authori-

---

[1] Chascun sçet qu'il n'y a plus reigle, dévocion ne discipline religieuse, qui est chose fort préjudiciable au bien du roy et du royaume . . . quant on voit les lais meilleurs que les gens d'église, qui doivent estre la forme, l'exemple et le mirouer des autres, et quant on ne trouve point au chief le sens, le régime et la conduite qui se trouvent en la plante du pié, c'est grant scandale!—Masselin, Journal des États de Tours, pp. 197–99.

What were the teachings and the influence on the people of such a priesthood may be guessed from a remark in one of the sermons of Olivier Maillard, a celebrated Franciscan preacher of the period. "Sunt ne ibi mulieres et sacerdotes qui dicunt quod mulieres comedentes venenum ad expellendum materiam de matrice sua, ne fœtus veniat ad partum, antequam anima rationalis introducatur, non peccant mortaliter?"—Ap. H. Estienne, Apol. pour Herodote Liv. I. chap. vi.

[2] Wilkins, III. 630–33. Quod dictu horrendum est, persæpe loca sacra, etiam ipsa Dei templa, monialium stupro et sanguinis et seminis effusione profanare non verentur.

[3] Froude's History of England, I. 85.

ties, actually emigrated to Barbary, to escape the severity of Christian discipline. The general of the order was appealed to, and came from Rome to protect his persecuted flock, but Ximenes was unyielding, and, with the assistance of Queen Isabella, he forced the intruder to retire. Then Alexander VI. endeavored to interfere and to mitigate the sufferings of those who were condemned to live according to their vows, but again the royal influence was exerted: the pope withdrew his opposition, and even conferred additional powers upon the unflinching reformer.[1]

These were no special instances of peculiar depravity in the monastic orders. A bull of Alexander VI., issued in 1496 for the purpose of reforming the Benedictines, describes the inhabitants of many establishments of both sexes in that ancient and honored institution as indulging in the most shameless profligacy; and marriage itself was apparently not unfrequently practised.[2] Savonarola did not hesitate to declare that nuns in their convents became worse than harlots.[3] Even the strictest of all the orders—the Cistercian—yielded to the prevailing laxity. A general chapter, held in 1516, denounces the intolerable abuse indulged in by some abbots who threw off all obedience to the rule, and dared to keep women under pretence of requiring their domestic services.[4] To fully appreciate the force of this indication, it is requisite to bear in mind the stringency of the regulations which forbade the foot of woman to pollute the sacred retirement of the Cistercian monasteries.[5]

---

[1] Prescott, Ferd. and Isab. P. II. chap. 5.

[2] Rursus in certis monasteriis dicti ordinis, ipsæ moniales apertis claustris, indifferenter omnes homines etiam suspectos intromittunt, ac extra monasteria in curiis, castris et plateis vagantes, plura scandala committunt . . Similiter religiosi qui in sacris ordinibus constituti non sunt, relicto habito regulari, matrimonium contrahere dicuntur. . . . Præterea omnes et singulos monachos et moniales regulam S. Benedicti hujusmodi expresse vel tacite professos, qui habitum monasticum sine dispensatione legitima reliquerunt aut matrimonia contraxerunt, ad monasteria, *si illa exiverunt*, redire et habitum monasticum ac velum nigrum reassumere dicta auctoritate compellatis.—App. ad Chron. Cassinens. Ed. Dubreul, pp. 902–3.

The words italicized would seem to indicate that monks and nuns occasionally married without even quitting their monasteries.

[3] Perrens, Jérome Savonarole, p. 84.

[4] Statut. Ord. Cisterc. ann. 1516 (Martene et Durand. IV. 1636–7).

[5] Thus, in 1193, the general chapter

What was the condition of morals in Germany may be inferred from some proceedings of the chapter of Brunswick in 1476. The canons intimate that the commission of scandals and crimes has reached a point at which there is danger of their losing the inestimable privilege of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. They therefore declare that for the future the canons, vicars, and officiating clergy ought not to keep their mistresses and concubines publicly in their houses, or live with them within the bounds of the church, and those

---

of the order promulgated the rule—"Si contigerit mulieres abbatiam ordinis nostri ex consensu intrare, ipse abbas a patre abbate deponatur absque retractatione. Et quicumque sine conscientia abbatis introduxerit, de domo ejiciatur, non reversurus, nisi per generale capitulum."—(Capit. General. Cisterc. ann. 1193, cap. 6—apud Martene et Durand. IV. 1276.) The strictness with which this was enforced is illustrated by the proceedings in 1205 against the abbot of the celebrated house of Pontigny, because he had allowed the Queen of France and her train to be present at a sermon in the chapel and a procession in the cloisters, and to spend two nights in the infirmary. He adduced in his defence a special rescript of the pope and a permission from the head of the order in favor of the queen, but these were pronounced insufficient, and sentence was passed that he merited instant deposition "quia tam enorme factum sustinuit, in totius ordinis injuriam," but that in consequence of the powerful intercession of the Archbishop of Rheims and other bishops, he was allowed to escape with lighter punishment.—(Hist. Monast. Pontiniac.—Martene et Durand. III. 1245.)

This rule, indeed, was almost universal in the ancient monasteries. The great house of St. Martin of Tours preserved it inviolate until the incursions of the Northmen rendered it an asylum for the inhabitants of the surrounding territory. (Leonis PP. VII. Epist. vi.) In that of Sithieu, from the time of its foundation early in the seventh century, it was preserved without infraction for more than three centuries. Even the license of the Carlovingian revolution did not cause its inobservance; and when, amid the disorders of the tenth century, the Counts of Flanders became lay abbots of the convent, and discipline was almost forgotten, the mediation of two bishops was required to obtain permission, about the year 940, for Adela, Countess of Flanders, prostrated with mortal sickness, to be carried in and laid before the altar, where she miraculously recovered.—(De Mirac. S. Bertin. Lib. II. c. 12.—Chron. S. Bertin. c. 23, 24.)

So when Boniface founded the abbey of Fulda, he prohibited the entrance of women in any of the buildings, even including the church. The rule was preserved uninfringed through all the license of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and when, in 1132, the Emperor Lothair came to Fulda to celebrate Pentecost, his empress was not allowed to witness the ceremonies. So when Frederic Barbarossa, in 1135, spent his Easter there, he was not permitted to enter the town, because his wife was with him. In 1398 Boniface IX., at the request of the Abbot John Merlaw, relaxed the rule and permitted women to attend at the services of the church—shortly after which it was destroyed by lightning, as a warning for the future.—(Paullini Chron. Badeslebiens. § viii.)—At the Grande Chartreuse, founded by St. Bruno towards the end of the eleventh century, women were not even allowed to enter on the lands of the community.—Chart. S. Hugon. Gratianopolit. (Patrolog. T. 166, p. 1571.)

who persist in doing so after three warnings shall be suspended from their prebends until they render due satisfaction.[1] In this curious glimpse into the domestic life of the cathedral close, it is evident that the worthy canons were moved by no sense of their guilt, but only by a wholesome dread of giving to their bishop an excuse for procuring the forfeiture of their dearly prized right of self-judgment.

The Hungarian church, by a canon dating as far back as 1382, had finally adopted a pecuniary mulct as the most efficacious mode of correcting offenders. The fine was five marks of current coin, and by granting one-half to the informer or archdeacon, and the other to the archiepiscopal chamber, it was reasonably hoped that the rule might be enforced. The guardians were not faithful, however, for two synods of Gran, one in 1450 and the other in 1480, reiterate the complaint, not only that the archdeacons and other officials kept the whole fine to themselves, but also, what was even worse, that they permitted the criminals to persevere in sin, in order to make money by allowing them to go unpunished.[2] The morals of the regular clergy were no better, for a Diet held by Vladislas II. in 1498 complained of the manner in which abbots and other monastic dignitaries enriched themselves from the revenues of their offices, and then, returning to the world, publicly took wives, to the disgrace of their order.[3]

In Pomerania the evil had at length partially cured itself, for the female companions of the clergy seem to have been regarded as wives in all but the blessing of the church. Benedict, Bishop of Camin, in 1492, held a synod in which he quaintly but vehemently objurgates his ecclesiastics for this wickedness; declares that no man can part such couples joined by the devil; alludes to their offspring as beasts creeping over the earth, and has his spleen peculiarly stirred by

---

[1] Publice cohabitare cum fornicariis seu concubinis publicis in curiis canonicorum seu vicariorum ac etiam toto districtu ecclesiæ nostræ, ac ipsas in domibus ipsorum detinere non debeant, nec aliquis eorum debeat.—Statut. Eccles. in Braunschweig. cap. 75. (Mayer, Thes. Jur. Eccles. I. 124.)

[2] Synod. Strigonens. ann. 1382, 1450, 1480 (Batthyani, III. 275, 481, 557).—"Et quod deterius est, criminosos in suis excessibus permanere permittentes, ut eos liberius emungant, et nulla sequatur correctio."

[3] Synod. Reg. ann. 1498, c. 16. (Batthyani, I. 551).

the cloths of Leyden and costly ornaments with which the fair sinners were bedecked, to the scandal of honest women.[1] His indignation was wasted on a hardened generation, for his successor, Bishop Martin, on his accession to the see in 1499, found the custom still unchecked. The new bishop promptly summoned a synod at Sitten in 1500, where he reiterated the complaints of Benedict, adding that the priests convert the patrimony of Christ into marriage portions for their children, and procure the transmission of benefices from father to son, as though glorying in the perpetuation of their shame.[2] What peculiarly exasperated the good prelate was that the place of honor was accorded as a matter of course to the priests and their consorts at all the merry-makings and festivities of their parishioners, which shows how fully these unions were recognized as legitimate, and, apparently, for prudential reasons, encouraged by the people.

Similar customs, or worse, doubtless prevailed in Sleswick, for when Eggard was consecrated bishop in 1494, he signalized the commencement of his episcopate by forbidding his clergy to keep such female companions. The result was that before the year expired he was forced to abandon his see, and five years later he died, a miserable exile in Rome.[3]

---

[1] Wiæ Hist. Episc. Camin. c. 41.—These irregularities were not of recent introduction. The canon referred to is copied almost literally from a synod held nearly forty years before by Bishop Henning. In fact, from the description given by the latter of the drinking, gambling, trading and licentiousness of the ecclesiastics of Camin, there was little of the clerical character about them.—Synod. Camin. ann. 1454 (Hartzheim, V. 930).

[2] Wiæ Hist. Episc. Camin. c. 42.—"Mulieres de incontinentia suspectas palam et publice in domibus eorum tenent et habent, non quasi famulas sed tanquam uxores legitimas venerantur, in mensa una comedunt et bibunt, vestimentis pretiosis et clenodiis ultra modum ad instar nobilium honestarum dominarum exornant, et ut semen eorum in nationibus pravis et adulterinis crescat, omnem substantiam, de patrimonio Christi acquisitam, in dotem filiorum et filiarum, ex tam damnabili coitu procreatorum, exponunt. Et quod deterius est, inquisitis ingeniis, in eorum beneficiis faciunt successores, volentes æternum de inquitatibus eorum gloriari. De oppido ad oppidum pariter in curribus ad solennitates nuptiarum et convivia laicorum vadunt, eminentiorem locum cum eorum Delila usurpando."—Synod. Sedinens. c. 5.

In West Prussia, in 1497, the synod of Ermeland expresses itself as scandalized by the priests taking their companions publicly to fairs and other gatherings, and, to put a stop to the practice, it offers to secret informers one-half of the fine imposed on such indiscretions.—Synod. Warmiens. ann. 1497, c. xxxix. (Hartzheim, V. 668).

[3] Boissen Chron. Slesvicens. ann. 1494.

That the clergy, as a body, had become a stench in the nostrils of the people is evident from the immense applause which greeted all attacks upon them. In 1476 a rustic prophet arose in the hamlet of Niklaushausen, in the diocese of Wurzburg, who was a fit precursor of Muncer and John of Leyden. John of Niklaushausen was a swineherd, who professed himself inspired by the Virgin Mary. From the Rhine-lands to Misnia, and from Saxony to Bavaria, immense multitudes flocked to hear him, so that at times he preached to crowds of twenty and thirty thousand men. His doctrines were revolutionary, for he denounced oppression both secular and clerical; but he was particularly severe upon the vices of the ecclesiastical body. A special revelation of the Virgin had informed him that God could no longer endure them, and that the world could not, without a speedy reformation, be saved from the divine wrath consequent upon them.[1] The unfortunate man was seized by the Bishop of Wurzburg; the fanatical zeal of his unarmed followers was easily subdued, and he expiated at the stake his revolt against the powers that were.

Such being the state of ecclesiastical morality throughout Europe, there can be little wonder if reflecting men sought occasionally to reform it in the only rational manner—not by an endless iteration of canons, obsolete as soon as published, or by ingeniously varied penalties, easily evaded or compounded—but by restoring to the minister of Christ the right to indulge legitimately the affections which bigotry might pervert, but could never eradicate. Even as early as the close of the thirteenth century, the high authority of Bishop William Durand had acknowledged the inefficacy of penal legislation, and had suggested the discipline of the Greek church as affording a remedy worthy of consideration.[2] As the depravity of the church increased, and as the

---

[1] Annuntia populo fideli meo, et dic quod Filius meus avaritiam, superbiam et luxuriam clericorum et sacerdotum amplius sustinere nec possit nec velit. Unde nisi se quantocius emendaverint, totus mundus propter eorum scelera periclitabitur. —Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. ann. 1476.

[2] Quum pene in omnibus conciliis et a plerisque Romanis pontificibus super cohibenda et punienda clericorum incontinentia, et eorum honestate servanda multa hactenus

minds of men gradually awoke from the slumber of the dark ages, and shook off the blind reverence for tradition, the suggestion presented itself with renewed force. When the council of Bâle was earnestly engaged in the endeavor to restore forgotten discipline, the Emperor Sigismund laid before it a formula of reformation which embraced the restoration of marriage to the clergy. His orator drew a fearful picture of the evils caused by the rule of celibacy—evils acknowledged by every one in the assembly—and urged that as it had produced more injury than benefit, the wiser course would be to follow the example of the Greek church.[1] A majority of the council assented to the principle, but shrank from the bold step of adopting it. Eugenius IV. had just been forced to acknowledge the legitimacy of the body as an œcumenic council; the strife with the papacy might again break forth at any moment, and it was not politic to venture on innovations too audacious. The conservatives, therefore, skilfully eluded the question by postponing it to a more favorable time, and the postponement was fatal.

One of the most celebrated members of the council, Cardinal Nicholas Tudeschi, surnamed Panormitanus, whose preeminence as an expounder of the canon law won for him the titles of "Canonistarum Princeps" and "Lucerna Juris," declared that the celibacy of the clergy was not essential to ordination or enjoined by divine law; and he records his unhesitating opinion that the question should be left to the option of the individual—those who had resolution to preserve their purity being the most worthy, while those who had not would be spared the guilt which disgraced them.[2]

---

emanaverint constituta; et nullatenus ipsorum reformari quiverit correctio morum: . . . videretur pensandum an expediret et posset provideri quod in ecclesia Occidentali, quantum ad votum continentiæ, servaretur consuetudo ecclesiæ Orientalis, quantum ad promovendos, potissime quum tempore Apostolorum consuetudo ecclesiæ Orientalis servaretur.—Durand. de Modo General. Concil. P. II. rubr. 46 (Calixtus, p. 537).—Durand was the author of several works of wide repute, which were among the first books on which the early printers tried their art. His Speculum Judiciale earned for him the well-known distinctive title of *Speculator*.

[1] Zaccaria, Nuova Giustificaz. pp. 121–2.—Milman, Latin Christ. Book XIII. chap. 12.

[2] De Thou, Hist. Univ. Lib. XXXVI. Not having the works of Tudeschi to refer to, I give his remarks as quoted by Villadiego (Fuero Juzgo, p. 177, No. 85) from Gloss. in cap. olim, de cleric. conjug.—"Quod deberet eccle-

So Æneas Sylvius, who as Pius II. filled the pontifical throne from 1458 to 1464, and who knew by experience how easy it was to yield to the temptations of the flesh, is reported to have said that marriage had been denied to priests for good and sufficient reasons, but that still stronger ones now required its restoration.[1] And we have already seen that Eugenius IV., in 1441, and Alexander VI., in 1496, granted permission of marriage to several military orders, as the only mode of removing the scandalous license prevailing among them.

This question of the power of the pope to dispense with the necessity of celibacy seems to have attracted some attention about this period. In 1505, Geoffroy Boussard, afterwards Chancellor of the University of Paris, published a tract discussing it and leaning to the affirmative, without venturing to decide the point absolutely. Cardinal Caietano afterwards treated the subject, and concluded that such power was inherent in the papal prerogative.[2]

When the advantages and the necessity of celibacy thus were doubted by the highest authorities in the church, it is no wonder if those who were disposed to question the traditions of the past were led to reject it altogether. In 1479 John Burckhardt, of Oberwesel, graduate of Tubingen, and Doctor of Theology, in his capacity of preacher at Worms, openly disseminated doctrines which differed in the main but little from those of Wickliffe and Huss. He denied the authority of popes, councils, and the fathers of the church to regulate matters either of faith or discipline. The Scripture was the only standard, and no one had a right to interpret it for his brethren. The received observances of religion, pray-

---

sia facere sicut bonus medicus, ut si medicina, experientia docente, potius officit quam prodit, eam tollat: sic eorum voluntati relinqueretur, ita ut sacerdos qui abstinere noluisset, posset uxorem ducere, cum quotidie illicito coitu maculentur."

[1] Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri.—Platina in Vit. Pii II.

[2] Grégoire, Mariage des Prêtres en France, p. 50. Boussard had no hesitation in admitting that sacerdotal marriage was permitted until the pontificate of Siricius. The time had not yet arrived when the attacks of the Reformers drove the defenders of celibacy to prove for it an apostolic origin.

ers, fasts, indulgences, were all swept away, and universal liberty of conscience proclaimed to all. Of course, sacerdotal celibacy shared the same fate, as a superstitious observance, contrived by papal ingenuity in opposition to evangelical simplicity.[1] Thus his intrepid logic far outstripped the views of his predecessors, and Luther afterwards acknowledged the obligations which he owed to the fearless reasoning of John of Oberwesel. Yet he had not the spirit of martyrdom, and the Inquisition speedily forced him to a recantation, which was of little avail, for he soon after perished miserably in the dungeon in which he had been thrust.[2]

Still more remarkable as an indication of the growing spirit of independence was an event which in July, 1485, disturbed the stagnation of the centre of theological orthodoxy—the Sorbonne. A certain Jean Laillier, priest and licentiate in theology, aspiring to the doctorate, prepared his thesis or "Sorbonique," in which he broached various propositions savoring strongly of extreme Lollardism. He denied the supremacy of the pope, and indeed reduced the hierarchy to the level of simple priesthood; he rejected confession, absolution, and indulgences; he refused to acknowledge the authority of tradition and legends, and insisted that the fasts enjoined by the church had no claim to observance. Celibacy was not likely to escape so audacious an inquirer, and accordingly, among his postulates were three, declaring that a priest clandestinely married required no penitence; that the Eastern clergy committed no sin in marrying, nor would the priests of the Western church, if they were to follow the example; and that celibacy originated in 1073, in the decretals of Gregory VII., whose power to introduce the rule he more than questioned. The Sorbonne, as might be anticipated, refused the doctorate to so rank a heretic, and Laillier had the boldness not only to preach his doctrines publicly,

[1] Quam [sc. continentiam] dixit esse superstitiosam et a Romanis pontificibus contra Evangelium excogitatam, et ideo sacerdotibus minime necessariam, sed eorum arbitrii, si velint continere vel non, propterea quod neque Christus neque apostoli continentiam præceperint.—Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. ann. 1479.

[2] Serrarii Hist. Rer. Mogunt. Lib. I. c. 34.

but even to appeal to the Parlement for the purpose of forcing his admission to the Sorbonne. The Parlement referred the matter to the Bishop of Paris and to the Inquisitor; Laillier's audacity failed him, and he agreed to recant. He committed the unpardonable fault of being a half century too early.[1]

The corruption of the church establishment thus had reached a point which the dawning enlightenment of the age could not much longer endure. The power which had been intrusted to it, when it was the only representative of culture and progress, had been devoted to selfish purposes, and had become the instrument of unmitigated oppression in all the details of daily life. The immunity which had been necessary to its existence through centuries of anarchy had become the shield of unimaginable vices. The wealth, so freely lavished upon it by the veneration of Christendom, was wasted in the vilest excesses. All efforts at reformation from within had failed; all attempts at reformation from without had been successfully crushed and sternly punished. Intoxicated with centuries of domination, the muttered thunders of growing popular discontent were unheeded, and its claims to spiritual and temporal authority were asserted with increasing vehemence, while its corruptions were daily displayed before the people with more careless cynicism. There appeared to be no desire on the part of the great body of the clergy to make even a pretence of the virtue and piety on which were based their claims for reverence, while the laity were daily growing less reverent, were rising in intelligence, and were becoming more inclined to question where their fathers had been content to believe. Such a complication could have but one result.

---

[1] Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Liv. cxvi. No. 30–38.

XXV.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

THE opening of the sixteenth century witnessed an ominous breaking down of the landmarks of thought. The revival of letters, which was fast rendering learning the privilege of all men in place of the special province of the legal and clerical professions; the discovery of America, which destroyed reverence for primeval tradition, and accustomed men's minds to the idea that startling novelties might yet be truths; the invention of printing, which placed within the reach of all inquirers who had a tincture of education the sacred writings for investigation and interpretation; the European wars, commencing with the Neapolitan conquest of Charles VIII., which brought the nations into closer contact with each other, and carried the seeds of culture, civilization, and unbelief, from Italy to the farthest Thule; all these causes, with others less notable, had been silently but effectually wearing out the remnants of that pious and unquestioning veneration which for ages had lain like a spell on the human mind.

In this bustling movement of politics and commerce, arts and arms, science and letters, religion could not expect to escape the spirit of universal inquiry. Even before opinion had advanced far enough to justify examination into doctrinal points and dogmas, there was a general readiness to regard the shortcomings of sacerdotalism, in the administration of its sacred trust, with a freedom of criticism which could not long fail to destroy the respect for claims of irrefragable authority. John of England and the Emperor Otho might gratify individual spite, in the intoxication of anticipated triumph, by

insultingly defying the sacerdotal power. Philippe-le-Bel, a man far in advance of his age, might reduce the papacy to temporary subjection by means of rare instruments such as Guillaume de Nogaret. Philippe de Valois, with the aid of his civil lawyers, might essay to limit the extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Wickliffe, and Huss, and Savonarola might raise the standard of opposition to papal usurpation—but these were sporadic instances of rebellion, resulting either from the selfish ambition of rulers or the fanatical enthusiasm of individuals, unsupported by the concurrent opinion of the masses of the people, and their permanent results were rather remote than direct. At the period to which we have arrived, however, the disposition to criticize the abuses of the ecclesiastical system, to note its shortcomings, and to apply remedial measures was general, and savored little of the respect which an infallible church had for so many centuries inculcated as one of the first of Christian duties. Its past services were forgotten in present wrongs. Its pretensions had, at one time, enabled it to be the protector of the feeble, and the sole defence of the helpless; but that time had passed. Settled institutions had replaced anarchy throughout Europe, and its all-pervading authority would no longer have been in place, even if exercised for the common benefit. When it was notorious, however, that the powers and immunities claimed by the church were everywhere employed for the vilest ends, their anachronism became too palpable, and their destruction was only a question of time.

Signs of the coming storm were not wanting. In 1510 a series of complaints against the abuses of Rome was solemnly presented to the emperor. The German churches, it was asserted, were confided by the successors of St. Peter to the care of those who were better fitted to be ostlers than pastors of men, and the pope was significantly told that he should act more tenderly and kindly to his children of Teutonic race, lest there might arise a persecution against the priesthood, or a general defection from the Holy See, after the manner of the Hussites.[1] The emperor was

[1] Ecclesiarum regimina minus dignis (Romæ videlicet) committuntur, qui ad mulos magis quam homines pascendos et regendos essent idonei.

warned, in his efforts to obtain the desired reform, not to incur the censures and enmity of the pope, in terms which show that only the political effects of excommunication were dreaded, and that its spiritual thunders had lost their terrors. He was further cautioned against the prelates in general, and the mendicant friars in particular, in a manner denoting how little reverence was left for them in the popular mind, and how thoroughly the whole ecclesiastical system had become a burden and reproach, a thing of the past, an excrescence on society, and no longer an integral part of every man's life, and the great motive power of Christendom.[1]

It was evident that the age was rapidly outstripping the church, and that the latter, to maintain its influence and position, must conform to the necessities of progress and enlightenment. On previous occasions it had done so, and had, with marvellous tact and readiness, adapted itself to the exigencies of the situation in the long series of vicissitudes which had ended by placing it supreme over Europe. But centuries of almost uninterrupted prosperity had hardened it. The corruption which attends upon wealth had rendered wealth a necessity, and that wealth could only be had by perpetuating and increasing the abuses which caused ominous murmurs of discontent in those nations not fortunate enough to be defended by Concordats or Pragmatic Sanctions. The church had lost its suppleness, and was immovable. A reform such as was demanded, while possibly increasing its influence over the souls of men, would have deprived it of control over

—Gravamina German. Nationis, No. VII.

Mitius ergo summus pontifex, velut pius pater, filiorum suorum amator, ac fidelis et prudens pastor, cum filiis suis Germanicæ nationis agat, ne propediem vel in universos Christi sacerdotes persequutio suboriatur, vel instar Bohemorum plerique ab ecclesia deficiant Romana.—Remed. contra Gravamina. (Freher. et Struv. II. 677–8.)

In the previous century some remonstrances against grievances had been uttered, but in a very different tone from this.

[1] Provideat etiam Cæsarea majestas ne fratres mendicantes contra ipsam prædicent, qui Sedi Apostolicæ libenter deferunt, timentes perdere privilegia sua, utinam Christo et naturæ innixa; quamvis justissimam causam dudum habuissent contra tantam avaritiam tantosque abusus prædicandi. . . . Timeat Cæsarea majestas omnes prælatos ecclesiarum, præcipue præpositos, qui ex juramento tenentur avisare papam.—Avisamenta ad Cæsar. Majest. (Ibid. p. 680.)

their purses; reform meant poverty. The sumpter-mule loaded with gold, wrung from the humble pittance of the Westphalian peasant, under pretext of prosecuting the war against the infidel, would no longer cross the Alps to stimulate with its treasure the mighty genius of Michael Angelo, or the fascinating tenderness of Raffaele; to provide princely revenues for the bastards of a pope, or to pay mercenaries who were to win them cities and lordships; to fill the antechamber of a cardinal with parasites, and to deck his mistresses with the silks and jewels of Ind; to feed needy men of letters and scurrilous poets; to soothe the itching palms of the Rota, and to enable all Rome to live on the tribute so cunningly exacted of the barbarian.[1] The wretched ending of the council of Bâle rendered any internal reformation impossible which did not derive its initiative and inspiration from Rome, as was shown by the failure of the council of Pisa. In Rome, it would have required the energy of Hildebrand, the stern self-reliance of Innocent, the unworldly asceticism of Celestin combined, to even essay a reform which threatened destruction so complete to all the interests accumulated by sacerdotalism around the Eternal City. Leo X. was neither Hildebrand, nor Innocent, nor Celestin. With his voluptuous nature, elegant culture, and easy temper, it is no wonder that he failed to read aright the signs of the times, and that he did not even recognize the necessity which should impose upon him a task so utterly beyond his powers. The fifth council of Lateran had no practical result. Blindly he plunged on; money must be had at any cost, until the salvation mongering of Tetzel, little if any worse than that of his predecessors, could no longer bear the critical spirit of the age, and Teutonic insubordination at length found a mouthpiece in the Monk of Wittenberg.

---

[1] See, for instance, the mode in which the annates of the see of Mainz were raised from 10,000 florins to 25,000; and this latter sum was exacted seven times in one generation, resulting in taxation on the peasantry so severe that an insurrection against the clergy was threatened: "Verum etiam incitantur ad rebellionem, et quærendam utcunque libertatem, et ubi possunt inter se susurrant de sævitia in clerum."—Remed. contra Gravam. (Freher. et Struv. II. 678.)

It would be a mistake to credit Luther with the Reformation. His bold spirit and masculine character gave to him the front place, and drew around him the less daring spirits who were glad to have a leader to whom to refer their doubts, and on whom their responsibility might partly rest; yet Luther was but the exponent of a public sentiment which had long been gaining strength, and which in any case would not have lacked expression. In that great movement of the human mind he was not the cause, but the instrument. Had his great opponent Erasmus enjoyed the physical vigor and practical boldness of Luther, he would have been handed down as the heresiarch of the sixteenth century.[1] He, too, had borne his full share in preparing the minds of men for what was to come, and nothing can give us a more thorough conviction of the readiness of the public to welcome a radical change than the wealth of indignant bitterness which Erasmus, himself a canon regular and a priest, heaps upon all orders of the church, and the immense applause which everywhere greeted his attacks. His sarcastic humor, his biting satire, his exquisite ridicule, nowhere find a more congenial subject than the vices of the monks, the priests, the prelates, the cardinals, and even of the pope himself. It affords a curious illustration of the times to read those writings which a century earlier would have consigned him to the dungeon or the stake, and to reflect that he was not only the admiration of both the learned and the vulgar of Europe, but also the petted protégé of king and kaisar, the correspondent of popes, and finally the most honored champion of the system which he had so ruthlessly reviled, and which he never ceased to deplore.[2] The extraordinary favor with

[1] The Epist. Obscur. Viror. probably reflects the general sentiment of the conservatives of the time in denouncing Erasmus and the learned wits as heretics. "Quia juvenes volunt se æquiparare senibus, et discipuli magistris, et juristæ theologis, et est magna confusio, et surgunt multi hæretici et pseudochristiani, Iohann. Reuchlin, Erasmus Roterodamus: Bilibaldus nescio quis, et Ulricus Huttenus, Hermannus Buschius, Jacobus Wimphelingus, qui scripsit contra Augustinenses, et Sebastianus Brandt, qui scripsit contra prædicatores, etc."

So, at a later date, after Luther had arisen, the "Conciliabulum Theologistarum" classes them together "Habeo etiam ego unum spiritum familiarem; illum ego volo mittere ad Lutherum et Erasmum de nocte in lectum, ut eos tribulet et vexet."

[2] The popular view of the priesthood is well summed up by Erasmus

which his works were received by all classes shows how fully he was justified in the indignation which he so unsparingly lavished on clerical abuses, and how eagerly the public appreciated one who could so well express that which was felt by all. Equally significant was the popularity of the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum," in which the learned wits of the new school poured forth upon the clergy a broad and homely ridicule which exactly suited the taste of the age.[1]

---

in the following dialogue: "COCLES, Cur mavis sacerdotium quam uxorem? —PAMPHAGUS, Quia mihi placet otium. Arridet Epicurea vita.—CO. At mea sententia suavius vivunt, quibus est lepida puella domi, quam complectantur, quoties libet.—PAM. Sed adde, nonnunquam quum non libet. Amo voluptatem perpetuam. Qui ducit uxorem, uno mense felix est: cui contingit optimum sacerdotium, in omnem usque vitam fruitur gaudio.—CO. Sed tristis est solitudo, adeo ut nec Adam suaviter victurus fuerit in Paradiso nisi Deus illi adjunxisset Evam.—PAM. Non deerit Eva cui sit opulentum sacerdotium," &c.—Erasmi Colloq. de Captandis Sacerdotiis.

It is, however, perhaps, in the "Encomium Moriæ" that he gives fullest rein to his bitter satire. His own sad experience of conventual life gave him special opportunity of declaiming against the monks "qui se vulgo religiosos ac monachos appellant, utroque falsissimo cognomine, quum et bona pars istorum longissime absit a religione, et nulli magis omnibus locis sint obvii." Their habit, their observances, their discipline, their ignorance, idleness, vices, are recounted at great length and with the most stinging ridicule—"rursum alios qui pecuniæ contactum ceu aconitum horreant, nec a vino interim nec a mulierum contactu temperantes." Even the names of the various orders cannot escape his biting humor. "Porro magna felicitatis pars est in cognomentis, dum hi Funigeros appellari se gaudent, et inter hos alii Coletas alii Minores: alii Minimos: alii Bullistas. Rursum hi Benedictinos, illi Bernardinos, hi Brigidenses, illi Augustinenses: hi Guilhelmitas, illi Jacobitas, *quasi vero parum est dici Christianos*"—and he makes Folly dismiss them with the contemptuous valediction "Verum ego istos histriones, tam ingratos beneficiorum meorum dissimulatores quam improbos simulatores pietatis libenter relinquo." The secular priesthood, the bishops, and even the pope himself, are treated with little more respect, and the general negligence and inefficiency of the whole ecclesiastical body are summed up—"Rursus sacerdotes qui sese vocant seculares, quasi mundo initiati non Christo, in regulares onus hoc devolvunt, regulares in monachos, monachi laxiores in arctiores, omnes simul in mendicantes, mendicantes in Carthusienses, apud quos solos sepulta latet pietas, et adeo latet ut vix unquam liceat conspicere. Itidem pontifices in messe pecuniaria diligentissimi labores illos nimium Apostolicos in episcopos relegant, episcopi in pastores, pastores in vicarios, vicarii in fratres mendicantes. Hi rursum in eos retrudunt a quibus ovium lana tondetur."

The "Encomium Moriæ" had an immediate and immense success. Numberless editions were required to supply the avidity of the learned, and it was immediately translated into almost every language of Europe for the benefit of the unlearned. It appeared in 1509; the Colloquies in 1516.—When these works had produced their result, their dangerous tendencies were discovered, and they enjoyed the honor of being included in the first Index Expurgatorius. (App. Concil. Trident.)

[1] The "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" was certainly published before 1516, probably in 1515. (Ebert, Bib-

Not less indicative of the dangerous state of opinion was an address delivered in the Diet held at Augsburg in 1518, when the legates of Leo X. appealed to Germany for a tithe to assist in carrying on the war against the Turk. The orator who replied to them did not restrain his indignation at the deplorable condition of the church, which he attributed solely to the worldly ambition of the popes. Since they had united temporal with spiritual dominion—or, rather, since they had allowed temporal interests to divert them wholly from their spiritual duties—all had gone amiss. Christendom was despoiled from without, and filled with tumult within. Religion was openly contemned; Christ was daily bought and sold; the sheep were shorn, and the pastor took no care of them. He did not even hesitate to charge, with emphasis and at much detail, that the money extorted from Germany under pious pretexts was squandered in Italy on the private quarrels and for the aggrandizement of the papal houses, and those of the members of the sacred college.[1] A state of feeling which dictated and permitted such a declaration from the supreme representative body of the empire, when brought into collision with the pretensions of the Holy See, now more exaggerated than ever, could have but one result—Revolution.

With all this license Germany was still, by the force of circumstances, less independent of the papacy than any other Tramontane power. What was going on elsewhere in Europe may be guessed from the humiliating conditions exacted in 1517 of Silvester Darius, the papal collector, on his assuming

liog. Dict. s. v.)—It is equally severe upon the monks—"Tunc ille dixit: ego distinguo de monachis, quia accipiuntur tribus modis. Primo, pro sanctis et utilibus, sed illi sunt in cœlo. Secundo, pro nec utilibus nec inutilibus, et illi sunt picti in ecclesia. Tertio modo pro illis qui adhuc vivunt, et illi multis nocent, etiam non sunt sancti, quia ita superbi sunt sicut unus sæcularium. Et ita libenter habent pecunias et pulchras mulieres, etc." And again, "Ubi enim diabolus pervenire vel aliquid efficere non potest, ibi semper mittit unam malam antiquam vetulam vel unum monachum."

[1] "Pontifices vero Romani, postquam cœperunt prophana cum sacris conjungere, imo relictis sacris solum prophana admirari, quam bene consultum fuerit reipublicæ Christianæ, eventus comprobavit. Amissis externis, interna infinitis seditionibus conturbantur; divina dispiciuntur, venditur Christus, lana ovium tondetur, de custodia nullum studium, etc."—Orat. in Comit. Augustan. (Freher. et Struv. II. 702.)

the functions of his important office in England. He bound himself by oath not to execute any letters or mandates of the pope injurious to the king, the kingdom, or the laws; not to transmit from England to Rome, without a special royal license, any gold, or silver, or bills of exchange; not to leave the kingdom himself without a special license under the great seal; with other less notable restrictions, the practical effect of all being to place him and his duties wholly under the control of the king.[1] The position of England had changed since the days of Innocent and John. Had the dissensions of Germany permitted equal progress, Luther might perhaps have only been known as an obscure but learned orthodox doctor, and the inevitable revolt of half of Christendom have been postponed for a century.

It is not my province to follow in detail the vicissitudes of the Reformation, but only to indicate briefly its relations with sacerdotal asceticism. Luther, at first, like Wickliffe and Huss, paid no attention to the subject. It seems rather singular that, when attacking the system of the Roman church, neither of these reformers should have recognized the importance of celibacy as a portion of the claim to exclusive sanctity on which the structure rested, and how great was the practical power which it conferred for mutual attack and defence. Still more remarkable is it, that, starting with denying the extreme doctrine of justification by works, with its concomitant abuses, and after arriving by degrees to the point of rejecting all tradition and recurring to the sole authority of the Scriptures, with the right of private interpretation, the traditional rule of celibacy should not have shared the fate of other traditional observances of sacerdotalism. Even as with Wickliffe his followers were bolder than their leader, so with Luther his admirers were the first to claim a privilege which he had not ventured to mark with the seal of his approbation.

During the earlier portion of his career, Luther abstained from touching the subject. In fact, when, on the 31st of Oc-

[1] Rymer, Fœdera XIII. 586–7.

tober, 1517, he nailed on the church door of Wittenberg his celebrated ninety-five propositions, nothing was further from his expectations than to create a heresy, a schism, or even a general reform in the church. He had simply in view to vindicate his ideas on the subject of justification, derived from St. Augustin, against the Thomist doctrines which had been exaggerated into the monstrous abuses of Tetzel and his fellows.[1] In the general agitation and opposition to Rome which pervaded society, however, it was impossible for a bold and self-reliant spirit such as his not to advance step by step in a career of which the ultimate goal was as little foreseen by himself as by others. Yet his progress was wonderfully slow. Even in 1519 he still considered himself within the pale of the church, and held that no wrong committed by her could justify a separation or excuse any resistance to the commands of a pope.[2] Events soon after forced him to further and more dangerous innovations, yet when Leo X., in June, 1520, issued his celebrated bull, "Exsurge Domine" to crush the rising heresy, in the forty-one errors enumerated as taught by Luther, there is no allusion to any doctrine specially inimical to ascetic celibacy.[3]

Although this condemnation and excommunication, by shutting the gate of reconciliation, drove Luther into open opposition, and led him to attack the fundamental positions of sacerdotal catholicism, he still abstained from interference with the obligation of perpetual continence. Absorbed in the discussion of doctrinal points, he apparently had not leisure, or was not as yet prepared to assert the practical deductions from his own theories. In 1520 he already denied the indelible character of priestly ordination, which was the

---

[1] Even in this, Luther was by no means the first. In the Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, a vender of indulgences is introduced, as praising his wares from the pulpit "Ecce, hic habetis indulgentias, et literas indulgentiales, et quod scriptum est in illas est ita verum et credendum sicut Evangelium. Et quando accipitis illas indulgentias, tunc estis ita absoluti, sicut Christus met venisset et absoluisset vos. Tunc Doctor Reyss tenuit oppositum, dicens: Nihil est comparandum cum Evangelio, et qui bene facit bene vivit. Et si aliquis centies acceperit istas indulgentias, et non bene vixerit, peribit, nec adjuvabitur per istas indulgentias."

[2] Ranke, Reformation in Germany, B. II. chap. 3.

[3] Mag. Bull. Roman. Ed. 1692, I. 64.

twin sister of celibacy in separating the clergy from the mass of believers; long since he had contemned the authority of tradition and the binding force of canon and decretal in building up a structure of religious observances not founded on Scripture; yet still the discipline of the church seemed sacred in his eyes, and the social corruptions springing from it called forth no protest or remedy. Yet it seems almost incredible that he should not have recognized from the first how utterly his doctrine of justification by faith destroyed the efficacy of celibacy, as of all other ascetic observances.

His followers led the way in a path which he had either passed unobserved or feared to enter. It was during his enforced seclusion in Wartburg, from April, 1521, to March, 1522, even before any theoretical discussions on the point had taken place, that Bartholomew Bernhardi, pastor of Kammerich, near Wittenberg, solved the matter in the most practical way by obtaining the consent of his parish and celebrating his nuptials with all due solemnity. Albert, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, addressed to Frederic, Elector of Saxony, a demand for the rendition of the culprit, which that prudent patron of the Reformation skilfully eluded, and Bernhardi published a short defence or apology in which he denounced the rule of celibacy as a "frivolam traditiunculam." He argued the matter, quoting the texts which since his time have been generally employed in support of sacerdotal marriage; he referred to Peter and Philip, Spiridon of Cyprus, and Hilary of Poitiers, as examples of married bishops, quoted the story of Paphnutius, and relied on the authority of the Greek church. This apparently did not satisfy the archbishop, for Bernhardi felt obliged to address a second apology to Frederic of Saxony, to whom he appealed for protection against the displeasure of his ecclesiastical superiors.[1] In spite of molestation, he continued in the exercise of his priestly functions until death. Less fortunate were his immediate imitators. A priest of Mansfeldt who took to himself a wife was thrown into prison at Halle by the Archbishop of Mainz, and Jacob Siedeler, pastor of Glashütten, in Meissen,

[1] Lutheri Opp. Ed. Vuitemb. T. II. pp. 209, 211.

who was guilty of the same crime, perished miserably in the dungeon of Stolpen, to which he was committed by Duke George of Saxony.[1]

The enthusiastic Carlostadt, relieved for the time from the restraint of Luther's cooler wisdom, threw himself with zeal into this new movement of reform, and lost no time in justifying it by a treatise in which he argued strenuously in favor of priestly marriage, and energetically denounced the monastic vows as idle and vain. Luther, however, in his retreat, was inclined to regard these proceedings with disapprobation. His letters to Melancthon show that he had paid the subject little attention, but that he felt doubts whether those who were vowed to chastity could break their vows, and that he was entirely opposed to such marriages.[2] Either with or without his consent, however, his friends lost no time in adopting the new dogma which they proclaimed to the world in the most authoritative manner. During the same year Luther's own Augustinian order held a provincial synod at Wittenberg, in which they formally threw open the doors of the monasteries, and permitted all who desired it to return to the world, declaring that in Christ there was no distinction between Jew and Greek, monk and layman, and that a vow in opposition to the gospel was no vow, but an impiety. Ceremonies, observances, and dress were pronounced futile; those who chose to abide by the established rule were free to do so, but their preferences were not to be a law to their fellows. Those who were fitted for preaching the word were advised to depart; those who remained were obliged to perform the manual labor which had been so prominent a portion of primeval Teutonic monasticism, and mendicancy was strictly forbidden. In a few short and simple canons a radical rebellion thus declared itself in the heart of an ancient and powerful order, and principles were promulgated which were totally at variance with sacerdotalism in all its protean forms.[3]

---

[1] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1521.

[2] Henke, App. ad Calixt. pp. 593-4.

[3] Synod. Vuitemberg. (Lutheri Opp. I. 201.) The first canon sufficiently illustrates the spirit of the whole. "Primo ergo permittimus omnibus vel manere in monasteria vel deserere monasticen. Quando qui in Christo sunt, nec Judæi nec Græci, nec monachi nec laici sunt. Et votum contra Evangelium non votum sed impietas est."

This broad spirit of toleration did not suit the views of the more progressive reformers. In Luther's own Augustinian convent at Wittenberg, one of his most zealous adherents, Gabriel Zwilling, preached against monachism in general, taking the ground that salvation required the renunciation of their vows by all who had been ensnared into assuming the cowl; and so great was his success that thirteen monks at once abandoned the convent. Yet even on Luther's return to Wittenberg, he at first took no part in the movement. He retained his Augustinian habit, and continued his residence in the convent; but before the close of the year (1522) he put forth his work, "De Votis Monasticis," in which he fully and finally adopted the views of his friends, and showed himself as an uncompromising enemy of monasticism.[1] How difficult it was for him, however, to shake off the habitudes in which he had been trained is shown by the fact that, even at the end of 1523, he still sometimes preached in his cowl and sometimes without it.[2]

Notwithstanding the zealous opposition of the orthodox ecclesiastical authorities, the doctrine and practice of Wittenberg were not long in finding earnest defenders and imitators. But few such marriages, it is true, are recorded in 1522, although Balthazar Sturmius, an Augustinian monk of Saxony, committed the bolder indiscretion of marrying a widow of Franconia. In that year, however, we find Franz von Sickingen, knight errant and condottiero, who was then a power in the state, advocating the emancipation and marriage of the religious orders, in a letter to his father-in-law, Diedrich von Henthschuchsheym. Still more important was the movement inaugurated in Switzerland by Ulrich Zwingli, who, with ten other monks of Nôtre-Dame-des-Hermites, on the 2d of July, 1522, addressed to Hugo von Hohenlandemberg, Bishop of Constance, a petition requesting the privilege of marriage. The petitioners boldly argued the matter, citing

[1] Lutheri Opp. II. 269 et seq.—In this edition the tract is dated 1522 in the index and 1521 in the text. Henke and Ranke, however, agree in assigning it to a period subsequent to his return from Wartburg.

[2] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1523.—The fact that Spalatin recorded whether he wore the cowl or not, shows the importance which Luther's friends attached to his example with respect to it.

the usual Scriptural authorities, and adjured the bishop in the most pressing terms to grant their request. They warned him that a refusal might entail ruinous disorders on the whole sacerdotal body, and that, unless he seized the opportunity to guide the movement, it might speedily assume a most disastrous shape. They asserted, indeed, that not only in Switzerland, but elsewhere, it was generally believed that a majority of ecclesiastics had already chosen their future wives, and that a return to the old order of things was beyond the power of man to accomplish.[1]

In this assertion, Zwingli and his companions followed perhaps rather the dictates of their hopes than of their judgment, for the revolution was by no means as universal or immediate as their threats or warnings would indicate. Its progress, nevertheless, was rapid and decided. Luther, whom we have seen in 1522 still hesitating whether to approve the daring innovation of his followers, in April, 1523, himself officiated and preached a sermon in favor of matrimony to a multitude of distinguished friends at the wedding of Wenceslas Link, vicar of the Augustinian order, one of his oldest and most valued supporters, who had stood unflinchingly by him when arraigned by Cardinal Caietano before the Emperor Maximilian at the Diet of Augsburg.[2] Not less important was the countenance given to the innovation, two days later, by the Elector Frederic, who consented to act as sponsor at the baptism of the first-born of Franz Gunther, pastor of Loch;[3] the

---

[1] Jam rumor est plerosque conjuges dudum designasse, non modo apud Helvetios nostros, verum etiam passim apud omnes, quod sopire profecto supra vires fuerit non modo tuas, sed longe potentiores, pace tua dixerimus. —Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1522.

[2] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1523.—Thammii Chron. Colditens.—Link married a daughter of Suicer, a lawyer of Oldenburg in Meissen, and the bride's example was shortly afterwards followed by her two sisters, one of whom was united to Wolfgang Fuess, parish priest of Kolditz, and formerly a monk of Gera; while the other accepted the addresses of the parish priest of Kitscheren. (Spalatin, ubi sup.)

[3] Spalatin, ubi sup.—How these innovations were regarded in Rome is manifested in a minatory epistle addressed, in 1522, by Adrian II. to the Elector Frederic of Saxony. "Et cum ipse sit apostata ac professionis suæ desertor, ut plurimos sui faciat similes, sancta illa Deo vasa polluere non veretur, consecratasque virgines et vitam monasticam professas extrahere a monasteriis suis, et mundo imo diabolo, quem semel abjuraverunt, reddere . . . Christi sacerdotes etiam vilissimis copulat meretricibus etc." (Hartzheim, VI. 192.)

The Lutherans did not escape the

ceremony being performed by the honest chronicler Spalatin himself.

It is curious to see in Spalatin's diary how each successive marriage is recorded as a matter of the utmost interest, the hopes of the reformers being strengthened by every accession to the ranks of those who dared to defy the rules which had been deemed irreversible for centuries. Nor was it an act without danger, for no open rupture had as yet taken place between the temporal power of any state and the central authority at Rome. Even in Electoral Saxony, though Duke Frederic, by a cautious course of passive resistance, afforded protection to the heretics, yet he still considered himself a Catholic, and the ritual of his chapel was unaltered. Elsewhere the ecclesiastical power was bent on asserting its supremacy over the licentious apostates who ventured to sully their vows and prostitute the sacrament of marriage by their incestuous unions, and wherever the discipline of the church could be enforced, it was done unsparingly. The temper of these endeavors to repress the movement is well illustrated by the regulations promulgated under the authority of the Cardinal-legate Campeggi, when, in 1524, he succeeded in uniting a number of reactionary princes at the Assembly of Ratisbon. Deploring the sacrilege committed in the marriages of priests and monks, which were becoming extremely common, he granted permission to the secular powers to seize all such apostates and deliver them to the ecclesiastical officials, significantly restraining them, however, from inflicting torture. The officials were empowered to condemn the offenders to perpetual imprisonment, or to hand them over to the secular arm—a decent euphuism for a frightful death; and any negli-

---

charge of indiscriminate licentiousness, which we have seen asserted of every heresy in every age, for the purpose of exciting ppopular odium. In 1527, at the Council of Mainz, Frederic Nausea, surnamed Blancicampianus, afterwards Bishop of Vienna, delivered an address on the subject of ecclesiastical reform, in which he inveighed bitterly against the Lutheran doctrines, asserting "Monialibus (proh æternum dedecus!) præstare potius quam sub jugo esse monastico, suadent, quibus eapropter vice scortorum execrando abutuntur connubio: conjugia, ut cynici, posthabita omni honestate, communia faciunt."—Synod. Mogunt. ann. 1527 (Hartzheim, VI. 207).

gence on the part of the ordinaries exposed those officers to the pains and penalties of heresy.[1]

In spite of all this, however, the votaries of marriage had the support and sympathy of the great body of the people. It shows how widely diffused and strongly implanted was the conviction of the evils of celibacy, when those who four centuries earlier had so cruelly persecuted their pastors for not discarding their wives now urged them to marriage, and were ready to protect them from the consequences of the act. Thus, during the summer of 1524, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, provost of St. Thomas and priest of the church of St. Peter at Strasburg, by the request of his parishioners, took to himself a wife, and when the chapter of canons endeavored to interfere with him, the threatening aspect of the populace warned them to desist. Nor was this the only case, for Bishop William undertook to excommunicate all the married priests of Strasburg, when the senate of the city resolutely espoused their cause, and even the authority of the legate Campeggi could not reconcile the quarrel.[2]

Even higher protection was sometimes not wanting. When Adrian II., in 1522, reproached the Diet of Nürnberg with the inobservance of the decree of Worms and the consequent growth of Lutheranism, and King Ferdinand, in the name of the German states, replied that a council for the reformation of the church was the only remedy, the question of married priests arose for discussion. The German princes alleged that they could find in the civil and municipal laws no provisions for the punishment of such transgressions, and that the canons of discipline could only be enforced by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves, who ought not to be interfered with in the discharge of their duty by the secular authorities.[3]

---

[1] Reformat. Cleri German. ann. 1524, c. 26 (Goldast. III. 491).

[2] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1524.

[3] Respons. S. R. I. Ordinum Norimb. cap. 18 (Goldast. Const. Imp. I. 455).—With this the Legate Cheregato professed himself to be content, but he bitterly complained of an intimation that if these apostate priests and nuns transgressed the laws in any other way, the secular tribunals would punish them. He held that, though apostates, they were still ecclesiastics, only amenable to the courts Christian, and he protested against any violation of the privileges and jurisdiction of the church such as would be committed in bringing them before a civil magistrate. (Ibid. p. 456.)

This was scant encouragement, but even this was often denied in practice. When, in 1523, Conrad von Tungen, Bishop of Wurzburg, threw into prison two of his canons, the doctors John Apel and Frederic Fischer, for the crime of marrying nuns, the Council of Regency at Nürnberg forced him to liberate them in a few weeks.[1] This latter fact is the more remarkable, since, but a short time previous (March 6th, 1523), the Imperial Diet at Nürnberg, under the auspices of the same Regency, had expressed its desire to give every assistance to the ecclesiastical authority in enforcing the canons. In a decree on the subject of the religious disturbances, it adopted the canon law on celibacy as part of the civil law, pronouncing sentence of imprisonment and confiscation on all members of the clergy who should marry, and ordering the civil power in all cases to assist the ecclesiastical in its efforts to punish offenders.[2]

The emancipation of nuns excited considerable public interest, and in many instances was effected by aid from without. A certain Leonhard Kopp, who was a determined enemy of monachism, rendered himself somewhat notorious by exploits of the kind. One of the earliest instances was that by which, on Easter eve, 1523, at considerable risk, he succeeded in carrying off from the convent of Nimptschen, in Meissen, eight young virgins of noble birth, all of whom were subsequently married, and one of whom was Catharine von Bora.[3] The example was contagious. Before the month was out six nuns, all of noble blood, left the abbey of Sormitz, and soon after eight escaped from that of Peutwitz, at Weissenfels.[4] Monks enfranchised themselves with still less trouble. At

[1] Spalatin. ann. 1523.

[2] De personis ecclesiasticis matrimonium contrahentibus, item de religiosis personis deserentibus sua monasteria, cum in communi jure civili nulla peculiariter constituta sit pœna, valeant et ratæ sint illæ quæ jure canonico in tales decernuntur, amissio videlicet libertatis, privilegiorum, beneficiorum et aliarum rerum. Atque ut ordinarii in exequutione istarum pœnarum a civili magistratu nequaquam impediantur, sed illis ad defensionem ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis opem auxiliumque ferant.—Edict. Norimb. Convent. ann. 1523, c. 10, 18, 19 (Goldast. II. 151).—This illustrates well the vacillating conduct of the council of regency during this period.

[3] Chron. Torgaviæ—Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1523.

[4] Spalatin. ubi sup.

Nürnberg, in 1524, the Augustinians in a body threw off their cowls and proclaimed themselves citizens.[1]

Finally, on the 13th of June, 1525, Luther gave the last and most unquestionable proof of his adhesion to the practice of sacerdotal marriage by publicly espousing Catharine von Bora, whom we have seen escaping two years before from the convent of Nimptschen. Scandal, it would seem, had been busy with the intimacy between the pious doctor and the fair renegade, who had spent nearly the whole period of her liberty at Wittenberg, and Luther, with the practical decision of character which distinguished him, suddenly resolved to put the most effectual stop to rumors which his enemies doubtless were delighted to circulate. The marriage took his friends completely by surprise; many of them disapproved of it, and Justus Jonas, in communicating the fact to Spalatin, characterizes it as a startling event, and evidently feels that his correspondent will require the most incontrovertible evidence of the fact, when he declares that he himself had been present and had seen the bridegroom in the marriage bed.[2]

---

[1] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1524.

[2] Rei insigniter novæ. . . Heri adfui rei et vidi sponsum in thalamo jacentem.—Ibid. ann. 1525.

Pomeranius, a priest of Wittenberg, in writing to Spalatin, gives as the reason of Luther's marriage—"Maligna fama effecit ut Doct. Martinus insperato fieret conjunx;" and Luther, in a letter to the same, admits this even more distinctly—"Os obstruxi infamantibus me cum Catherina Borana." That his action was not generally approved by his friends is apparent from his asking Michael Stiefel to pray that his new life may sanctify him—"Nam vehementer irritantur sapientes, etiam inter nostros."—Spalatin. ubi sup.

That surprise or opposition should have been aroused is singular, when he had already proclaimed the most extreme views in favor of matrimony. As early as 1522 he delivered his famous "Sermo de Matrimonio," in which he enjoins it in the strictest manner as a duty incumbent upon all. Thus, in considering the impediments to marriage, he treats of vows, concerning which he says: "Sin votum admissum est, videndum tibi est, ut supra memoravi, num tribus eviratorum generibus comprehendaris, quæ conjugio ademit Deus, ubi te in aliquo istorum uno non repereris, votum rescindas, monasticen deseras oportet; moxque ad naturalem sociam adjungas te matrimonii lege."—P. I. c. 8 (Opp. V. 121). To this must be added his decided opinions on the subject of conjugal rights, as developed in the well-known passage which has excited so much animadversion, and which, if we are to interpret it literally, conveys a doctrine which sounds so strangely as the precept of a teacher of morality. In treating of the causes of divorce, he remarks: "Tertia ratio est, ubi alter alteri sese subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, aut habitare cum renuerit. Reperiuntur enim interdum adeo pertinaces uxores, qui etiam si decies in libidinem prolabentur mariti pro sua duritia non curarent. Hic oportunum est ut maritus dicat 'Si tu nolueris, alia volet.'

It is not difficult to explain why there was so ready and general an acquiescence in the abrogation of a rule established by the veneration of so many centuries. Not only had the doctrines of the reformers taken a deep and firm hold of the popular heart throughout Germany, destroying the reverence for tradition and antiquity, and releasing the human mind from the crushing obligation of blind obedience, but there were other motives, natural, if not particularly creditable. The ecclesiastical foundations had long neglected the duties of charity, hospitality, and education, on which were grounded their claims to their broad lands and rich revenues. While, therefore, the temporal princes might be delighted with the opportunity of secularizing and seizing the church possessions, the people might reasonably hope that the increase of their rulers' wealth would alleviate their own burdens, as well as release them from the direct oppression which many of them suffered from the religious establishments. Even more potential was the disgust everywhere felt for the flagrant immorality of the priesthood. The dread experienced by every husband and father lest wife and daughter might at any moment fall victims to the lust of those who had every opportunity for the gratification of unholy passions, led them to welcome the change, in the hope that it would result in restoring decency and virtue to a class which had long seemed to regard its sacred character as the shield and instrument of crime.

The moral character of the clergy, indeed, had not improved during the busy and eventful years which marked the first quarter of the sixteenth century. How great was its degradation we can guess, when, in the little town of Hof, in the Vogtland, three priests could be found defiling the sacredness of Ash-Wednesday by fiercely fighting over a

---

Si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla, ita tamen ut antea iterum et tertio uxorem admoneat maritus, et coram aliis ejus etiam pertinaciam detegat, ut publice et ante conspectum ecclesiæ, duritia ejus et agnoscatur et reprehendatur. Si tum renuat, repudia eam, et in vicem Vasti, Ester surroga, Asueri regis exemplo." (Ibid. p. 123.)

One conclusion, at least, can safely be drawn from this, that the morality of the age had impressed Luther with the belief that the self-restraint of chastity was impossible.

courtesan in a house of ill-fame;[1] or when Leo X., in a feeble effort at reform, was obliged to argue that systematic licentiousness was not rendered excusable because its prevalence amounted to a custom, or because it was openly tolerated by those whose duty was to repress it.[2] In fact, a clause in the Concordat with Francis I. in 1516, renewing and enhancing the former punishments for public concubinage, would almost justify the assertion that the principal result of the rule of celibacy was to afford to the officials a regular revenue derived from the sale of licenses to sin[3]—the old complaint, which rises before us in every age from the time of Damiani and Hildebrand.

That no concealment was thought necessary, and that sensual indulgence was not deemed derogatory in any way to the character of a Christian prelate, may be reasonably deduced from the panegyric of Gerard of Nimeguen on Philip of Burgundy, granduncle of Charles V., a learned and accomplished man, who filled the important see of Utrecht from 1517 to 1524. Gerard alludes to the amorous propensities and promiscuous intrigues of his patron without reserve, and as his book was dedicated to the Archduchess Margaret, sister of Charles V., it is evident that he did not feel his remarks to be defamatory. The good prelate, too, no doubt represented the

---

[1] Wideman. Chron. Curiæ, ann. 1505.

[2] Neque superiorum tolerantia, seu prava consuetudo, quæ potius corruptela dicenda est, a multitudine peccantium, aliave quælibet excusatio eis aliquo modo suffragetur.—Concil. Lateran. V. ann. 1514, Sess. IX.

That Leo's protest was not uncalled for is shown by a remark in a series of canons issued by the Bishop of Ratisbon in 1512. After repeating the canon of Bâle, he proceeds—"quidam tamen clerici, . . . concubinas publice tenere adeo inverecunde præsumunt, quod quidem cæcitate mentis neque scandalum neque peccatum esse putant . . . sed eorum pravo exemplo multos quotidie inficiunt et corrumpunt."—Statut. Synod. Joan. Episc. Ratispon. ann. 1512 (Hartzheim, VI. 86).

What was the condition of clerical morality in Italy may be gathered from the stories of Bishop Bandello, who, as a Dominican and a prelate, may fairly be deemed to represent the tone of the thinking and educated classes of society. The cynical levity with which he narrates scandalous tales about monks and priests (as, for instance, Novelle P. III. Nov. lvi.) shows that in the public mind sacerdotal immorality was regarded almost as a matter of course.

[3] Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quæstus a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in tali fœditate sordescere.—Concil. Lateran. V. ann. 1516, Sess. XI.

convictions of a large portion of his class, when he was wont to smile at those who urged the propriety of celibacy, and to declare his belief in the impossibility of chastity among men who, like the clergy, were pampered with high living and tempted by indolence. Those who professed to keep their vows inviolate he denounced as hypocrites of the worst description, and he deemed them far worse than their brethren who sought to avoid unnecessary scandal by decently keeping their concubines at home.[1]

The powerful influence of this on the progress of the Reformation was admitted by the legate Campeggi, who was sent to Germany to check the spread of heresy. In his reformatory edict, issued at Ratisbon in 1524, he declares that the efforts of the Lutherans had no little justification in the detestable morals and lives of the clergy, and this is confirmed by his unsparing denunciation of their licentiousness, drunkenness, quarrels, and tavern-haunting; their traffic in absolution for enormous offences; their unclerical habits and hideous blasphemy; their indulgence in incantations and dabbling in witchcraft.[2] Very significant is his declaration

---

[1] Ipse enim in Venerem propensior, inque adulescentularum amoribus ardentior erat. Si quis . . . cœlibatum prædicasset, irridebat vehementer, impossibile dicens, homines integro corpore, ætate, in tanto ocio, in tanta rerum omnium copia, qui crebro aut vino calerent aut turgerent cerevisia, posse caste vivere. Quare horum castitatem impurissimam humanæ naturæ contumeliam interpretabatur. Sacrificulos qui domi concubinas alerent, simulatæ castitatis professoribus multo puriores judicabat. — Gerard. Noviomag. Philip. Burgund. (Mathæi Analect. I. 230).

[2] Reformat. Cleri German. (Hartzheim, VI. 198).—"Hanc perditissimam hæresin . . . non parvam habuisse occasionem, partim a perditis moribus et vita clericorum etc."

There was no scruple in confessing this fact by those who spoke authoritatively for the Catholic church, and it long continued to be alleged as the cause of the stubbornness of the heretics. Thus the Bishop of Constance, in the canons of his Synod of 1567—"Estote etiam memores, damnatam et detestandam cleri vitam huic malo in quo, proh dolor! versamur, majori ex parte ansam præbuisse. . . . Omnes sapientes peritique viri unanimi sententia hoc asserunt, hocque efflagitant penitus, ut prius clerus ecclesiarumque ministri ac doctores a vitæ sordibus repurgentur, quam ulla cum adversariis nostris de doctrina concordia expectari queat." And then, after describing in the strongest terms the vices of the clergy and their unwillingness to reform, he adds "Quæ sane morum turpitudo, vehementer et tantopere imperiti populi animos offendit ut subinde magis magisque a catholica nostra religione alienior efficiatur, atque sacerdotium una cum sacerdotibus doctrinam juxta atque doctores, execretur, dirisque devoveat: ita ut protinus ad quamvis sectam deficere potius paratus sit quam quod ad ecclesiam redire

that the canonical punishments shall be inflicted on concubinary priests, in spite of all custom to the contrary or all connivance with the prelates.[1]

How keenly these evils were felt by the people, and how instinctively they were referred to the rule of celibacy as to their proper origin, is shown by an incidental allusion in the formula of complaint laid before the pope by the imperial Diet held at Nürnberg early in 1522, before the heresy of priestly marriage had spread beyond the vicinity of Wittenberg or had received the sanction of Luther. The Diet, in recounting the evils arising from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which allowed clerical offenders to enjoy virtual immunity, adduced, among other grievances, the license afforded to those who, debarred by the canons from marriage, abandoned themselves night and day to attempts upon the virtue of the wives and daughters of the laity, sometimes gaining their ends by flattery and presents, and sometimes taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the confessional. It was not uncommon, indeed, for women to be openly carried off by their priests, while their husbands and fathers were threatened with vengeance if they should attempt to recover them. As regards the sale to ecclesiastics of licenses to indulge in habitual lust, the Diet declared it to be a regular and settled matter, reduced to the form of an annual tax, which in most

---

velit."—Synod. Constant. ann. 1567 (Hartzheim, VII. 455).

Pius V. himself did not hesitate to adopt the same view. In an epistle addressed to the abbots and priors of the diocese of Freysingen, in 1567, he says—"Cum nobiscum ipsi cogitamus quæ res materiam præbuerit tot tantisque pestiferis hæresibus . . . tanti mali causam præcipue fuisse judicamus corruptos prælatorum mores, qui . . . eandemque vivendi licentiam iis, quibus præerant permittentes et exemplo eos suo corrumpentes, maximum apud laicos odium contemptionem et invidiam non immerito contraxerunt." (Hartzheim, VII. 586.)

[1] Reformat. Cleri German. cap. xv. —So when, in 1521, Conrad, Bishop of Wurzburg, issued a mandate for the reformation of his clergy, he described them as for the most part abandoned to gluttony, drunkenness, gambling, quarrelling, and lust.—Mandat. pro Reformat. Cleri. (Gropp, Script. Rer. Wirceburg. I. 269.)—In 1505 the Bishop of Bamberg, in complaining of his clergy, shows us how little respect was habitually paid to the incessant repetition of the canons.—"Condolenter referimus vitam et honestatem clericalem adeo apud quamplures nostrarum civitatis et dioceseos clericos esse obumbratam ut vix inter clericos et laycos discrimen habeatur: et ipsa statuta nostra synodalia in ipsorum clericorum cordibus obliterata et a pluribus non visa aut perlecta vilipendantur: nullam propter nostram, quam hactenus pii pastoris more tolleravimus patientiam, capientes emendationem."—(Hartzheim, VI. 66.)

dioceses was exacted of all the clergy without exception, so that when those who perchance lived chastely demurred at the payment, they were told that the bishop must have the money, and that after it was handed over they might take their choice whether to keep concubines or not.[1]

When the laity thus rudely complained of the corruption of their pastors, it is interesting to see what was the view of the subject taken by those ecclesiastics whose purity of life removed them from all temptation to indulgence, and who yet were not personally interested in upholding the gigantic but decaying structure of sacerdotalism. Of these men Erasmus may be taken as the representative. His opinion on all the questions of the day was too eagerly desired for him to escape the necessity of pronouncing his verdict on the innovation portended by the one or two marriages which took place near Wittenberg in 1521, and accordingly, in 1522, from his retreat at Bâle he issued a short dissertation on the subject, which, although addressed merely to Bishop Christopher of that city, was evidently intended for a European

[1] Sæpenumero enim compertum est ut quum ita consecratis, præsertim sacerdotibus, per jura canonica legitimæ uxores sint interdictæ; quod dehinc pudicitiam matronarum, virginum, laicorum scilicet uxorum, filiarum, sororumque attentant, ac noctu interdiuque sollicitant. Efficiunt quoque per assiduum ac indefessum laborem, partim muneribus, donis ac blanditiis, ut complures honestæ alioqui virgines et matronæ, partim etiam in secretis, quas vocant confessionibus (id quod eventu compertum est) diuturna opera labefactentur, ad peccata, offendiculaque commoveantur. Nec raro etiam evenit ut ii, uxores et filias, maritis patribusque detineant et remorentur; minantes interim gladio, aqua, ignive, ulturos repetitas uxores.—Gravamin. Ordin. Imperii cap. xxi. (Goldast. I. 464).

Officiales . . . insuper etiam clericos religiososque et seculares, accepto ab eisdem annuo censu, publice cum suis concubinis, pellicibus, et aliis id genus meretricibus, illegitime cohabitare, liberosque procreare sinunt.—Ibid. cap. lvii.

Item in locis plerisque episcopi et eorum officiales, non solum sacerdotum tolerant concubinatum, dummodo certa persolvatur pecunia; sed et sacerdotes continentes, et qui absque concubinis degunt, concubinatus censum persolvere cogunt; asserentes episcopum pecuniæ indigum esse, qua soluta, licere sacerdotibus ut vel cœlibes permaneant, vel concubinas alant. Quam res hæc sit nephanda nemo non intelligit.—Ibid. cap. lxx.

When such complaints were made by the highest authority in the empire, it is not difficult to understand the reasons which led the senate of Nürnberg—which city had not yet embraced the Reformation—to deprive, in 1524, the Dominicans and Franciscans of the superintendence and visitation of the nuns of St. Catherine and St. Clare; nor do we need Spalatin's malicious suggestion—"cura et visitatione, pene dixeram corruptione."—Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1524.

audience. In this essay, after sketching the rise of celibacy and attributing it to the purity and fervor of the early Christians, he proceeds to depict the altered condition of the church. Among the innumerable multitude of priests who crowd the monasteries, the chapters, and the parishes, he declares that there are few indeed whose lives are pure, even as respects open and avowed concubinage, without penetrating into the mysteries of secret intrigue. As, therefore, there is no Scriptural injunction of celibacy, he concludes that, however desirable it might be to have ministers free from the cares of marriage and devoting themselves solely to the service of God, yet since it seems impossible to conquer the rebellious flesh, it would be better to allow those who cannot control themselves to have wives with whom they could live in virtuous peace, bringing up their children in the fear of God, and earning the respect of their flocks. No more startling evidence, indeed, of the demoralization of the period could be given than the cautious fear which Erasmus expresses lest such a change should be opposed by the episcopal officials, who would object to the diminution of their unhallowed gains levied on the concubines of the clergy.[1]

[1] Quot examina sacerdotum alunt monasteria, quot collegia? ac præter hos etiam innumerabilis est ubique sacerdotum multitudo. Et inter hos quanta raritas eorum qui caste vivunt? De his loquor qui domi palam alunt concubinas uxorum loco. Nec enim attingo nunc secretiorum libidinum mysteria. Et hæc quum sciamus, tamen in admittendo ad sacrum ordinem facillimi sumus, in relaxanda cœlibatus constitutione difficillimi, quum contra Paulus docuerit, nemini facile manum imponendam . . . De cœlibatu neque Christus neque Apostoli legem aliquam in sacris litteris præfixerunt . . . Quod si his qui se non côntinent, concederetur matrimonium, et ipsi viverent quietius, et populo cum autoritate prædicarent verbum Dei, et liberos suos liberaliter educandos curarent, nec alteri alteris vicissim essent probro . . . Sed ut ecclesiæ proceres admoneam, dispiciant an expediat veteram constitutionem ad præsentem utilitatem accommodari . . . Nihil magis optandum quam ut sacerdos immunis a conjugio, liber ac totus serviat Domino suo. Sed si frustra tentatis remediis omnibus vinci non potest carnis rebellio, superest ut cum una caste vivat, ad remedium habens uxorem, non ad voluptatem. . . . Si episcopi tentent mutare, fortasse reclament officiales, qui plus sentiunt rediturum ex concubinis sacerdotum, quam censuri sint ex uxoribus. — Erasmi Lib. XXXI. Epist. 43.

Notwithstanding the sarcasm, popularly attributed to Erasmus, on the occasion of Luther's union with Catherine von Bora—that the Reformation had turned out to be a comedy, seeing that it resulted in a marriage — he continued to raise his voice in favor of abolishing the rule of celibacy. Thus he writes, in October, 1525, "Ve-

When such was the condition of ecclesiastical morality, and such were the opinions of all except those directly interested in upholding the old order of things, it is no wonder if the people were disposed to look with favor on the marriage of their pastors, and if the rejection of celibacy gave a fresh impetus to the cause of Lutheranism. In the early days of all sects, it is only those of ardent faith and pure zeal who are likely to embrace a new belief, with all the attendant risks of persecution and contumely. The laxity of life allowed to the Catholic clergy would attract to its ranks and retain there all those whose aim was sensual indulgence. Thus, necessarily, the reformers who married would present for contrast regular and chaste lives and well-ordered households, purified by the dread of the ever-impending troubles to which the accident of a day might at any time expose them. The comparison thus was in every way favorable to the new ideas, and they flourished accordingly.

Nor, perhaps, were the worldly inducements to which I have before alluded less powerful in their own way in advancing the cause. Shortly before Luther's marriage, whatever influence was derivable from an aristocratic example was obtained when the Baron of Heydeck, a knight of the Teutonic order, renounced his vows and publicly espoused a nun of Ligny.[1] This may possibly have encouraged his superior, Albert of Brandenburg, grand-master of the order, to execute his remarkably successful coup d'état in changing his religion and seizing the estates of the order, thus practically founding the state which chance and talent have exalted into the powerful and protestant kingdom of Prussia. The liberty of marriage which he thus assumed was soon turned to account in his advantageous alliance with Frederic, King of Denmark, whose daughter Dorothea he espoused, the

hementer laudo cœlibatum, sed ut nunc habet sacerdotum ac monachorum vita, præsertim apud Germanos, præstaret indulgeri remedium matrimonii." (Lib. XVIII. Epist. 9.) And again, in 1526, "Ego nec sacerdotibus permitto conjugium, nec monachis relaxo vota, ni id fiat ex auctoritate Pontificum, ad ædificationem ecclesiæ non ad destructionem . . . In primis optandum esset sacerdotes et monachos castitatem ac cœlestem vitam amplecti. Nunc rebus adeo contaminatis, fortasse levius malum erat eligendum" (Lib. XVIII. Epist. 4).

[1] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1525.

Bishop of Szamland officiating as his proxy, and the actual marriage being celebrated June 14, 1526.[1]

Luther may reasonably be held excusable for counselling and aiding a transaction which lent such incalculable strength to the struggling cause of the Reformation, and it is not to be wondered at if he endeavored to follow it up with another of a similar character. The nephew of the Duke of Prussia, also named Albert of Brandenburg, occupied the highest place in the Teutonic hierarchy, as Archbishop both of Mainz and Magdeburg, in the latter of which powerful sees the Lutheran heresies had taken deep root. Luther sought to induce the archbishop to follow his uncle's example; to take possession in his own right of the Magdeburg territories, and to transmit them to the posterity with which heaven could not fail to bless his prospective marriage—a scheme which met the warm approbation of the leading nobles of the diocese. Albert thought seriously of the project, especially as the Peasants' War then raging was directed particularly against the lands of the church, but he finally abandoned it, and his flock had to work out their reformation without his assistance.[2]

Perhaps some plans of territorial aggrandizement may have stimulated the zeal of the Count of Embden, who boasted that he had assisted and encouraged the marriage of no less than five hundred monks and nuns;[3] yet the process of secularizing the monastic foundations was in many places by no means sudden or violent. Thus, when the Abbot of Ilgenthal in Saxony died in 1526, the Elector John simply forbade the election of a successor, and placed the abbey in charge of a prefect, while the remaining monks were liberally supplied until they one after another died out.[4]

Through all this period the hope had never been abandoned of such an arrangement as would prevent an irrevocable separation in the church. Moderate and temperate men on both

[1] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1526.

[2] Henke Append. ad Calixt. p. 595.—Serrarii Rerum Mogunt. Lib. v. (Script. Rer. Mogunt. I. 831, 839). As Albert, though Primate of Germany, was only thirty-five or six years of age, the proposition was not an unreasonable one.

[3] Spalatin. Annal. ann. 1526.

[4] Thammii Chron. Coldicens.

sides were ready to make such concessions of form as would enable Christendom to remain united, the great vital truths on which all were agreed so far outweighing the points of divergence. Whether these hopes were well or ill-founded was to be determined at the Diet of Augsburg, to which, in June, 1530, both parties were summoned for the purpose of submitting their differences to the emperor. Charles came to Germany in the full flush of his recent extraordinary triumphs, the most powerful prince since the days of Charlemagne. Europe was at length at peace, even the Turk only looming in the East as a probable, not as an existing enemy. But Charles, newly crowned at Bologna, came as the steadfast ally of the pope, and Clement VII. had not the slightest intention of renouncing the traditional and imprescriptible rights of the Holy See. The Catholic princes of Germany, too, had their grounds of private quarrel with their Protestant peers, and, holding an unquestioned majority, were not disposed to abandon their position. The Protestant princes, on the other hand, were firm in their new-found faith, and however disposed to avert the threatened storm by the sacrifice of non-essentials, their convictions were too strong for them to retrace the steps which they had taken during so many long and weary years. It is evident that, with such materials on either side, no reunion was probable; and even had an accommodation on points of doctrine been possible, there was one subject which scarcely admitted of satisfactory compromise. In the states of the reform, the downfall of monachism had placed in the hands of the temporal powers large bodies of sequestrated abbey lands. To the Catholic it was sacrilege to leave these in the hands of the spoiler; the Protestant would not willingly give up the fortune thus acquired.

The contest was opened by the Protestants submitting a statement of their belief, divided into two parts, the one devoted to points of faith, the other to matters of practice. Prepared principally by Melancthon, it presents their tenets in the mildest and least objectionable form, and becoming the recognized standard of their creed, it has attained a world-wide renown under the name of the Confession of Augsburg. The questions of celibacy and monastic vows were ably and

temperately argued; their post-scriptural origin was shown, and the reasons which induced the reformers to reject them were placed in a light as little offensive as possible.[1] At first, a counter-statement was anticipated from the Catholics, and negotiations were expected to be carried on by a comparison of the two, but they took higher ground, and contented themselves with drawing up a refutation of the Confession. The emperor was firm. His religious belief was too unwavering, and his political alliance with Rome too close for him to feel any emotion save that of surprise and indignation at the Protestant princes in their resistance to the combined authority of himself, of the Diet, and of the church. He was inclined to summary measures, but the Catholic princes were hardly prepared for the consequences of an immediate rupture, and, after a threatening interval, another effort was made to effect a reconciliation. Conferences between the leading theologians on both sides took place, and the Lutherans, warned of their danger, were more disposed than ever to make concessions and to accept such terms as the stronger party were willing to offer them. At length, on the 8th of September, the draft of a proposed plan of accord was laid before the Diet. In this the points in dispute were referred to that future œcumenic council which had so long been demanded as the panacea for all ecclesiastical ills, and which, after more than thirty years of continued expectation, was destined to fail so miserably in reconciling difficulties. Such monasteries as had not been destroyed were to be maintained in the exercise of the customary rites and observances of religion. Abbots and communities who had been ejected were to be allowed to return; and all religious houses which had been emptied of their occupants were to be placed in the hands of officers appointed by the emperor, who were to administer to their possessions until the future council should decide upon all the points relating to monachism; the Protestants thus relieving themselves of the accusation that they were actuated by motives of worldly gain. Similar proposals were made with regard to communion in the two elements and clerical

[1] Confess. Augustanæ P. II. Art. ii. vi.

marriage. These were left as open questions for the council to settle, a phrase of doubtful import subjecting them meanwhile to the governments of the several states[1] The concessions in this project, however, though they might suit the views of temperate doctors and princes in Germany, were not likely to find favor with immovable Rome, and the legate Campeggi found little difficulty in causing its rejection by the Diet. The restoration of all abbots and monks was ordered; restitution of church lands was commanded, or their delivery to the emperor to be held until the assembling of the future council; and when the Diet adjourned, Charles issued a decree enjoining on all married priests to abstain from their wives, to eject them, and to seek absolution from their ordinaries.[2]

The threatening aspect of affairs warned the Protestant princes that no time was to be lost in making provision for mutual defence, and ere the year was out the famous League of Schmalcalden enabled them to present a united front to the powers which they had virtually defied. Into the political history of that eventful time it is not my province to enter. Suffice it to say that they were able to maintain their position, and in their own states to oppose the reactionary movement which at times seemed to be on the point of destroying all that had been accomplished.

In this their task was complicated by the extravagances of those whose enthusiasm, unbalanced by reason, carried them beyond restraint. If Luther had found it no easy task to break the chains which for so many ages had kept in check the spirit of free inquiry, he discovered that it was impossible to control that spirit once let loose; and the wild excesses of Anabaptism were at once the exaggeration and the opprobrium of Lutheranism. Originally earnest and self-denying, the primitive Anabaptists had captivated the fiery soul of Carlostadt, while Luther was in his Patmos of Wartburg, but the pure asceticism of Storck and Muncer gradually grew irksome to the followers who flocked to their standard, and, if

[1] Deliberat. de Concordia, etc. c. iii. v. (Goldast. I. 509).

[2] Sentent. Caroli V. § 5 (Ibid. I. 510).—Rescript. Caroli V. § 5 (Ibid. III. 512). Henke, Append. ad Calixt. pp. 595–6.

we may believe contemporary writers, the unchaining of human passions in that lawless horde resulted in the *igneum baptisma*, or fiery baptism, by which at Munster John Mathison encouraged the most hideous licentiousness in the elect, to be followed up by his successor John of Leyden, who, in imitation of the patriarchs, promulgated the law of polygamy.[1]

Luther, however, was quite as resolute in setting limits to his movement as Rome had been in forbidding all progress, and the Anabaptists were to him enemies as detestable as Catholics. The Protestant princes, moreover, had too much worldly wisdom to imperil their dangerous career by any alliance with fanatics whose extravagances provoked abhorrence so general. The cause of the Reformation, therefore, although it suffered no little from so portentous an illustration of the dangers resulting from the destruction of the ancient barriers, escaped all contamination in itself, and its leaders pursued their course undeviatingly.

Meanwhile the League of Schmalcalden accomplished its purpose. Henry VIII. and Francis I. were eager to seize the opportunity of encouraging dissension in the empire. The Turk became more menacing than ever. Charles, always ready to yield for a time when opposition was impolitic, gracefully abandoned the position assumed at Augsburg; and the negotiations of Schweinfurth and Nürnberg resulted in the decree of the Diet of Ratisbon in 1532, by which, until the assembling of the future council, all religious disturbances were prohibited, and the imperial chamber was commanded to undertake no prosecutions on account of heresy. Toleration was thus practically established for the moment, but the abbots and monks who had been ejected, and who had been anticipating their restoration, became naturally restive. Charles cunningly sent from Italy full powers to the chamber to decide as to what causes arose from religious disputes, and what were simply civil or criminal. Thus intrusted with the interpretation of the Ratisbon decree, the chamber assumed that claims on church lands were not included in the forbidden

[1] Kerssenbroch Bell. Anabaptist. cap. 15, 31.

class, while old edicts prohibiting the observances of Lutheranism brought all religious questions within the scope of criminal law. The promised toleration was thus practically denied, but, fortunately for the Protestants, Ferdinand was anxiously negotiating for their recognition of his dignity as king of the Romans, and by the Transaction of Cadam in 1533 he purchased the coveted homage by accepting their construction of the edict of Ratisbon.

Still the Protestants complained of persecution and the Catholics of proselytism. The ensuing fifteen years were filled with a series of bootless negotiations, pretended settlements, quarrels, recriminations, and mutual encroachments which year after year occupied the successive Diets, and kept Germany constantly trembling on the verge of a desolating civil war. It would be useless to disturb the dust that covers these forgotten transactions, which can teach us nothing save that the Protestants still refused to recognize that the schism was past human power to heal; that Rome, as immovable as ever, would not abate one jot of her pretensions to save her supremacy over half of Christendom; and that Charles, as a wily politician, was always ready in adversity to abandon with a good grace that which he had arrogantly seized in prosperity.[1]

In all this the only point which possesses special interest for us is another attempt at reconciling the irreconcilable which occurred in 1541. After a conference between Melancthon and Dr. Eck at Worms, Charles himself presented to the Diet of Ratisbon a statement of the questions in dispute, with propositions for mutual concession and compromise. In the course of this, he reviewed the practice of the church in various ages with regard to sacerdotal celibacy, admitting that the enforcement of it was not in accordance with the ancient canons, and indicating a willingness to see it abrogated.[2] The Protestants, who were ready to make many sacrifices for peace, hailed this intimation with triumph,

---

[1] An elaborate series of documents relating to these transactions may be found in Goldast. Constit. Imp. I. 511, III. 172–235.

[2] Lib. ad Rationem Concord. ineundam Art. XXII. § 13 (Goldast. II. 199).

stoutly insisting on the repeal of the obnoxious rule, which they stigmatized as unjust and pernicious.[1] So nearly did the parties at length approach each other, that there appeared every reason to anticipate a successful result to the effort, when Paul III. again interfered and pronounced all the proceedings null and void, as the church alone had power to regulate its internal affairs.

Charles had long recognized that the perpetual menace of a powerful confederation such as the Schmalcaldic League, entertaining constant relations with the external enemies of the empire, was incompatible with the peace of Germany and with the imperial power such as he was resolved to wield. The time at last came for the development of his plans. The skill of Alva and the treachery of Maurice of Saxony were crowned with success. The battle of Muhlberg broke the power of the Protestants utterly, and laid them helpless at the feet of their bitterest foes. Yet the progress of the new ideas had already placed them beyond the control of even the triumphant Charles, though he had the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse in his dungeons. When, at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1548, he proposed the curious arrangement known as the *Interim*, by which he hoped to keep matters quiet until the final verdict of that œcumenic council which constantly vanished in the distance, he felt it necessary to permit all married priests to retain their wives until the question should be decided by the future council. A faint expression of a preference for celibacy, moreover, was significant both in what it said and what it left unsaid.[2]

---

[1] Ideo oramus ut ex ecclesia tollatur hæc injusta et perniciosa lex de cœlibatu.—Respons. Protestant. Art. x. § 3 (Ibid. II. 206). This was still more strongly insisted on in a paper subsequently drawn up by Bucer and presented in the name of the Protestants.—Respons. Protestant. c. 11-14 (Ibid. p. 213).

[2] Et quanquam cum Apostolo sentiendum eum qui cœlebs est curare quæ sunt Domini etc. (I. Cor. vii.) eoque magis optandum multos inveniri clericos qui cum cœlibes sint vere etiam contineant, tamen quum multi qui ministerii ecclesiastici functiones tenent, jam multis in locis duxerint uxores, quas a se dimittere nolint; super ea re generalis concilii sententia expectetur, cum alioqui mutatio in ea re, ut nunc sunt tempora, sine gravi rerum perturbatione nunc fieri non possit.—Interim, cap. xxvi. § 17.

Charles must have entertained the expectation that a change would be authorized by the council of Trent, or prudence would have dictated the

The Interim, of course, satisfied neither party. The Catholics regarded it as an unauthorized reformation, the Protestants as disguised popery. Charles, however, in the plenitude of his power, obliged many of the Lutheran states to accept it; while, as regards the Catholics, he was perhaps not sorry to show the pope that he, too, like Henry VIII., could regulate the consciences of his subjects, and prescribe their religious faith. He had broken with Paul III.; the council of Trent, against his wishes, had been removed to Bologna on a frivolous pretext; and a schism like that of England was apparently impending. At the least, Charles might not unreasonably desire to manifest that at last he was independent of that papal power with which mutual necessities had so long enforced the closest relations, and to show that deference to his wishes was henceforth to be the price of his all-important support. The steps taken by Paul prove not only the disposition which then existed to relax the rigor of the canons respecting celibacy, but also the importance which the question had assumed in the religious disputes of the time. He forthwith despatched to Germany three nuncios, on whom he conferred power to grant the use of the cup to the laity, and, under certain restrictions, to permit the marriage of the clergy, with instructions to give dispensations to such married priests as they might consider to be deserving.[1]

Temporary expedients and compromises such as these are interesting merely as they mark the progress of opinion. Paltry make-shifts to elude the decision of that which had to be decided, they exercised little real influence on the history

policy of not leaving the matter open with the consciousness that the difficulty could only become daily greater by tolerance.

[1] Pallavicini (Storia del Concilio di Trento Lib. XII. c. 8) states that these nuncios were sent at the request of the emperor, who desired them to have full power to concede the cup to the laity and marriage to the priesthood, but that the authority was only granted subject to certain limitations, although many Catholics thought that these concessions were all that were wanted to effect a reunion of the church. Zaccaria (Nuova Giustificaz. pp. 145, 266), while admitting the fact, states that the original of this document has been sought for in vain.

Both from this and from the language of the Interim, it would seem that even the Catholic priesthood had begun to attribute to themselves the right of marriage. That such was the case to a great extent will be seen hereafter.

of the time. It is true that when Charles, in 1551, at the Diet of Augsburg, issued a call for the reassembling of the council of Trent, he confirmed the Interim until that council should decide all unsettled questions,[1] yet this confirmation was destined to be effective for a period ludicrously brief. A fresh treason of Maurice of Saxony undid all that his former plotting had accomplished; and, while Henry II. was winning at the expense of the empire the delusive title of Conqueror, Charles found himself reduced to the hard necessity of restoring all that his crooked policy had for so many years been devoted to extorting. The Transaction of Passau, signed August 2d, 1552, gave full liberty of conscience to the Lutheran states, until a national council or Diet should devise means of restoring the unity of the church; and in case such means could not be agreed upon, then the rights guarantied by the Transaction were granted in perpetuity.[2] If Charles was disposed to withdraw the concessions thus exacted of him, the miserable siege of Metz and the increasing desire for abdication prevented him from attempting it; and, at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1555, the states and cities of the Augsburg Confession were confirmed in their right to enjoy the practices of their religion in peace.[3]

The long struggle thus was over. The public law of Germany at last recognized the legality of the transactions based upon the Reformation, and not the least in importance among those transactions were the marriages of the ministers of Christ.

Let us now inquire what influence the contest exercised upon the discipline of the Catholic church itself.

---

[1] Recess. ann. 1551 c. 10 (Goldast. II. 341).

[2] Transac. Pataviens. Artic. de Relig. (Ibid. I. 573).

[3] Ibid. I. 574.

XXVI.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

It has already been shown that the dissolute and unchristian life of the priesthood was one of the efficient causes which led to the success of the Reformation. At an early period in the movement, the Catholic church felt the necessity of purifying itself, if it was to retain the veneration of the people; and the veneration of the people was now not merely a source of revenue, but a condition of the very existence of the stupendous structure reared upon the credulity of ages. As soon as it became clearly apparent that Lutheranism was not to be suppressed by the ordinary machinery, and that it was spreading with a rapidity which portended the worst results, an effort was made to remove the reproach which incorrigible immorality had entailed upon the church. Allusion has been made above to the stringent measures of reform proclaimed by the legate Campeggi at Ratisbon, in 1524, in which he acknowledged that the new heresy had no little excuse in the detestable morals and abandoned lives of the clergy—a truth repeatedly admitted by the ecclesiastical authorities.[1] His well-meant endeavors had little result, and

[1] The orator of the council of Cologne in 1527 sharply reminded the assembled prelates that they must set the example of obeying their own laws, and that they could not expect the people to reverence the true church so long as it notoriously bade defiance to the laws of God and man. "Quasi præscribatur lex cujus sancitor voluerit esse exlex. Parendum enim est legi quam quisque sancit . . . Audis præterea non licere plurimas habere uxores, quæ animum tuum alliciant; non decere domi alere tot scorta tot Veneres, quæ te continue exedunt, tuamque substantiam disperdunt. . . . His et aliis datur scandalum populo; præbetur offendiculum vulgo, cui hac tempestate vilet et contemptui est ordo quilibet sacer. Vilis plebs te sacerdotem nunc cachinnis atque ludibriis incessit et odit, qui calumniandi ansam ultro præbueris. Dicit namque: tot hic, aut ille, scorta domi suæ ex patrimonio Crucifixi nutrit, quo non sordida scorta, sed pau-

we have seen that, some years later, Erasmus still urged the abolition of the rule of celibacy as the only practicable mode of removing the scandal.

Not long afterwards the Gallican church made a strenuous effort of the same nature to check the spread of Lutheranism. In 1528 the Cardinal-legate Duprat, Chancellor of France, held a council in Paris, where he condemned, seriatim, the new doctrines as heresies, and elevated the rule of celibacy to the dignity of a point of faith.[1] He also caused the adoption of a series of canons designed to remove from the church the disgrace caused by the laxity of clerical morals and manners. The bishops were instructed to enforce the decrees of the councils and of the fathers until concubinage and incontinence should be completely exterminated, and a rule was laid down which would have been eventually effectual if conscientiously carried out. No one was thereafter to be admitted to holy orders without written testimony as to his age and moral character from his parish priest, substantiated by the oaths of two or three approved witnesses.[2] At the same time similar councils were held at Bourges by the Cardinal Arch-

---

peres Christi forent sustentandi."—Concil. Colon. ann. 1527 (Hartzheim, VI. 210–213).

So at the council of Augsburg, in 1548, the orator dwelt upon the advantage which the heretics derived from the sins of the clergy—"Non estis nescii, quemadmodum nos hæretici apud populum perpetuo traducant: nos scortatores, nos ambitiosos, nos avaros, nos ignavos et rudes esse, nos otio semper, luxui et ventri servire, identidem vociferantur . . . Superbe itaque illi: sed utinam non nimium sæpe vere: nam si vera potius hoc loco, quam plausibilia, dicenda sint; negare certe non possumus, quin maximam ad nos accusandos occasionem sæpe dederimus."—Concil Augustan. ann. 1548 (Hartzheim, VI. 388).

Even after the council of Trent the same humiliating admissions continued to be made. At the council of Salzburg, in 1569, Christopher Spandel, in the closing address, asked the assembled prelates "Quis non animadvertit ex tali vitiosa licentia secutum extremum contemptum cleri? quo quid quæso (præsertim apud nos Germanos) contemptius, quid nomine sacerdotis otiosius esse potest? aut quid magis, ab omnibus fere ludibrio exponitur et subsannatur ipso clero?"—Synod. Salisburg. ann. 1569 (Hartzheim, VII. 407).

[1] Quisquis igitur contra sacrorum conciliorum et patrum decreta, sacerdotes, diaconos aut subdiaconos lege cœlibatus non teneri docuerit aut liberas illis concesserit nuptias, inter hæreticos, omni tergiversatione rejecta, numeretur.—Concil. Paris. ann. 1528, Decret. 8.

This, I think, is the first authoritative promulgation of Damiani's doctrine, which, as we shall hereafter see, was adopted and extended by the council of Trent.

[2] Ibid. can. 3, 27.

bishop Tournon, and at Lyons by Claude, Bishop of Macon. To what extent these excellent rules were put in force may be guessed by a description of the French clergy in 1560, as portrayed by Monluc, Bishop of Valence, in a speech before the royal council. The parish priests were for the most part engrossed in worldly pursuits, and had obtained their preferment by illicit means, nor did there seem much prospect of an improvement so long as the prelates were in the habit of bestowing the benefices within their gift on their lackeys, barbers, cooks, and other serving men, rendering the ecclesiastics as a body an object of contempt to the people.[1] We need, therefore, not be surprised to find in the councils of the period a repetition of all the old injunctions, showing that the maintenance of improper consorts and the disgrace of priestly families were undiminished evils.[2]

In 1530 Clement VII. addressed himself vigorously to the task of putting an end to the scandalous practice of hereditary transmission of benefices, which he describes as almost universal. A special Bull was issued, prohibiting the children of priests or monks from enjoying any preferment in their father's benefices, and providing that if he or his successors should grant dispensations permitting such infraction of the canons, they should be considered as issued unwittingly, and be held null and void.[3] Like so many others, this Bull seems to have been forgotten almost as soon as issued, and the pecu-

[1] "Que les curés ignorans, avares, occupés à toute autre chose qu'à leur charge, avoyent estés pour la plus part pourveus de leurs cures par moyens illicites; qu' autant de deux escus que les banquiers avoyent envoyés à Rome, autant de curés nous avoyent-ils renvoyés. Les cardinaux, les évesques n'avoient faict difficulté de bailler leurs bénéfices à leurs maistres d'hostels, voire à leurs varlets de chambre, cuisiniers, barbiers et leurs laquais; si bien que les personnes ecclésiastiques s'estoyent rendues odieux et contemptibles à tout le monde."—Pierre de la Place, Estat de Rel. et Rep. Liv. III.

[2] Concil. Narbonnens. ann. 1551, can. 22 (Harduin. X. 468).

[3] Bull. ad Canonum (Mag. Bull. Roman. Ed. 1692, I. 682). "Cum passim sacerdotes ut ecclesiis suis eorum filii potirentur . . . videlicet quod ipsi presbyteri eorum crimen, quod erat occultum, non sine turpitudine, ob inordinatum spuriorum filiorum amorem detegere non erubescerent," etc.

Alexander III., in prohibiting the sons of priests from enjoying their fathers' benefices, had permitted it if a third party intervened, and a dispensation for the irregularity were obtained. The letter of this law was frequently observed, but its spirit eluded by nominally passing the preferment through the hands of a man of straw, and it was this abuse which Clement desired to eradicate.

niary needs of the Roman court rendered it unable to abandon so lucrative a source of revenue. In 1559 a Scottish council prayed the queen-regent to use her influence with the pope to prevent any more papal dispensations being granted to enable illegitimate children to hold preferment in their fathers' benefices.[1]

In Spain, the most dangerous opponent of the Reformation, Ignatius Loyola, succeeded to some extent in repressing the public and unblushing manifestation of concubinage. His biographer states that the female companions of the Peninsular clergy were accustomed to pledge their faith to their consorts, as if united by the marriage tie, and that they wore the distinguishing costume of married women, as though glorying in their shame. Scandalized by this, on his return to his native land, in 1535, Ignatius exerted himself to abolish it, together with other priestly peccadilloes, and his influence was sufficient to procure the enactment and enforcement by the temporal authorities of sundry laws which relieved the Spanish church from so great an opprobrium.[2]

A year later, in 1536, Hermann von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, undertook the reformation of his extensive diocese. He assembled a council which issued a series of 275 canons, prescribing minutely the functions, duties, and obligations of all grades of the clergy. As regards the delicate subject of concubinage, he contented himself with quoting the Nicene canon prohibiting the residence of women not nearly connected by blood, and added that if the degeneracy of the times prevented the enforcement of a regulation so strict, at all events he forbade the companionship of females obnoxious

[1] Wilkins, IV. 209.

[2] "In his severæ leges fuerunt ejus opera latæ a magistratibus, de alea, de concubinatu sacerdotum. Nam cum patrio more virgines, quoad viro traderentur, capite aperto essent, pessimo exemplo multæ, cum apud clericos turpiter viverent, perinde caput obnubebant, acsi legitimo eis matrimonio junctæ fuissent; quibus fidem quasi maritis præstabant. Quod nefarium institutum ac sacrilegum funditus tollendum curavit."—Ribadeneira Vit. Ignat. Loyol. cap. v. (Bayle, Dict. Hist. s. v. Loyola).

Ribadeneira was one of Loyola's early disciples, and is therefore good authority. His description would show that permanent unions were formed, respected by the people but not recognized by the church, in the same manner as those alluded to by Bishop Pelayo, two centuries earlier. (Ante, p. 324.)

to suspicion.[1] The good bishop himself could hardly have expected that so mild an allocution would have much effect upon a perverse and hardened generation.

During this time the Christian world had constantly and earnestly demanded the convocation of an œcumenic council which should represent all parties, should have full powers to reconcile all differences, and should give to the ancient church the purification of which it stood so sorely in need. This was a remedy to the last degree distasteful to the Holy See. The recollections of Constance and Bâle were full of pregnant warnings as to the almost inevitable antagonism between the Vicegerent of Christ and an independent representative body, believing itself to act under the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost, claiming autocratic supremacy in the church, and convoked for the special purpose of reforming abuses, the most of which were fruitful sources of revenue to the papal court. Such a body, assembled in Germany, would be the pope's master; if in Italy, his tool; and it behooved him to act warily if he desired to meet the unanimous demand of Christendom without risking the sacrifice of his most cherished prerogatives. Had the council been called in the early days of the Reformation, it could hardly have prevented the separation of the churches; yet, in the temper which then existed, it would probably have effected as thorough a purification of the ecclesiastical establishment as was possible in so corrupt an age. By delaying it until the reactionary movement had fairly set in, the chances of troublesome puritans gaining the ascendency were greatly diminished, and the papal court exposed itself to little danger when, under the urgent pressure of the emperor, it at length, in 1536, proposed to convoke the long desired assembly at Mantua.

A place so completely under papal influence was not likely to meet the views of the opposition, and it is not surprising that both the Lutherans and Henry VIII. refused to connect themselves with such a council.[2] The formality of its opening,

---

[1] Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1536, P. II. c. 28.

[2] Their views are expressed more quaintly than elegantly by Henry VIII. in his epistle of April 8, 1538, to Charles V., refusing to submit himself to the council.—"Nowe, if he [the pope] calle us to one of his owne

May 17th, 1537, was therefore an empty ceremony; its transfer to Vicenza was little more; and as no delegates presented themselves up to the 1st of May, 1538, it was prorogued until Easter, 1539, with the promise of selecting a satisfactory place for the meeting. The pressure still continued until, in 1542, Paul finally convoked it to assemble at Trent. The Reformers were no better satisfied than before. They had so long professed their readiness to submit all the questions in dispute to a free and unbiased general council, that they could not refuse absolutely to countenance it; but they were now so completely established as a separate organization, that they had little to hope and everything to fear from the appeal which they had themselves provoked, and nothing which Rome could now offer would have brought them into willing attendance upon such a body. They accordingly kept aloof, and on the assembling of the council, November 22d, 1542, its numbers were so scanty that it broke up almost immediately. When again convoked, March 15th, 1545, but twenty bishops and a few ambassadors were present; these waited with what patience they might command for accessions, which were so tardy in arriving that when at length the assembly was formally opened, on the 13th of December, the number had increased by only five. For fifteen months the council continued its sessions, completely under the control of the pope, and occupied solely with measures designed to draw the line between the Catholic and the Reformed churches more sharply than ever.

The appeals of the German bishops and of the imperial ambassadors for some effective efforts at reform became at length too pressing, and to evade them, in March, 1547, the council was transferred to Bologna, against the earnest protest of the emperor and the Germans, who refused to follow. At Bologna nothing was done except to adjourn the council from time to time, until it was suspended in 1549. Julius III., who received the tiara on the 22d of February, 1550, signalized his accession by convoking it again at Trent; and there it once more assembled on the 1st of May, 1551.

---

townes, we be afraid to be at suche an hostes table. We saye, Better to ryse a hungred, then to goo thense with oure bellyes fulle." (Select. Harl. Miscell., London, 1793, p. 137.)

At that time Lutheranism in Germany was under the heel of Charles V.; Maurice of Saxony was ripening his schemes of revolt, and concealing them with the dexterity in which he was unrivalled; it was the policy of both that Protestant theologians should take part in the discussions—of the one, that they should there receive their sentence; of the other, that their presence might assist in cloaking his designs. The flight from Innspruck, followed by the Transaction of Passau, changed the face of affairs. The Lutheran doctors rejoicingly shook the dust from their feet as they departed from Trent, complaining that they had been treated as criminals on trial, not as venerable members of a body assembled to decide the gravest questions relating to this life and that to come. Other symptoms of revolt among the Catholic nations were visible, and on the 28th of April, 1552, the council again broke up.

Ten years passed away; the faithful impatiently demanded the continuation of the work which had only been commenced, and at last the pressure became so strong that Pius IV. was obliged to reassemble the council. His Bull bears date November, 1560, but it was not until twenty years after Trent had witnessed the first convocation, that the holy men again gathered within its walls, and on the 18th of January, 1562, the council resumed its oft-interrupted sessions.

During this long-protracted farce there were times when those who sincerely desired the restoration of the church could not restrain their impatience. In 1536, Paul III., who earnestly admitted the necessity of some reform, called to his aid nine of his prelates most eminent for virtue and piety, as a commission to prepare a scheme for internal reformation. According to a papal historian, his object in this was to stop the mouths of the heretics who found in the Roman court an inexhaustible subject of declamation.[1] For two years the commission labored at its work, and finally produced a "Consilium de emendanda ecclesia," which went far enough to arouse the opposition of those whose abuses it attacked,

[1] Per serrar la bocca agl' heretici i quali non facevano altro in voce et in scritto che dir male della corte di Roma.—Carraciolo, Vita di Paolo IV. MS. Br. Mus. (Young, Life and Times of Aonio Paleario, I. 261.)

but which was so utterly inadequate to the needs of the time that it gave satisfaction to no one. The heretics reproduced it with comments as an effective pamphlet for their cause, and only clamored the more loudly for a General Council; and when the head of the commission and principal author of the "Consilium," Cardinal Caraffa, became pope under the name of Paul IV., he quietly put his own work, in 1559, into the Index Expurgatorius, as the best mode of getting rid of the heretical commentaries upon it.[1]

As the pope himself was thus powerless, the only hope of a radical change, such as was needful, was seen to lie in the untrammelled debates of a great assembly, which should meet as a parliament of the nations; and this grew more and more distant. When the unmannerly urgency of Germany in 1547 caused the translation of the council to Bologna, and apparently put a stop to its further labors, Charles V. resolved to take the matter into his own hands, and to effect for his own dominions, at least, that which had been vainly expected of the council for Christendom. The "Interim," which has already been alluded to, was intended to answer this purpose as far as Lutheranism was concerned, in healing the breach of religion. The other great object of the council, the restoration of the neglected discipline of the church, he attempted to effect by means of the secular authority of the empire acting on the regular machinery of the Teutonic ecclesiastical establishment. How utterly neglected that discipline had become is inferable from an expression in the important and carefully drawn project laid by Charles before the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, to the effect that if the canon requiring celibacy was to be enforced, it would be necessary also to revive those canons which punished incontinence, thus admitting that there existed no check whatever upon immorality.[2]

---

[1] Luther immediately translated the "Consilium," and published it, with a commentary, at Wittenberg in 1538. Mr. Young (loc. cit.), to whom I am indebted for an account of the matter, speaks as though Caraffa desired to suppress his own work, but his Protestantism is of so aggressive a character that he can scarcely be regarded as an impartial guide. In the Index it is prohibited "cum notis vel præfationibus Hæreticorum."

[2] After referring to the variable practice of the church in different ages, the document proceeds: "In hac ergo canonum diversitate, si postremi canones omnino posthac retinendi sunt, necessarium quoque erit, ut censuræ quæ in fornicarios in vete-

With this object he accordingly caused the adoption by the Diet of Augsburg of a code of reformation, well adapted, if enforced, to restore the long-forgotten purity of the church, while at the same time it acknowledged that the degeneracy of the times rendered impossible the revival of the ancient canons in their strictness. Thus, after reciting the canon of Neocæsarea (see p. 49), it adds, that as such severity was now impracticable, those in holy orders convicted of impurity should be separated from their concubines, and visited with suspension from function and benefice proportioned to the gravity of the offence. A repetition of the fault was punishable with increased severity, and incorrigible sinners who were found to be incapable of reformation, were finally to be deprived of their benefices. As concubines were threatened with immediate excommunication, it is evident that a severity was designed towards them which was not ventured on with respect to their more guilty partners. Relaxation of the rules is also observable in the section which, despite the Nicene canon, permitted the residence of women over forty years of age, whose character and conduct relieved them from suspicion.[1] The imperative injunctions of chastity laid upon the regular clergy, canons and nuns, show not only the determination to remove the prevailing scandals, but also the magnitude and extent of the evil.[2]

Nor was this all. Local councils were ordered for the purpose of embodying these decrees in their statutes, and of carrying out with energy the reformation so earnestly desired. Thus, in November, 1548, about five months after the Diet, a synod assembled at Augsburg, which inveighed bitterly against the unclerical dress and pomp of the clergy, their habits of drunkenness, gluttony, licentiousness, tavern-lounging, and general disregard of discipline; and adopted a canon embracing the regulations enacted by the emperor.[3] The Archbishop of Trèves did not wait for his synod, but

ribus canonibus distringuntur in usum quoque revocentur."—Lib. ad Ration. Concord. ineundam Art. xxII. § 13. (Goldast. II. 199.)

[1] Formul. Reformat. cap. xvII. § 4. (Goldast. II. 335.)

[2] Ibid. cap. III. § 1, cap. v. §§ 7, 9.

[3] Synod. Augustan. ann. 1548, c. 10.

issued, October 30th, a mandate especially directed against concubinary priests, in which he announced his intention of carrying out the reform commanded by Charles. He could find no reason more self-evident for the dislike and contempt felt by the people for so many of the clergy than the immorality of their lives, differing little, except in legality, from open marriage. "This vice, existing everywhere throughout our diocese, in consequence of the license of the times and the neglect of the officials, we must eradicate. Therefore all of you, of what grade soever, shall dismiss your concubines within nine days, removing them beyond the bounds of your parishes, and be no longer seen to associate with loose and wanton women. Those who neglect this order shall be suspended from office and benefice, their concubines shall be excommunicated, and they themselves be brought before our synod to be presently held."[1]

These were brave words, but when, some three weeks later, the synod was assembled, and the malefactors perchance brought before it, the good bishop found apparently that his flock was not disposed to submit quietly to the curtailment of privileges which had almost become imprescriptible. His tone accordingly was softened, for though he deprecated their immorality more strongly than ever, and asserted his intention of enforcing his mandate, he condescended to argue at much length on the propriety of chastity, and even descended to entreaty, beseeching them to preserve the purity so essential to the character of the church.[2] How slender was his success may be inferred from the fact that the next year he felt it necessary to hold another synod, in which he renewed and confirmed the proceedings of the former one, and endeavored to reduce the monks and nuns of his diocese into some kind of subjection to the rules of discipline.[3]

---

[1] Synod. Trevirens. ann. 1548.

[2] Qui [illicitus sacerdotum concubinatus] quantum jam inde ab initio, apud omnes fidei Catholici cultores, consecratis hominibus pepererit invidiæ atque consciverit odii vix dici potest. . . . Illis nimirum abactis ejusmodi incontinentiæ latrinis, pie consulimus (quoniam Deus benignus et misericors est), ut secundum hujus sanctissimæ synodi decretum, se ad integritatem totos convertant, pœniteant, culpam deprecentur, erroris sui veniam apud Deum et homines consecuturi.—Synod. Trevirens. ann. 1548, cap. ii.

[3] Synod. Trevirens. II. ann. 1549, cap. xi. xix.

The Archbishop of Cologne was as energetic as his brother of Trèves, with about equal success. On September 1st he issued the Augsburg Formula of Reformation, with a call for a synod to be held on October 2d. At the same time he manifested his sense of the primary importance of correcting clerical immorality by promulgating a special mandate respecting concubinage. He asserted this to be the chief cause of the contempt popularly felt for the church,[1] and he ordered all ecclesiastics to send their women beyond the bounds of their parishes within nine days, under the penalties provided in the imperial decree. The synod was held at the time indicated, and though it adopted no regular canons, it accepted the Augsburg Formula and the mandate of the archbishop, with a trifling alteration.[2]

This proved utterly ineffectual, for in March, 1549, he assembled a provincial council, in which he deplored the license of the times, which rendered the strictness of the ancient canons unadvisable, and announced that it had been decided to proceed gradually with the intended reforms. As to the morals of the clergy, he stated that everywhere the cure of souls was delegated to improper persons, many of them living in the foulness of concubinage, in perpetual drunkenness, and in other infamous vices, encouraged by the negligence of bishops and the thirst of archdeacons for unhallowed gains. The unions of those who, infected by the new heresies, did not hesitate to enter into matrimony, were of course pronounced illicit and impious, their offspring illegitimate, and the parents anathematized; but for those who remained in the church, yet submitted to no restraint upon their passions, a more merciful spirit was shown, for the punishments ordered by the Diet of Augsburg were somewhat lightened in their favor. The extreme license of the

---

[1] Cum inter omnia crimina nullum fere sit, quod clerum fœdius apud populum traducat, et majus in plebe scandalum pariat quam scortatio manifesta, visum est nobis operæ prætium, ut quod majorem præbet ecclesiastici ordinis contemnendi materiam, specialiori et accuratiori animadversione coerceamus.—Mandat. de abjic. Concub. (Hartzheim, VI. 353.)

[2] Ibid. p. 358. A Diocesan Synod was also held at Liége, Nov. 15, which gave offending clerks fifteen days to part with their concubines (Ibid. VI. 395).

period may be understood from another canon directed against the comedians, who, not content with the ordinary theatres, were in the habit of visiting the nunneries, where their profane plays and amatory acting excited to unholy desires the virgins dedicated to God.[1] No one acquainted with the coarseness of the drama of that rude age can doubt the propriety of the archbishop's reproof. Supplementary synods were also held in October, 1549, and February, 1550, to perfect the details of a very thorough inquisitorial visitation of the whole province.

This visitation, so pompously heralded, did not take place. At a synod held in October, 1550, the archbishop made sundry lame excuses for its postponement. Another synod was assembled in February, 1551, at which we hear nothing more of it; but the prelates of the diocese were requested to collect such ancient and forgotten canons as they could find, which might be deemed advantageous in the future;[2] and with this the work of reformation in the province of Cologne appears to end.

In October and November, 1548, and April, 1549, the Bishops of Paderborn, Wurzburg, and Strasburg held synods which adopted the reformatory measures decreed at Augsburg.[3] These were preparatory to the metropolitan synod of Mainz, assembled in May, 1549, which commanded that no one should be thereafter admitted to orders without a preliminary examination by his bishop on the subject of doctrine, and testimonials from the people as to purity of character. After thus wisely providing for the future, attention was directed to the present. It was declared intolerable that, in spite of the reiterated prohibitions of the fathers and councils, concubines should be universally kept; the Basilian canon was therefore revived, and its enforcement strictly enjoined

---

[1] Concil. Coloniens. ann. 1549, cap. Quibus possint.—Cap. de Monach. conjugat.—Cap. de Concub. Monach. —Cap. Comœdias.

[2] Hartzheim, VI. 767, 781.

[3] Gropp, Collect. Script. Wirceburg. I. 311.—Hartzheim, VI. 359, 417. In the epistle convoking his council, Bishop Melchior of Wurzburg alluded passionately to the evils everywhere existing: "Videtis percussum pastorem; videtis oves dispersas; videtis impudentem peccandi licentiam; videtis adversus pietatem audaciam tum loquendi tum disputandi impiissimam, et indies scelerata gliscere schismata" (Ibid. X. 753).

on the ordinaries, who were forbidden in any manner to connive at these disorders for the sake of profit.[1]

The pressure was continued, for when Cambrai, which owed temporal obedience to the emperor, while ecclesiastically it formed part of the province of Rheims, neglected to adopt the Formula of Augsburg for two years, it was not allowed to escape. In October, 1550, a synod was finally assembled there under stringent orders from Charles, and the Formula was published, together with an elaborate series of canons, which would have been well adapted to correct abuses that were not incorrigible.[2]

Charles had thus exerted all the resources of his imperial supremacy, and, whether willingly or not, the powerful prelates who ruled the German church had united in carrying out his views. The temporal and spiritual authorities had thus been concentrated upon the vices of the church, and if its reformation had been possible in the existing condition of its organization, some improvement must have resulted from these combined and persistent efforts. When their failure, therefore, was found to be complete, there arose in the minds of thinking men a conviction, such as Erasmus had already declared, that, since all other measures had proved fruitless, the only mode of securing a virtuous clergy was to remove the prohibition of marriage. This opinion gained ground, until at length it won even the highest dignitaries of the empire, and in 1560 the Emperor Ferdinand himself undertook its advocacy with the pope, after having for some years countenanced the practice within his own territories.

Almost immediately on the consecration of Pius IV., in addressing to him an urgent request for the reassembling of the council of Trent, or the convocation of a new council, Ferdinand seized the opportunity to ask especially for the communication of the cup to the laity, and permission for the clergy to marry. The latter of these points he considered to be the only remedy for the fearful immorality of the church, for though all flesh was corrupt, the corrup-

---

[1] Concil. Mogunt. ann. 1549, c. 82, 102.

[2] Synod. Camerac. ann. 1550 (Hartzheim, VI. 654).

tion of the priesthood surpassed that of all other men.[1] That he had not waited for the papal assent to favor these innovations within his own dominions is shown by his statement that the Archbishop of Salzburg had recently, in a synod, earnestly called upon him to put a stop to the progress which they were making, but, he added, his long experience in such matters had shown him what was possible, and what impossible, and he had accordingly set forth the difficulties of the task in a paper addressed to the archbishop, a copy of which he inclosed to the pope.[2]

The nuncio Commendone, in transmitting this document to Rome, accompanied it with a letter from the Cardinal Bishop of Augsburg, recommending the postponement of the question until the reassembling of the council of Trent, and no further action was taken. When Commendone, however, passed through Cleves on his way to the council, then about to be reopened, the Duke of Cleves earnestly besought him to lend his influence to the accomplishment of the measure, urging as a reason that in the whole of his dominions—and he was sovereign of three populous duchies—there could not be found five priests who did not keep concubines. In order to secure his favor for the approaching council, Commendone did not scruple to hold out expectations that the concessions would be granted.[3]

During the progress of the Reformation, when the fate of

---

[1] Benche ogne carne fosse corrotta, nondimeno la corruzione allora trovarsi maggiore che in tutti negli ecclesiastici.—Pallavicini, Storia del Concil. di Trento Lib. XIV. c. 13.

Twelve years before, his uncle, the Bishop of Liége, in promulgating the Augsburg formula of reformation, had made a similar assertion—"Preterquam quod hoc infœlici sæculo, quo omnis caro corrupit viam suam, præsertimque ordo clericorum et ecclesiasticorum nimium degenerant, plus quam unquam est necessaria."—Concil. Leodiens. ann. 1548 (Hartzheim, VI. 392). The increased emphasis of Ferdinand is a measure of the success which had attended the reformatory movements of Charles V. during the interval.

[2] Pallavicini, loc. cit. That the Catholic church of Germany had become widely infected with this Lutheran heresy is also shown by the fact that in 1548 the Archbishop of Cologne had found it necessary to prohibit throughout his province all marriages of priests, monks and nuns, and had pronounced illegitimate the offspring of such unions.—Hartzheim, VI. 357.

[3] Pallavicini, Lib. XV. c. 5. "Al secondo allegava recar necessità l'incontinenza de' preti, de' quali cinque non si numeravano nel suo dominio che non tenessero pubbliche concubine."—The duke, though no bigot, was a good Catholic.

the Catholic church of Germany had sometimes seemed to hang in the balance, no princes had earned a larger title to the gratitude of Rome than the powerful Dukes of Bavaria, who were the leaders of the reaction. Yet now the influence of that important region was thrown in favor of the abrogation of celibacy, and Duke Albert was the first who boldly brought the matter before the council by a demand for ecclesiastical marriage, presented on the 27th of June, 1562. To this the evasive answer was returned that the council would take such action as would be found to redound to the glory of God and to the benefit of the church.[1] During the same year the Emperor Ferdinand also urged its consideration. A plan for the reform of the church presented by his delegates not only called attention to the necessity of purifying the morals of the regular and secular clergy, but demanded that to some nations, at least, the privilege of sacerdotal marriage should be conceded.[2]

Another document is extant, without date, which was laid before the council in the joint names of Ferdinand and Albert, in which the question was argued at considerable length and with much vehemence. After proving from the records of the primitive church that celibacy was not then recognized as imperative, it proceeded to declare that if marriage ever were permissible, the present carnal and licentious age rendered it a necessity, for not one Catholic priest out of fifty could be found who lived chastely. All were asserted to be notoriously dissolute, scandalizing the people and inflicting great damage on the church. The request was made not so much to satisfy the priests who desired marriage as to meet the wishes of the laity, for many patrons of livings refused presentation to all but married men. However preferable a single life might be for the clergy, it therefore was thought

---

[1] Pallavicini, Lib. XVII. c. 4. At the request of Duke Albert, the question was also mooted at the provincial synod of Salzburg, held in 1562 for the purpose of sending delegates to Trent.—Hartzheim, VII. 230.

[2] Articuli de Reform. Eccles.—No. 14. Cogitandum qua ratione clerus ad vitam priorem reducatur.

No. 15. Quo pacto monasticus ordo ad primivitam institutionem redintegretur, ne tantæ monasteriorum divitiæ tam flagitiose dissipentur.

No. 18. Conjugium clericorum aliquibus nationibus concedendum.—Goldast. II. 376.

better to give it up than to leave open the door to the scandalous impurities traceable to celibacy. Another weighty reason was alleged in the great scarcity of priests, caused alone by the prohibition of marriage, in proof of which it was urged that the Catholic schools of divinity were all but empty and the episcopal function of ordination nearly disused, while the Lutheran colleges were crowded by those who subsequently obtained admission into the true church, where they worked incredible mischief. The argument that the temporal possessions of the church would be imperilled by sacerdotal matrimony was met by indignantly denouncing the worldly wisdom which would protect such perishable interests at the cost of innumerable souls sacrificed by the existing condition of affairs. For these and other reasons it asked that marriage should in future be allowed to all the priesthood, whether already in orders or to be subsequently admitted: that married men of good character and education should be ordained to supply the want of pastors: that those who had contracted matrimony, in contravention of the canons, should no longer be ejected, seeing that it was most absurd to turn out men because they were married, while retaining notorious concubinarians, and that if, with equal justice, both classes should be dismissed, the people would be left almost, if not entirely, destitute of spiritual guides. The paper concluded by asserting that if the prayer be granted the clergy could be retained in the church and in the faith, to the great benefit of their flocks, and that the scandal of promiscuous licentiousness, which had involved the church in so much disgrace, would be removed.[1]

I have given a tolerably full abstract of this curious document, not because it produced any effect, but because it affords a vivid picture of the condition of the church, with the evils which were everywhere felt, and the remedies which suggested themselves to clear-sighted and impartial men. To all such arguments the council of Trent was deaf. The Gallican church was willing to see celibacy abolished, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, its powerful representative, was in-

[1] Considerat. Cæsar. Majest. sup. Matrim. Sacerd. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 (Goldast. II. 382–3).

structed, in case the council would not agree to such a change, to urge that none but elderly men should be eligible to the priesthood, and that the testimony of the people in favor of their moral character should be a prerequisite to ordination, in hopes that by such means the necessary purification of the clergy at least could be effected.[1] The cardinal himself was favorably disposed to the abrogation of celibacy, but Rome shrank from an experiment so hazardous, and so completely at variance with her principles for a thousand years.[2]

On the 8th of February, 1563, after the council had been in session for more than a year, the theologians at last arranged for disputation the articles on matrimony, and laid them before the council for discussion. They were divided into five classes, of which the fourth was devoted to the bearing of the subject on the clergy, consisting of two propositions artfully drawn up to justify rejection—That matrimony was preferable to celibacy, and that God bestowed grace on the married rather than on the single.—That the priests of the Western Church could lawfully contract marriage, notwithstanding the canons; that to deny this was to condemn matrimony, and that all were at liberty to marry who did not feel themselves graced with the gift of chastity.[3]

The disputation on the various questions connected with matrimony commenced the next day and was continued at intervals for six months. By August 7th all the canons on the subject were agreed to, except the one on clandestine marriages, which gave the fathers much more trouble than the more important decision respecting the retention of celibacy.[4] This latter, indeed, would seem to have been a fore-

---

[1] Capi dati da' Francesi cap. 1.—Cum sacerdotes in primis castos esse oporteat . . . provideat S. synodus ut non alii in posterum ordinentur sacerdotes quam qui seniores sunt, et a populo bonum habeant testimonium, ut ex anteacta vita quales postea sint futuri non levis conjectura: et sacerdotum libidines et flagitia acerrimis canonum pœnis coerceantur. (Baluz. et Mansi IV. 374) Comp. Zaccaria pp. 133–4.

[2] Henke, App. ad Calixt. p. 599.

[3] Art. v. Matrimonium non pro-[post]ponendum sed anteferendum castitati, et Deum dare conjugibus majorem gratiam quam aliis.

Art. vi. Licite contrahere posse matrimonium sacerdotes Occidentales, non obstante lege ecclesiastica, et opposita nil aliud esse quam damnare matrimonia, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium qui non sentiunt se habere donum castitatis.—Lettere del Arcivesc. Calini (Baluz. et Mansi IV. 295).

[4] Lettere di Calini (Ibid. 326).

gone conclusion. In the minute account, transmitted from day to day by Archbishop Calini to Cardinal Cornaro, in which all the details of internal discussion and external intrigue attainable by a quick-witted member of the council were reported, there is no allusion to the subject. No debates or diversity of opinion are mentioned, no intimation that the matter was regarded as open to a doubt, and even the appeals made by the emperor and other potentates are passed over in silence. So, in the correspondence of the nuncio Visconti, the only allusion to the matter is a simple reference, under date of March 22, 1563, to the demand previously made by the Duke of Bavaria.[1]

In fact, when, on March 4th, the 5th and 6th articles were reached, they were both unanimously pronounced heretical without any prolonged debate. Doctor Juan de Ludegna pronounced a "disputation" on the subject, the tone of which showed that the result was already decided, and that the only disposition of the council was to vilify those who desired the abrogation of celibacy.[2] A discussion, however, then arose as to the power of the pope to dispense the clergy, both regular and secular, from the obligation of celibacy, and on this point there was considerable diversity of opinion, occupying numerous successive meetings in its settlement. The majority were in favor of the papal power; and its exercise in the existing condition of the church was even recommended by those who recognized the evils of the system, but shrank from the responsibility of themselves introducing the innovation. This was promptly rebuked by the conservatives, according to Fra Paolo, with the remark that a prudent physician would not attempt to cure one disease by bringing on a greater.[3] The legates, indeed, were blamed for allowing any discussion on so dangerous a topic, since if priests were

[1] Lettere del Nunzio Visconti (Ibid. III. 453).

[2] Disputat. Joann. de Ludegna (Harduin. X. 359). The learned doctor presents his argument in the form of a colloquy between himself and Calvin, and its spirit may be gathered from the first speech of Calvin, in which he is made to declare that he is endeavoring to find arguments with which to defend himself and his apostate strumpets.

[3] Non è da savio medico guarir un male con causarne un peggiore.—Sarpi, Lib. VII. (Opere, II. 280, Helmstat, 1761).

permitted to marry, their affections would be concentrated on family and country, in place of the church; their subjection to the Holy See would be diminished, the whole system of the hierarchy destroyed, and the pope himself would eventually become a simple Bishop of Rome.[1] If such consequences as these were anticipated by the able men who represented the papal interests, we may readily believe that Pallavicini speaks the sense of the managers of the council when he remarks, concerning the princes who exerted themselves in favor of sacerdotal marriage, that they seemed to consider that the council had been convoked for the purpose not of condemning but of contenting the heretics, whom they proposed to convert by gratifying in place of repressing their contumacious desires.[2] If this be so, the Protestants were amply justified in refusing to submit their cause to a body so different in its objects from that free and unbiased œcumenic council to which they had so often appealed from their persecutors.

It was not, however, until the 11th of November that the canons on matrimony were finally adopted and formally published. Of these there are two relating to our subject. The first one pronounced the dread anathema on all who should dare to assert that clerks in holy orders, monks or nuns could contract marriage, or that such a marriage was valid, and it added that God would not deny the gift of chastity to those who rightly sought it, nor would He expose us to temptation beyond our strength. The other similarly anathematized all who dared to assert that the married state was more worthy than virginity, or that it was not better to live in celibacy than married.[3]

---

[1] Sarpi (loc. cit.).

[2] Avvisandosi tutti costoro ch'l Concilio fosse adunato, non per condannare ma per contentare gli eretici; e che la converzione di questi potesse aversi col saziar que' loro contumaci appetiti, che piuttosto si convenivan reprimere. — Pallavicini Lib. XVII. c. 4.

[3] Concil. Trident. Sess. XXIV. De Sacrament. Matrimon.

Can. IX. Si quis dixerit clericos in sacris ordinibus constitutos, vel regulares castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiastica vel voto; et oppositum nihil aliud esse quam damnare matrimonium; posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiamsi eam voverint, habere donum; anathema sit; quum Deus id recte petentibus non

Thus the church, in endeavoring to meet the novel exigencies caused by the progress and enlightenment of mankind, in place of making the concessions demanded by almost all beyond the narrow pale of the papal court, devoted its energies to the miserable task of separating itself as widely as possible from those who had left it. Its rulers seemed to imagine that their only hope of safety lay in intrenching themselves behind the exaggerations of those particular points of policy which had afforded to their adversaries the fairest chances of attack. The faithful throughout Germany might suffer from the absence of the ministers of Christ, or might endure yet more from the unrestrained passions of the wolves in sheep's clothing let loose among their wives and daughters, but the church militant in this conjuncture dreaded even more to lose the aid of that monastic army which, in theory at least, had no earthly object but the service of St. Peter; it selfishly feared that the parish priest who might legitimately see his fireside surrounded by a happy group of wife and children would lose the devotion which a man without ties should entertain for the prosperity and glory of the ecclesiastical establishment; and perhaps, more than all, it saw with terror avaricious princes eager for the secularization of that immense property to which it owed so large a portion of the splendor which dazzled mankind, of the influence which rendered it powerful, and of the luxury which made its high places attractive to the ambitious and talented men who controlled its destiny. To put an end, therefore, at once and forever, to the mutterings of dissatisfaction among those who compared the calm and virtuous life of the Protestant pastors with the reckless self-indulgence of the ministers of the old religion, it was resolved to place the canon of celibacy in a position where none of the orthodox should dare to attack it, and to accomplish this the simple rule of discipline was elevated to the dignity of a point of belief. As the church had already been forced, in defending the rule from

---

deneget, nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus tentari.

Can. x. Si quis dixerit statum conjugalem anteponendum esse statui virginitatis vel cœlibatus, et non esse melius ac beatius manere in virginitate aut cœlibatu, quam jungi matrimonio, anathema sit.

the assaults of the reformers, to attribute to it apostolic origin, we may not perhaps be surprised that it was made a point of doctrine, but we cannot easily appreciate the reasons that would justify the anathema launched against all who regarded the marriage of those in holy orders as binding. The dissolution of such marriages, as we have seen, was not suggested until the middle of the twelfth century, and the decision of the council thus condemned as heretics the whole body of the church during three-quarters of its previous existence.

Although the doctrinal canon threw the responsibility of priestly unchastity upon God, yet as the council had so peremptorily refused to adopt the remedy urged by the princes of the empire, it did not hesitate to employ human means to remove, if possible, the scandals which God had permitted to afflict the church. The decree of reformation, published in December, 1563, contained provisions intended to curb the vice which the Tridentine fathers, with all their reliance on Divine power, well knew to be ineradicable. These provisions, however, were little more than a repetition of what we have seen enacted in every century since Siricius. Any ecclesiastic guilty of keeping a concubine or suspected woman was admonished; disregarding this first warning, he was deprived of one-third of his revenue; if still contumacious, suspension from functions and benefice followed; and a persistence in guilt was then visited with irrevocable deprivation. No appeal from a sentence could gain exemption; these cases were removed from the jurisdiction of inferior officials and confided to the bishops, who were enjoined to be prompt and severe in their decisions; while guilty bishops were liable to suspension by their provincial synods, and, if irreclaimable, were sent to Rome for punishment. The illegitimate children of priests were pronounced incapable of preferment. Those already in orders, if employed in their fathers' parishes, were required, under pain of deprivation, to exchange their positions within three months for preferment elsewhere, and any provision made by a clerical parent for the benefit of his children was pronounced to be a fraud.[1]

---

[1] Concil. Trident. Sess. xxv. Decret. de Reformat. cap. 14, 15.

Such were the regulations which the last general council of the Catholic church considered sufficient to relieve the establishment of the curse which had hung around it for a thousand years. There is nothing in them that had not been tried a hundred times before, with what success the foregoing pages may attest. In some respects, indeed, they were not as prompt and efficacious as the decrees which Charles V. and his bishops had promulgated a few years before, and which had proved so lamentably inefficient.

Strange as it may seem, the anathema so decidedly enunciated by the council did not deter the Emperor Ferdinand from continuing his efforts to procure for his subjects the benefit of a relaxation of the canon. The decision of a majority of the doctors of the council favoring the papal power of dispensation suggested the mode of obtaining it. Although the form of the canons had been adopted on the 7th of August, and the previous proceedings left no doubt as to their authoritative promulgation in full session, yet on the 26th of August the nuncio Visconti writes that he had heard from his colleague Delfino, then in Vienna, that the three ecclesiastical electors (Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne), the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Duke of Bavaria had held a conference, in which it was resolved to unite with the emperor in an appeal for Bulls permitting the marriage of the clergy and the use of the cup by the laity.[1] Early in September the emperor wrote to his ambassadors, stating that he had called together at Vienna the deputies of the electors and princes of the empire, where, after mature deliberation, it had been determined to ask the cup and clerical marriage of the pope and not of the council; that a protocol had already been drawn up, which accompanied the despatch, but as it was a matter not yet fully settled, he desired it to be communicated to no one but the Count de Luna, the ambassador of Philip II.[2]

---

[1] Lett. No. LXIX. (Ed. Amsterd. II. 299.) This and the concluding letters are not in Mansi's edition.

[2] Essersi da lui chiamati a Vienna i consiglieri degli elettori e de' principi, e dopo maturo discorso aver in-*clinato* a richieder l'uno e l'altro, non dal concilio ma dal Papa: sopra che s'era distesa l'abbozzo d'un istruzione, la quale mandava loro, ma ch' essendo illo di cosa non ancora fermata, a niuna la communicassero fuorchè al conte di Luna. — Pallavicini, Lib. XXII. c. 10.

It was not, however, until after the conclusion of the council, which brought its weary labors to an end on the 4th of December, 1563, that Ferdinand presented his request to Pius IV. In this, after demanding, in the name of the princes of the empire, the communion in both elements for the laity, he proceeds to argue earnestly for the other concession. Perhaps the decided opposition of the council to the principle of sacerdotal marriage had produced an influence upon him; perhaps he had found himself obliged to yield some of his own views in order to secure the co-operation of the Teutonic hierarchy; be this as it may, his demands were greatly abated. In place of asking, as before, the privilege for the clergy at large, he now reduced his entreaties to the simple point of allowing such Catholic priests as had entered into matrimony to retain their wives and perform their functions, which he assured the pope was absolutely essential to the preservation of the fragments of the church still doing battle with the prevailing heresies throughout Germany.[1] He like-

[1] Quod sanctitati vestræ maximum quoque momentum adfert, tam ad conservandas in Germania ac regnis et dominiis nostris saltem exiguas hasce religionis Catholicæ reliquias, quam ad cohibendas et extirpandas hæreses et earum auctores, ebuccinatores et propugnatores, si non solum modum et rationem aliquam invenerit qua sacerdotes qui assertis suis conjugiis seipsos ab ecclesia separarunt, ecclesiæ possint reconciliari, recentis utcunque in contubernio suo assertis illis uxoribus.—Goldast. II. 380.

It is observable from this that many priests left the church and married without formally embracing the Lutheran faith, and a return of these was anticipated from a relaxation of the canons. Others, as may be gathered from various references above, married and still performed their regular duties. Of these some no doubt acted in virtue of dispensations granted by the nuncios of Paul III, after the promulgation of the Interim, but many did so in utter contempt of discipline. An illustrative example of the latter class may be found in the well-known Stanislas Orzechowski, whose marriage, notwithstanding his high character for piety and learning, shows the laxity of opinion which prevailed on the subject. As Canon of Premislaw in Poland, his marriage naturally gave great offence to his colleagues. Somewhat contaminated with the new ideas by a residence at Wittenberg, he sturdily refused to give up either his wife or his position, and alleged in his defence a dispensation from a national council. When, in 1556, the legate Lippomani held a synod at Lovictz, he called to account those who had connived at so great an irregularity. They denied granting the dispensation, saying that they had only suspended the censures until the pleasure of the pope should be known; but at the same time many prelates used all their influence with Lippomani to obtain one. Lippomani declared that he had no power to grant it, nor would he do so if he could, seeing that Orzechowski defended himself on heretical grounds. (Concil. Lovitiens.—Labbei et Coleti Supp. T. V. p. 702.) In 1561 Orzechowski complained to the synod of Warsaw of the persecutions to which

wise asked that in such places as could not obtain a sufficiency of pastors, the bishops should be empowered to ordain laymen of approved piety, learning, and fitness; and this would seem necessarily to carry with it the ordination of married men, since, if the laymen indicated were celibates, there could have been nothing to prevent their entering the church, and performing their duties without a special papal dispensation.

Although this appeal produced no result, Ferdinand was not deterred by continued rebuffs from prosecuting the attempt, and his unwearied perseverance may safely be taken as the measure of his estimate of its importance. George Wicelius had thrown aside the monastic gown in 1531 to embrace the errors of Lutheranism, but had returned to the old religion. His learning aud piety earned for him a deserved reputation, and elevated him to the position of imperial councillor, where his talents were devoted to the endless task of bringing about a reconciliation between the churches. George Cassander, equally eminent, had never incurred the imputation of apostasy, but had labored with tireless industry to convert his erring brethren from heresy to the true faith. Men like these might perhaps be heard when the voice of princes and prelates, actuated by motives of personal advantage, met a deaf ear; and Ferdinand applied to them for disquisitions on the subject. Before their labors were concluded the monarch was dead (July 25, 1564), but his son Maximilian II. inherited his father's ideas, and gladly made use of the opinions which the learned Catholic doctors had no hesitation in expressing.

Both took strong ground against celibacy. Cassander de-

---

he was exposed on account of his wife, and he petitioned both the pope and the council of Trent for a dispensation. While the Tridentine fathers refused it, some authors assert that it was granted by Pius IV. to him as an exceptional case "tibi soli Orichovio," but careful investigation has failed to discover the Bull, and, according to Zaccaria, the pope merely sent secret orders to his legate Commendone not to allow Orzechowski to be molested, but at the same time to give no publicity to an act of tolerance in contravention of the canons of the council of Trent (Grégoire, Hist. du Mariage des Prêtres en France, pp. 51–55).

The history of Orzechowski, with probably a less fortunate result, is no doubt that of innumerable others, whose obscurity has prevented their sufferings from being known beyond their own narrow circle.

plored the terrible and abominable scandals which the untimely enforcement of the rule caused throughout the church, and he urged that the reasons which had led to its introduction not only existed no longer, but had even become arguments for its abrogation. He declared it to be the source of numerous evils, chief among which was promiscuous and unbridled licentiousness, and he added that the already scanty ranks of the priesthood were deprived of the accessions which were so necessary, since men of a religious turn of mind were prevented from taking orders by the universal wickedness which prevailed under the excuse of celibacy, while pious parents kept their sons from entering the church for fear of debauching their morals. On the other hand, those who sought a life of ease and license were attracted to the holy calling which they disgraced. He was even willing to permit marriage in orders, arguing that it was only a question of canon law, in which faith and doctrine were not involved.[1] Wicelius was equally severe in his denunciations of the clerical licentiousness attributable to the rule of celibacy, and concluded his tract by attacking the supineness, blindness, and perversity of the prelates who suffered such foulness to exist everywhere among the priesthood, in contempt of Christ, and to the burdening of their consciences.[2]

It was already evident that both the great objects for which the council of Trent had been assembled were failures; that it would effect as little for the purification of the church as for the reconciliation of the heretics. Maximilian proba-

---

[1] Quare nimis rigida et intempestiva hujus constitutionis exactione, gravissima et abominanda in ecclesia scandala existisse videmus. Nam caussæ illæ quibus maiores ad constitutionem hanc faciendam inductos esse diximus, non solum hodie cessarunt, sed etiam in contrarium sunt conversæ. . . . Sunt igitur hujus constitutionis relaxandæ graves caussæ, primum quod ea manifeste multorum malorum et incommodorum, præsertim quæ vagam et effrenatam libidinem sequuntur, occasionem præbeat. . . . . Tertiam caussam et quidem præcipuam adfert præsens ecclesiæ status, et idoneorum ministrorum inopia. Plerique enim homines docti et pii ad continentiæ observationem adstringere se nolunt, quum et infirmitatis suæ rationem habeant et exemplis turpitudinum et scelerum, quæ prætextu cœlibatus passim in oculos et aures incurrunt, moveantur. Quo fit ut paucissimi adolescentes pietatis indole præditi ad theologiæ studium se adjungant, aut a piis parentibus ad hoc studium applicentur. —G. Cassandri Consult. XXIII.

[2] Wicelii Via Regia.—Both these tracts, as far as they relate to celibacy, are given in the appendix to Henke's edition of Calixtus.

bly felt that under these circumstances no one could deny the necessity of such changes as would at least afford a chance of the reformation that could no longer be expected of the Tridentine canons; and in a negotiation with the Bishop of Vintimiglia, papal nuncio at his court, he lost no time in renewing, with increased energy, the effort to obtain the recognition of married priests. After the departure of the nuncio, he addressed, in November, 1564, a most pressing demand to Pius IV., in which he declared that the matter brooked no further delay; that throughout Germany, and especially in his dominions, there was the greatest need of proper ministers and pastors; that there was no other measure which would retain them in the Catholic church, from which, day by day, they were withdrawing, principally from this cause. He assured the Holy Father that the danger was constantly increasing, and that he feared a further delay would render even this remedy powerless to prevent the total destruction of the old religion. If only this were granted to the clergy, even as the cup had been communicated to the laity, he hoped for an immediate improvement. The bishops could then exercise their authority over those who at present were beyond their control, as unrecognized by the church; and so thoroughly was this lawless condition of affairs understood that a refuge was sought in his provinces by those disreputable pastors who were banished from the Lutheran states on account of their disorderly lives.[1]

Ferdinand and Maximilian were actuated in these persevering efforts not merely by the desire of gratifying the wishes of their people, or of remedying the depravity of the ecclesiastical body. It had been a favorite project with the father, warmly adopted by the son, to heal the differences between the two religions, and to restore to the church its ancient and prosperous unity. In their opinion, and in that of many eminent men, the main obstacle to this was the question of celibacy. It was evidently hopeless to expect this sacrifice of the Lutheran pastors, while numerous members of the Catholic church regarded the change as essential to the

[1] Goldast. II. 381.

purification of their own establishment. The only mode of effecting so desirable a reconciliation was therefore to persuade the pope to exercise the power of dispensation which the council of Trent had admitted to be inherent in his high office. The spirit of the papal court, however, was that which Pallavicini attributes to the council—that the heretics were to be cut off, and not to be cajoled into returning. Pius IV. himself was not personally averse to the plan so persistently urged upon him, but those around him saw greater dangers in concession than in refusal. De Thou, indeed, says that he was inclined to grant the privilege for the territories of Maximilian, but that Philip II., at the instigation of Cardinal Pacheco, fearing an example so dangerous to his turbulent and excitable subjects in the Netherlands, opposed it strenuously, and sent Don Pedro d'Avila to Rome, who persuaded the pope to elude the demand, by keeping matters in suspense, and by holding out prospects of accommodation destined never to be accomplished.[1]

This is probably not strictly correct. Maximilian's demand had perhaps been rendered more pressing than respectful by the necessity of conciliating his people in view of the war with John of Transylvania and the Turks. Its tone was not relished at Rome, nor could the papacy be expected to listen with as much patience to remonstrances from a prince who had just grasped the reins of power as it had to those of the mature and experienced Ferdinand. The response to Maximilian was therefore of the sharpest. Cardinal Commendone was sent to warn him that any interference with the interests of religion would be visited with the severest penalties; in fact, he was threatened with deprivation of the imperial title, and a convocation of the Catholic princes for the purpose of electing a successor.[2]

---

[1] De Thou, Lib. xxxvii.

[2] Struvii Corp. Hist. German. II. 1097.

XXVII.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

THE abrogation of celibacy in England was a process of far more perplexity and intricacy than in any other country which adopted the Reformation. Perhaps this may be explained by the temperament of the race, whose fierce spirit of independence made them quick to feel and impatient to suffer the manifold evils of the sacerdotal system, while their reverential conservatism rendered them less disposed to adopt a radical cure than their Continental neighbors.

In no country of Europe had the pretensions of the papal power been so resolutely set aside. In no country had ecclesiastical abuses been more earnestly attacked or more persistently held up for popular odium, and the applause which greeted all who boldly denounced the shortcomings of priest and prelate shows how deeply the people felt the evils to which they were exposed. Robert Langlande, the monk of Malvern, was no heretic, yet he could dare to assert—

"Right so out of holi chirche,
Alle yveles springeth,
There inparfit preesthode is,
Prechours and techeris.
. . . . . .
And prechours after silver,
Executours and sodenes,
Somonours and hir lemmannes;
That that with gile was geten,
Ungraciousliche is despended;
So harlotes and hores
Arn holpe with swiche goodes,
And Goddes folk, for defaute thereof,
For-faren and spillen."[1]

And he boldly prophesied their destruction—

"Right so, ye clerkes,
For youre coveitise, er longe,
Shal thei demen *dos ecclesiæ*,
And youre pride depose.
Leveth it wel ye bisshopes
The lordshipe of your londes
For evere shul ye lese,
And lyven as *levitici*, etc."[2]

But while the people greeted these assaults with the keenest pleasure, they were attached to the old observances, and were in no haste to see the predictions of the poet fulfilled. A little sharp persecution was sufficient to suppress all outward

[1] Vision of Piers Ploughman, Wright's ed., pp. 300, 303.

[2] Ibid., p. 325.

show of Lollardism, and there was no chance in England for the fierce revolutionary enthusiasm of the Taborites.

As the sixteenth century opened, John Colet did good work in disturbing the stagnation of the schools by his contempt for the petrified theological science of the schoolmen. He endeavored to revert to the Scriptures as the sole source of religious belief, while he was unsparing in his denunciations of the corruptions which were as rife in the English church as we have seen them elsewhere. Yet Colet carefully kept within the pale of orthodoxy, and seems never to have entertained the idea that the evils which he deplored were to be attacked save by a renewal of the fruitless iteration of obsolete canons.[1] Perhaps, however, his friend and disciple, Sir Thomas More, is the best example of this frame of mind in England's worthiest men, the besetting weakness of which made the Anglican reformation a struggle whose vicissitudes can scarce be said to have even yet reached their final development.

More appreciated thoroughly the short-comings of the church, and permitted his wit to satirize its vices with a freedom which showed the scantiest respect for the sanctity claimed by its hierarchy.[2] Yet when Luther came with his heresies to sweep away all abuses, More's gentle and tender spirit was roused to a vulgarity of vituperation which earned for him a distinguished place among the foul-mouthed polemics of the time, and which is absolutely unfit for translation.[3] As regards ascetic observances his views are manifested in his arguing that by the recent marriages of the Saxon reformers God had proved his signal displeasure, for in the old law true

---

[1] Seebohm's Oxford Reformers of 1498, p. 170. London, 1867.

[2] Thus, in his Epigrams, he ridicules the bishops as a class :—

"Tam male cantasti possis ut episcopus esse,
Tam bene legisti, ut non tamen esse queas.
Non satis esse putet, si quis vitabit utrumvis,
Sed fieri si vis præsul, utrumque cave."

T. Mori Opp., p. 249. Francofurti, 1689.

And he addresses a parish priest :—

"Quid faciant fugiantve tui, quo cernere possint,
Vita potest claro pro speculo esse tua.
Tantum opus admonitu est, ut te intueantur, et ut tu
Quæ facis, hæc fugiant: quæ fugis, hæc faciant."

Ibid., p. 247.

[3] Responsio ad Lutherum, *passim:* a single specimen will suffice—"furiosum fraterculum et latrinarium nebulonem cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus cacantem cacatumque relinquere."

Luther was himself a master in theological abuse, but More's admiring biographer, Stapleton, boasts that the German was appalled at the superior vigor of the Englishman, and for the first time in his life he declined further controversy—"magis mutus factus est quam piscis." (Stapletoni Vit. T. Mori, cap. iv.)

priests could be joined only to the chastest virgins, while God permitted these false pastors to take to wife none but public strumpets.[1] If he accused Luther of sweeping away the venerable traditions of man and of God,[2] he showed how conscientious was this rigid conservatism when he laid his head upon the block in testimony for the principal creation and bulwark of tradition—the papal supremacy.

A community thus halting between an acute perception of existing evils and a resolute determination not to remove them was exactly in the temper to render the great movement of the sixteenth century as disastrous to themselves as possible. How to meet the inevitable under such conditions was a problem which well might tax the acutest intellect, and Wolsey, whose fate it was to undertake the task, seems to have been inspired with more than his customary audacious ingenuity in seeking the solution.

Wolsey, in 1518, had attempted a systematic reformation in his diocese of York, and had revived the ancient canons punishing concubinage among his priesthood.[3] The results probably showed him the utter inefficiency of the worn-out weapons of discipline. Yet he was too shrewd a statesman not to recognize the necessities of the situation; and, in taking the initiative, he commenced by quietly and indirectly attacking the monastic orders. As a munificent patron of letters, it was natural that he should emulate Merton and Wykeham in founding a college at Oxford; and "Cardinal's College," now Christ Church, became the lever with which to topple over the vast monastic system of England.

The development of the plan was characteristically insidious. By a Bull of April 3d, 1524 (confirmed by Henry, May 10th), Clement VII. authorized him to suppress the priory of St. Frediswood at Oxford, and to remove the monks for the purpose of converting it into a "Collegium Clericorum Seculorum."[4] This was followed by a Bull, dated August 21st of the same year, empowering him as legate to make

---

[1] Respons. ad Lutherum, Perorat. It should be borne in mind that this was written after his friend Erasmus had publicly given in his adhesion to marriage as the only remedy for sacerdotal corruption.

[2] Ibid., Lib. I. cap. iv.

[3] Wilkins, III. 669, 678.

[4] Rymer's Fœdera, XIV. 15.

inquisition and reformation in all religious houses throughout the kingdom, to incarcerate and punish the inmates, and to deprive them of their property and privileges, all grants or charters to the contrary notwithstanding.[1] The real purport of this extraordinary commission is shown by the speedy issue of yet another Bull, dated September 11th, conceding to him the confiscation of monasteries to the amount of 3000 ducats annual rental, for the endowment of his college, and alleging as a reason for the measure that many establishments had not more than five or six inmates.[2]

The affair was now fully in train, and proceeded with accelerating momentum. On the 3d of July, 1525, Henry confirmed the incorporation of the college; his letters-patent of May 1st, 1526, enumerate eighteen monasteries suppressed for its benefit, while other letters of May 10th grant seventy-one churches or rectories for its support, and yet other grants are alluded to as made in letters which have not been preserved.[3] In 1528 these were followed by various other donations of religious houses and manors; and during the same year Wolsey founded another Cardinal's College at Ipswich, which became a fresh source of absorption.[4]

Had Henry VIII. entertained any preconceived design of suppressing the religious houses, his impatient temper would scarcely have allowed him to remain so long a witness of this spoliation without taking his share, and carrying the matter out with his accustomed boldness and disregard of consequences. At length, however, he claimed his portion, and procured from Clement a Bull dated November 2d, 1528, conceding to him, for the benefit of the old foundations of the King's Colleges at Cambridge and Windsor, the suppression of monasteries to the annual value of 8000 ducats.[5] This was followed by another, a few days later, empowering Wol-

[1] Wilkins, III. 704.—Bishop Burnet says that Wolsey's design in procuring this Bull was to suppress all monasteries, but that he was persuaded to abandon his purpose on account of opposition and dread of scandals.—Hist. Reform. Vol. I. p. 20 (Ed. 1679).

[2] Rymer, XIV. 24.—Confirmed by the king, January 7, 1525 (Ibid. p. 32).

[3] Ibid. pp. 155–6, 172–5.

[4] Ibid. pp. 240–44, 250–58.

[5] Ibid. pp. 270–1.

sey and Campeggi, co-legates in the affair of Queen Katharine's divorce, to unite to other monasteries all those containing less than twelve inmates—thus suppressing the latter, of which the number was very large.[1] Another Bull of the same date (November 12th) attacked the larger abbeys, which had thus far escaped. It ordered the two cardinals, under request from the king, to inquire into the propriety of suppressing the rich monasteries enjoying over 10,000 ducats per annum, for the purpose of converting them into bishoprics, on the plea that the seventeen sees of the kingdom were insufficient for the spiritual wants of the people.[2] The report of the cardinals apparently seconded the views of Henry, for Clement granted to them, May 29th, 1529, the power of creating and arranging bishoprics at their discretion, and of sacrificing additional monasteries when necessary to provide adequate revenues.[3] It is probable that the monks who had been unceremoniously deprived of their possessions did not in all cases submit without resistance, for the Bull of November 12th, 1528, suppressing the smaller houses, was repeated August 31st, 1529, with the suggestive addition of authority to call in the assistance of the secular arm.[4]

Wolsey was now tottering to his fall. Process against him was commenced on October 9th, 1529, and on the 18th the Great Seal was delivered to More. His power, however, had lasted long enough to break down all the safeguards which had for so many centuries grown around the sacred precincts of ecclesiastical property; and the rich foundations which covered so large a portion of English territory lay defenceless before the cupidity of a despot, who rarely allowed any consideration, human or divine, to interfere with his wishes, whose extravagance rendered him eager to find new sources of supply for an exhausted treasury, and whose temper had been aroused by the active support lent by the preaching friars to the party of Queen Katharine in the affair of the divorce. Yet it is creditable to Henry's self-command that the blow did not fall sooner, although it came at last.

[1] Rymer, XIV. 272–3.
[2] Ibid. 273–5.
[3] Ibid. 291–3.
[4] Ibid. 345–6.

It is not my province to enter into the details of Henry's miserable quarrel with Rome, which, except in its results, is from every point of view one of the most humiliating pages of history. The year 1532 saw the proclamation of the king commanding the support of his subjects in the impending rupture, and the oaths of the bishops promising to receive or publish nothing to his prejudice. The following year his long-protracted divorce from Katharine of Arragon was consummated; the annates were withdrawn from the pope, and Henry assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England.[1] In 1535 an obedient Parliament confirmed the acts of the sovereign, and forbade the promulgation of any canons by synods or convocations without his approval. The power of the pope was abolished by proclamation; and Universities and prelates rivalled each other in obsequiously transferring to Henry the reverence due to Rome.[2]

The greater portion of the monasteries, which had already experienced a foretaste of the wrath to come, hastened to proclaim their adhesion to the new theological autocracy, and means not the most gentle were found to persuade the remainder,[3] among which the powerful order of the Franciscans was conspicuous. These refused the oath exacted of them, causing no little trouble, and affording a cover for the intrigues of that large body of the clergy who were dissatisfied with the innovations, but afraid of open opposition.[4] This precipitated the ruin of the monastic orders, which could not, under any circumstances, have been long delayed, and a general visitation was considered the most effective means of encompassing their destruction. It was accordingly ordered in 1535, and as their immorality and neglect of their sacred duties had

[1] Wilkins, III. 755-62.

[2] Ibid. 770-82, 789.—Parliamentary Hist. of England, I. 525. In 1532 Henry had complained to his Parliament that the clergy were but half subjects to him, in consequence of their oaths to the pope, and he desired that some remedy should be found for this state of things (Ibid. p. 519).

[3] Rymer, XIV. 487-527. The severest measures were taken to enforce obedience. The Carthusians of the Charter House, for instance, refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy, wherefore the prior and eleven of his monks were executed at various times between the 27th of April and 4th of August, 1535. (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 40—Camden Soc.)

[4] Burnet, I. 182.

passed almost into a proverb, there was not much difficulty in accumulating evidence to justify the measure. The visitation was commanded to examine into the foundation, title, history, condition of discipline, and number and character of the inmates of all religious houses;[1] and, as might have been expected, the report disclosed a state of affairs which called for the immediate removal of so foul a source of corruption and scandal. The visitors had their work assigned them in advance, and they performed it thoroughly; but we cannot assume that the horrors which they described were the creation of their own invention to gratify the wishes and advance the purposes of their master.[2]

---

[1] Wilkins, III. 787.

[2] One of the earliest abbeys visited was that of Langdon. Dr. Leighton, the visitor, suddenly breaking open the abbot's door, found him with his concubine, whose male dress was discovered in a coffer. Leighton's account of this little adventure, "scribullede this Satterday" to his patron Cromwell, is full of humor, showing how thoroughly he enjoyed his success, and how fully he was assured that the Secretary would be gratified by it. (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 175.)—"But for the lewdness of the confessors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that state, whole houses being found almost all with child; for the dissoluteness of abbots and the other monks and friars, not only with whores but married women; and for their unnatural lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this nature. The full report of this visitation is lost, yet I have seen an extract of a part of it, concerning 144 houses, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom."—Burnet, I. 190-1.

The good bishop was not likely to diminish or to palliate what he had read, yet we may readily believe the truth of his assertion, nor can it be assumed that the charges were manufactured, like the accusations against the Templars, for the purpose of exciting odium. The monasteries were not likely to have improved in morality since Archbishop Morton described a similar condition of affairs some half century earlier; nor is there any reason to imagine them better than their Continental contemporaries, whose lapses we have already seen described by censors of their own faith. A short account of "The Manner of Dissolving the Abbeys," by a contemporary (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 112), states the result of the visitation in terms even stronger than those of Burnet; and descriptions of the disorders of special houses are very frequent in the private letters of the visitors and commissioners to Cromwell (Ibid. Nos. xvii., xxi., xxiv., xlii., xlv., xlvii., xcviii., &c.), which may be the more readily believed, since they also report favorably of many abbeys as well governed, and of the utmost benefit to their neighborhoods through their generous hospitality and charity. It should be added that, in some districts at least, the morals of the laity were no better than those of the clergy (Ibid. No. cxx. p. 243).

Nicander Nucius, who visited England about the year 1545, in relating the suppression of the monastic orders, gives as bad an account of their discipline as Burnet (Travels, pp. 68-71—Camden Society, 1841). He is not, of course, an original authority, but as an impartial observer his statements are worthy of notice as reflecting the opinions of society at the time.

A portion of the people were ready and eager to welcome the secularization of the religious houses. Their views and arguments are set forth with more force than elegance in the well-known "Beggars' Petition," which calculates that, besides the tithes, one-third of the kingdom was ecclesiastical property, and that these vast possessions were devoted to the support of a body of men who found their sole serious occupation in destroying the peace of families and corrupting the virtue of women. The economical injury to the commonwealth, and the interference with the royal prerogative of the ecclesiastical system, were argued with much cogency, and the king was entreated to destroy it by the most summary methods.[1] That any one should venture to publish so violent an attack upon the existing church, at a time when punishment so prompt followed all indiscretions of this nature, renders this production peculiarly significant both as to the temper of the educated portion of the people, and the presumed intentions of the king.

---

[1] As published in the Harleian Miscellany, the Beggars' Petition bears the date of 1538, but internal evidence would assign it to a time anterior to the suppression of the monasteries, and Burnet attributes it to the period under consideration, saying that it was written by Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn, that it took mightily with the public, and that when it was handed to the king by Ann Boleyn, "he lik'd it well, and would not suffer anything to be done to the author" (Hist. Reform. I. 160). Froude, indeed, assigns to it the date of 1528, and states that Wolsey issued a proclamation against it. (Hist. Engl. I. 90.)

The tone of that which was thus equally agreeable to the court and to the city, may be judged from the following extracts, which are by no means the plainest spoken that might be selected.

"§ 13. Yea, and what do they more? Truly, nothing but apply themselves by all the sleights they may to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child; that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right-begotten children clean beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order.

"§ 16. Who is she that will set her hands to work to get three-pence a day, and may have at least twenty-pence a day to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? Who is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve-pence a day to be a bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar?

"§ 31. Wherefore, if your grace will set their sturdy loobies abroad in the world, to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour, in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, *Gen.* iii., to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour; tye these holy, idle thieves to the carts to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they will fall to labour, that they may, by their importunate begging, not take away the alms that the good Christian people would give unto us sore, impotent, miserable people your bedemen."

The visitation produced the desired effect. In 1536, after reading the report, Parliament passed without opposition a bill suppressing, for the benefit of the crown, all monasteries with less than twelve inmates or possessing a revenue under £200 per annum. Three hundred and seventy-six houses were swept away by this act, and the "Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue" was established to take charge of the lands and goods thus summarily escheated. The rents which thus fell to the king were valued at £32,000 a year, and the movable property at £100,000, while the commissioners were popularly supposed to have been "as careful to enrich themselves as to increase the king's revenue." Stokesley, Bishop of London, remarked, concerning the transaction, that "these lesser houses were as thorns soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied old oaks, yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom before many years were passed." But Stokesley, however true a prophet in the general scope of his observation, was mistaken as to the extreme facility of eradicating the humble thorns. The country was not as easily reconciled to the change as the versatile, more intelligent, and less reverent inhabitants of the cities. Henry, unluckily, had not abrogated Purgatory by proclamation, and thousands were struck with dread as to the future prospects of themselves and their dearest kindred, when there should be few to offer the sacrifice of the mass for the benefit of departed souls. The traveller and the mendicant, too, missed the ever open door and the coarse but abundant fare, which smoothed the path of the humble wayfarer. Discontent spread widely, and was soon manifested openly. To meet this, most of the lands were sold at a very moderate price to the neighboring gentry, under condition of exercising free hospitality, to supply the wants of those who had hitherto been dependent on conventual charity.[1]

[1] Burnet, I. 193–4, 222–4;—Parl. Hist. I. 526–7. To our modern notions, there is something inexpressibly disgusting in the openness with which bribes were tendered to Cromwell by those who were eager to obtain grants of abbey lands (Suppression of Monasteries, *passim*). On the other hand, the abbots and abbesses who feared for their houses had as little scruple in offering him large sums for his protection. Thus the good Bishop Lati-

The plan was only partially successful, and soon another element of trouble made itself apparent. Of the monks whose houses were suppressed, those who desired to continue a monastic life were transferred to the larger foundations, while the rest took "capacities,"[1] under promise of a reasonable allowance for their journey home. They received only forty shillings and a gown, and with this slender provision it was estimated that about ten thousand were turned adrift upon the world, in which their previous life had incapacitated them from earning a support. The result is visible in the act for the punishment of "sturdy vagabonds and beggars," passed by Parliament in this same year, inflicting a graduated scale of penalties, of which hanging was that threatened for a third offence.[2]

This was a dangerous addition to society when discontent was smouldering and ready to burst into flame. The result was soon apparent. After harvest-time great disturbances convulsed the kingdom. A rising, reported as consisting of twenty thousand men, in Lincolnshire, was put down by the Duke of Suffolk with a heavy force and free promises of pardon. In the North matters were even more serious. The clergy there were less tractable than their southern brethren, and some Injunctions savoring strongly of Protestantism aroused their susceptibilities afresh. Unwilling to submit without a struggle, they held a convocation, in which they denied the royal supremacy and proclaimed their obedience to the pope. This was rank rebellion, especially as Paul III., on the 30th of August, 1535, had issued his Bull of excom-

---

mer renders himself the intermediary (Dec. 16th, 1536) of an offer from the Prior of Great Malvern of 500 marks to the king and 200 to Cromwell to preserve that foundation; while the Abbot of Peterboro' tendered the enormous sum of 2500 marks to the king and £300 to Cromwell (Ibid. 150, 179). The liberal disposition of the latter seems to have made an impression, for, though he could not save his abbey, he was appointed the first Bishop of Peterboro'—a see erected upon the ruins of the house.

[1] "They be very pore, and can have lytyll serves withowtt ther capacytes. The bischoyppys and curettes be very hard to them, withowtt they have ther capacytes."—The Bishop of Dover to Cromwell, March 10th, 1538 (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 193). These "capacities" empowered them to perform the functions of secular priests. The good bishop pleads that certain poor monks may obtain them without paying the usual fee.

[2] 27 Henry VIII. c. 25, renewed by 28 Hen. VIII. c. 6.—Parliament. Hist. I. 574.

munication against Henry, and self-preservation therefore demanded the immediate suppression of the recalcitrants. They would hardly, indeed, have ventured on assuming a position of such dangerous opposition without the assurance of popular support, nor were their expectations or labors disappointed. The "Pilgrimage of Grace," according to report, soon numbered forty thousand men. Although Skipton and Scarboro' bravely resisted a desperate siege, the success of the insurgents at York, Hull, and Pomfret Castle was encouraging, and risings in Lancashire, Durham, and Westmoreland gave to the insurrection an aspect of the most menacing character. Good fortune and skilful strategy, however, saved the Duke of Norfolk and his little army from defeat; the winter was rapidly approaching, and at length a proclamation of general amnesty, issued by the king on the 9th of December, induced a dispersion of the rebels. The year 1537 saw another rising in the North, but this time it only numbered eight thousand men. Repulsed at Carlisle, and cut to pieces by Norfolk, the insurgents were quickly put down, and other disturbances of minor importance were even more readily suppressed.[1]

Strengthened by these triumphs over the disaffected, Henry proceeded, in 1537, to make the acknowledgment of papal authority a crime liable to the penalties of a præmunire;[2] and, as resistance was no longer to be dreaded, he commenced to take possession of some of the larger houses. These did not come within the scope of the act of Parliament, and therefore were made the subject of special transactions. The abbots resigned, either from having been implicated in the late insurrections, or feeling that their evil lives would not bear investigation, or doubtless, in many cases, from a clear perception of the doom impending in the near future, which rendered it prudent to make the best terms possible while yet there was time. Thus, in these cases, the monks were generally pensioned with eight marks a year, while some of the abbots secured a revenue of 400 or 500 marks.[3] In an

---

[1] Burnet, I. 227-34; App.160.—Wilkins, III. 784, 792, 812.—Rymer, XIV. 549.

[2] 28 Henry VIII. c. 10.—Parl. Hist. I. 533.

[3] Burnet, I. 235-7. These pensions were not in all cases secured without difficulty, even after promises had been made and agreements entered into. (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 126.)

agreement which has been preserved, the monks were to receive pensions varying from 53*s.* 4*d.* to £4 a year, according to their age.[1] An effectual means of inducing voluntary surrenders was by stopping their source of support, and thus starving them out. Richard, Bishop of Dover, one of the commissioners in Wales, writes to Cromwell, May 23d, 1538: "I thinke before the yere be owt ther schall be very fewe howsis abill to lyve, but schall be glade to giffe up their howseis and provide for them selvys otherwise, for their thei schall have no living." In anticipation of the impending doom, many of the abbots and priors had sold everything that was salable, from lands and leases down to spits and kitchen utensils, leaving their houses completely denuded. The letters of the commissioners are full of complaints respecting this sharp practice, and of their efforts to trace the property. Another mode of compelling surrenders was by threatening the strict enforcement of the rules of the order. Thus, in the official report of the surrender of the Austin friars of Gloucester, we find the alternative given them, when "the seyd freeres seyed . . . as the worlde ys nowe they war not abull to kepe them and leffe in ther howseys, wherfore voluntaryly they gaffe ther howseys into the vesytores handes to the kynges use. The vesytor seyd to them, 'thynke nott, nor hereafter reportt nott, that ye be suppresseyd, for I have noo such auctoryte to suppresse yow, but only to reforme yow, wherfor yf ye woll be reformeyd, accordeyng to good order, ye may contynew for all me.' They seyd they war nott abull to contynew," whereupon they were ejected.[2]

In the year 1538 the work proceeded with increased rapidity, no less than 158 surrenders of the larger houses being enrolled. Many of the abbots were attainted of treason and executed, and the abbey lands forfeited. Means not of the nicest kind were taken to increase the disrepute of the monastic orders, and they retaliated in the same way. Thus, the Abbot of Crossed-Friars, in London, was surprised in the day time with a woman under the worst possible circumstances, giving rise

[1] Suppression of Monasteries, p. 170.

[2] Ibid. pp. 194, 203.

to a lawsuit more curious than decent;[1] while, on the other hand, the Abbess of Chepstow accused Dr. London, one of the visitors, of corrupting her nuns.[2] Public opinion, however, did not move fast enough for the rapacity of those in power, and strenuous exertions were made to stimulate it. All the foul stories that could be found or invented respecting the abbeys were raked together; but these proving insufficient, the impostures concerning relics and images were investigated with great success, and many singular exposures were made which gave the king fresh warrant for his arbitrary measures, and placed the religious houses in a more defenceless position than ever.[3]

Despite all this, in the session of 1539 all the twenty-eight parliamentary abbots had their writs, and no less than twenty sat in the House of Lords.[4] Yet the influence of the court and the progress of public opinion were shown in an act which confirmed the suppressions of the larger houses not embraced

---

[1] A letter from John Bartelot to Cromwell shows that the abbot purchased secrecy by distributing thirty pounds to those who detected him, and promising them thirty more. This latter sum was subsequently reduced to six pounds, for which the holy man gave his note. This not being paid at maturity, he was sued, when he had the audacity to complain to Cromwell, and to threaten to prosecute the intruders for robbery and force them to return the money paid. Bartelot relates his share in the somewhat questionable transaction with great naïveté, and applies to Cromwell for protection.—Suppression of Monasteries, Letter xxv.

[2] This may have been true, for Dr. London was one of the miserable tools who are the fitting representatives of the time. His zeal in suppressing the monasteries was complemented with equal zeal in persecuting Protestants. In 1543 he made himself conspicuous, in conjunction with Gardiner, by having some heretics burned under the provisions of the Six Articles. His eagerness in this good work led him to commit perjury, on conviction of which he was pilloried and thrust into the Fleet, where he died.—Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 295-6.

In fact, Henry's capricious despotism rendered it almost impossible that he could be served by men of self-respect and honor.

[3] Burnet, I. 238-43.—See also Froude's Hist. Engl. III. 285 et seq. During his visitation (Aug. 27th, 1538), the Bishop of Dover writes to Cromwell, "I have Malkow's ere that Peter stroke of, as yt ys wrytyn, and a M. as trewe as that." (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 212.) In a report of Dec. 28th, 1538, Dr. London observes, with dry humor, "I have dyvers other propre thinges, as two heddes of seynt Ursula, wich bycause ther ys no maner of sylver abowt them, I reserve tyll I have another hedd of herse, wich I schall fynd in my waye within thees xiiii. days, as I am creadably informyd." (Ibid. p. 234.) Nicander Nucius (op. cit. pp. 51-62) relates some of the stories current at the time of the miracles engineered by the monks to stave off their impending doom.

[4] Parl. Hist. I. 535.

in the former act, as well as all that might thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or resigned,[1] and May 9th, 1540, by special enactment the ancient order of the Knights of St. John was broken up, pensions being granted to the grand prior and some of the principal dignitaries.[2] These measures consummated the ruin of the monastic system in England. Henceforth it was altogether at the king's mercy, and his character was not one to temper power with moderation. In 1539 there are upon record fifty-seven surrenders of the great abbeys,[3] and a large number in 1540, the good house of Godstow being the last of the great monasteries to fall. Of the old monastic system this left only the chantries, free chapels, collegiate churches, hospitals, &c., which were gradually absorbed during the succeeding years;[4] until the necessities of the king prompted a sweeping measure for their destruction. Accordingly in 1545 a bill was brought in placing them all at his disposition. There were some indications of opposition, but the king pleaded the expenditures of the French and Scottish wars, and solemnly promised his Parliament "that all should be done for the glory of God and common profit of the realm," whereupon it was passed.[5] It is computed that the number of monasteries suppressed, by these various measures, was 645; of colleges, 90; of chantries and free chapels, 2374; and of hospitals, 110.[6]

A vast amount of property thus passed into the hands of the court. The clear yearly rental of the suppressed houses alone was rated at £131,607 6*s.* 4*d.*—an immense sum in those days; but Burnet states that in reality it was almost tenfold that amount.[7] Small as may have been the good effected by these enormous possessions in the hands of the monks, it was

---

[1] 31 Henry VIII. c. 13 (Parl. Hist. I. 537).

[2] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 24 (Ibid. 543–44).

[3] Burnet, I. 262–3.

[4] Rymer, XIV. XV.

[5] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4 (Parl. Hist. I. 561).

[6] Parl. Hist. I. 537. Such hospitals, chantries, &c., as were spared by Henry VIII. were speedily swept away, as soon as Edward VI. succeeded to the throne, by the act 1 Edw. VI. c. 14 (Parl. Hist. I. 583).

[7] This may readily be considered no exaggeration. A letter from John Freeman to Cromwell values at £80,000 the lead alone stripped from the dismantled houses (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 290).

even more worthless under the management of its new masters. Henry admitted the heavy responsibility which he assumed in thus seizing the wealth which had been dedicated to pious uses, and he entertained magnificent schemes for devoting it to the public benefit, but his own necessities and the grasping avarice of needy courtiers wrought out a result ridiculously mean. Thus he designed to set aside a rental of £18,000 for the support of eighteen "Byshopprychys to be new made."[1] For this purpose he obtained full power from Parliament in 1539,[2] and in 1540 he established one on the remains of the Abbey of Westminster. Those of Chester, Gloucester, and Peterboro' were established in 1541, and in 1543 those of Oxford and Bristol,[3] and one of them, that of Westminster, was suppressed in 1550, leaving only five as the result. Splendid foundations were promised for institutions of learning, but little was given; a moderate sum was expended in improving the sea-ports, while broad manors and rich farms were granted to favorites at almost nominal prices; and the ill-gotten wealth abstracted from the church disappeared without leaving traces except in the sudden and overgrown fortunes of those gentlemen who were fortunate or prompt enough to make use of the golden opportunity.

If it be asked what became of the "holy idle thieves" and "sturdy loobies" whom the Beggars' Petition so earnestly desired to be thrown upon the world, the answer may be found in the legislation of Edward VI. A poor-law, the commencement of a series which to this day has pressed upon England with ever increasing weight, was enacted in 1552.[4] This tells its own story, but even more suggestive was another bill for the suppression of vagabondage, the provisions of which mark not only the inhumanity of the age, but the magnitude of the evil caused by the violent acts of Henry. Every able-bodied man loitering in any place for three days without working or offering to work was held

[1] Such is the substance of a memorandum in Henry's own hand-writing (Suppression of Monasteries, No. 131, p. 263).

[2] 31 Hen. VIII. c. 9 (Parl. Hist. I. 540).

[3] Burnet, I. 300.

[4] 5–6 Edw. VI. c. 2 (Parl. Hist. I. 596).

to be a vagabond. He was thereupon to be branded on the breast with a letter V, and adjudged as a slave for two years to any one who might bring him for that purpose before a justice of the peace.[1] Such was the ignominious end of the powerful and wealthy monastic orders of England.

The monastic establishments of Ireland shared the same fate. Rymer[2] gives the text of a commission for the suppression of a nunnery of the diocese of Dublin, in 1535. The insubordination of the island, however, rendered it difficult to carry out the suppression everywhere, and finally, in 1541, it was accomplished by virtually granting their lands to the native chieftains. These were good Catholics, but they could not resist the temptation. They joined eagerly in grasping the spoil, and the desirable political object was effected of detaching them, for the time, from the foreign alliances with the Catholic powers which threatened serious evils.[3]

It is a striking proof of Henry's strength of will and intense individuality of character, that, in thus tearing up by the roots the whole system of monachism, he did not yield one jot to the powerful section of his supporters who had pledged themselves to the logical sequence of his acts, the abrogation of sacerdotal celibacy in general. While every reason of policy and statesmanship urged him to grant the privilege of marriage to the secular clergy, whom he forced to transfer to him the allegiance formerly rendered to Rome; while his chief religious advisers at home and his Protestant allies abroad used every endeavor to wring from him this concession, he steadily and persistently refused it to the end, and we can only guess whether his firmness arose from conscientious conviction or from the pride of a controversialist.

Notwithstanding his immovable resolution on this point,

[1] 1 Edw. VI. c. 3.—Parl. Hist. I. 583.—Burnet, II. 45. In 1538 the Bishop of Dover interceded with Cromwell for licenses to enable some ejected friars to abandon their monastic gowns, "For off trewthe ther harttes be clene from the relygyon the more parte, so they myght change ther cotes, the whyche they be not abull to paye for, for they have no thenge" (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 197).

[2] Fœdera, T. XIV. p. 551.

[3] Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 543.

his power seemed ineffectual to stay the progress of the new ideas. An assembly held by his order in May, 1530, to condemn the heretical doctrines disseminated in certain books, shows how openly the advocates of clerical marriage had promulgated their views while yet Wolsey was prime minister and Henry gloried in the title of Defender of the Faith. Numerous books were denounced in which celibacy was ridiculed, its sanctity disproved, and its evil influences commented upon in the most irreverent manner.[1]

If the reforming polemics were thus bold while Henry was yet orthodox, it may readily be imagined how keenly they watched the progress of his quarrel with the pope, and how loud became their utterances as he gradually threw off his allegiance to Rome and persecuted all who hesitated to follow in his footsteps. He soon showed, however, that he allowed none to precede him, and that all consciences were to be measured by the royal ell-wand. Thus his proceedings against the Franciscans in 1534 were varied by a proclamation directed against seditious books and priestly marriages. It seems that some unions had taken place, and all who had committed the indiscretion were deprived of their functions and reduced to the laity, though the marriages seem to have been recognized as valid. Future transgressions, moreover, were threatened

---

[1] Thus "An Exposition into the seventh Chapitre of the firste Epistle to the Corinthians" seems to have been almost entirely devoted to an argument against celibacy, adducing all manner of reasons derived from nature, morality, necessity, and Scripture, and describing forcibly the evils arising from the rule. The author does not hesitate to declare that "Matrimony is as golde, the spirituall estates as dung," and the tenor of his writings may be understood from his triumphant exclamation, after insisting that all the Apostles and their immediate successors were married—"Seeing that ye chose not married men to bishoppes, other Criste must be a foole or unrighteous which so did chose, or you anticristis and deceyvers."

The "Sum of Scripture" was more moderate in its expressions. "Yf a man vowe to lyve chaste and in povertie in a monasterie, than yf he perceyve that in the monastery he lyveth woorse than he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leve the cloyster and breke his vowe without synne."

The "Obedience of a Cristen Man" is most uncompromising. "Oportet presbyterum ducere uxorem duas ob causas." . . . "If thou bind thy self to chastitie to obteyn that which Criste purchesed for the, surely soo art thow an infidele."

The "Revelation of Anticriste" carries the war into the enemy's territory in a fashion somewhat savage. "Keping of virginitie and chastite of religion is a devellishe thinge." (Wilkins, III. 728–34.)

with the royal indignation and further punishment—words of serious import at such a time and under such a monarch.[1]

In spite of all this, the chief advisers of Henry did not scruple to connive at infractions of the proclamation. Both Cranmer and Cromwell favored the Reformation; the former was himself secretly married, and the latter, though, as a layman, without any such personal motive, was disposed to relax the strictness of the rule of celibacy. During the visitation of the monasteries, for instance, the Abbot of Walden had little hesitation in confessing to Ap Rice, the visitor, that he was secretly married, and asked to be secured from molestation. The confidence thus manifested in the friendly disposition of the vicar-general was satisfactorily responded to. Cromwell replied, merely warning him to "use his remedy" without, if possible, causing scandal.[2] A singular petition, addressed to him in 1536 by the secular clergy of the diocese of Bangor, illustrates forcibly both the confidence felt in his intentions, and the necessity of the Abbot of Walden's

---

[1] Wilkins, III. 778.—Bishop Wilkins also prints (III. 696) from Harmer's "Specimen of Errors" this proclamation, with unimportant variations, as "given this 16th day of November, in the 13th year of our reign," which would place it in 1521. It is impossible, however, at a time when even the Lutherans of Saxony had scarcely ventured on the innovation, that in England priestly marriage could already have become as common as the proclamation shows it to be. The bull of Leo X., thanking Henry for his refutation of Luther, was dated Nov. 4th, 1521, and we may be sure that the king's zeal for the faith would at such a moment have prompted him to much more stringent measures of repression, if he had ventured, at that epoch, to invade the sacred precincts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—a thing he would have been by no means likely to do. While hesitating, therefore, to call in question Bishop Wilkins's critical acumen, I cannot but regard the proclamation of 1521 as apocryphal.

For the same reasons I have been forced to reject a discussion in convocation of the same year (Wilkins, III. 697), in which the question of sacerdotal marriage was decided triumphantly in the affirmative. The proceedings are evidently those of Dec. 1547, in the first year of Edward VI.

[2] MS. State Paper Office (Froude, III. 65). Ap Rice's report to Cromwell is sufficiently suggestive as to the interior life of the monastic orders to deserve transcription. "As we were of late at Walden, the abbot there being a man of good learning and right sincere judgment, as I examined him alone, showed me secretly, upon stipulation of silence, but only unto you as our judge, that he had contracted matrimony with a certain woman secretly, having present thereat but one trusty witness; because he, not being able, as he said, to contain, though he could not be suffered by the laws of man, saw he might do it lawfully by the laws of God; and for the avoiding of more inconvenience, which before he was provoked unto, he did thus, having confidence in you that this act should not be anything prejudicial unto him."

"remedy" in the fearful state of immorality which prevailed. There had been a visitation in which the petitioners admit that many of them had been found in fault, and as their women had been consequently taken away, they pray the vicar-general to devise some means by which their consorts may be restored. They do not venture to ask directly for marriage, but decency forbids the supposition that they could openly request Cromwell to authorize a system of concubinage. Nothing can be more humiliating than their confession of the relations existing between themselves, as ministers of Christ, and the flocks intrusted to their spiritual care. After pleading that without women they cannot keep house and exercise hospitality, they add: "We ourselves shall be driven to seek our living at ale-houses and taverns, for mansions upon the benefices and vicarages we have none. *And as for gentlemen and substantial honest men, for fear of inconvenience, knowing our frailty and accustomed liberty, they will in nowise board us in their houses.*"[1]

There appears, indeed, about this period, to have been great uncertainty in the public mind respecting the state of the law and the king's intentions. Two letters happen to have been preserved, written within a few days of each other, in June, 1537, to Cromwell, which reveal the condition of opinion at the time. One of these complains that the vicar of Mendelsham, in Suffolk, has brought home a wife and children, whom he claims to be lawfully his own, and that it is permitted by the king. Although "thys acte by hym done is in thys countre a monstre, and many do growdge at it," yet, not knowing the king's pleasure, no proceedings can be had, and appeal is therefore made for authority to prosecute, lest "hys ensample wnponnyched shall be occacion for other carnall evyll dysposed prestes to do in lyke maner." The other letter is from

[1] MS. State Paper Office (Froude, III. 372). The tendencies thus exhibited by the king's advisers called forth the remonstrances of the conservatives. In June, 1536, the lower house of convocation presented a memorial inveighing strongly against the progress of heresy, and among the obnoxious opinions condemned was "that priests were like other men, and might marry and have wives like other men." A special charge against Cromwell was that these heretical doctrines were openly advocated in books printed "cum privilegio," thus having the apparent sanction of the crown. (Ibid. pp. 64–5.)

an unfortunate priest who had recently married, supposing it to be lawful. The "noyse of the peopull," however, had just informed him that a royal order had commanded the separation of such unions, and he had at once sent his wife to her friends, threescore miles away. He therefore hastens to make his peace, protesting that he had sinned through ignorance, though he makes bold to argue that "yf the kyngys grace could have founde yt laufull that prestys mught have byn maryd, they wold have byn to the crowne dubbyll and dubbyll faythefull; furste in love, secondly for fere that the byschoppe of Rome schuld sette yn hys powre unto ther desolacyon."[1]

Notwithstanding the influences with which he was thus surrounded, Henry sternly adhered to the position which he had assumed.[2] When, in 1538, the princes of the Schmalcaldic League offered to place him at its head, and even to alter, if possible, the Augsburg Confession so as to make it a common basis of union for all the elements of opposition to Rome, Henry was well inclined to obtain the political advantages of the position tendered him, but hesitated to accept it until all doctrinal questions should be settled. The three points on which the Germans insisted were the communion in both elements, the worship in the vulgar tongue, and the marriage of the clergy. Henry was firm, and the ambassadors of the League spent two months in conferences with the English

[1] Suppression of Monasteries, pp. 160–1. It is evident from these letters that there was still a genuine popular antipathy to clerical marriage, and yet that the royal supremacy was so firmly established by Henry's ruthless persecutions that this antipathy was held subject to the pleasure of the court, and could at any moment have been dissipated by proclamation. In fact, the only wonder is that any convictions remained in the minds of those who had seen the objects of their profoundest veneration made the sport of avarice and derision. Stately churches torn to pieces, the stone sold to sacrilegious builders, the lead put up at auction to the highest bidder, the consecrated bells cast into cannon, the sacred vessels melted down, the holy relics snatched from the shrines and treated as old bones and offal, the venerated images burned at Smithfield—all this could have left little sentiment of respect for worn-out religious observances in those who watched and saw the sacrilege remain unpunished.

[2] He made one exception. Nuns professed before the age of 21 were at liberty to marry after the dissolution of their houses, whereat, according to Dr. London, they "be wonderfull gladde . . . and do pray right hartely for the kinges majestie." (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 214.)

bishops and doctors without result. On their departure (August 5th, 1538), they addressed him a letter arguing the subjects in debate—the refusal of the cup, private masses, and sacerdotal celibacy—to which Henry replied at some length, defending his position on these topics with no little skill and dexterity, and refusing his assent finally.[1] The reformers, however, did not yet despair, and the royal preachers even ventured occasionally to debate the propriety of clerical marriage freely before him in their sermons, but in vain.[2] An epistle which Melancthon addressed him in April, 1539, arguing the same questions again, had no better effect.[3]

Notwithstanding any seeming hesitation, Henry's mind was fully made up, and the consequences of endeavoring to persuade him against his prejudices soon became apparent. Confirmed in his opinions, he proceeded to enforce them upon his subjects in the most peremptory manner, "for though on all other points he had set up the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession," yet on these he had committed himself as a controversialist, and the worst passions of polemical authorship —the true "odium theologicum"—acting through his irresponsible despotism, rendered him the cruellest of persecutors. But a few weeks after receiving the letter of Melancthon, he answered it in his own savage fashion.

In May a new parliament met, chosen under great excitement, for the people were inflamed on the subject of religion, and animosities ran high. The principal object of the session was known to be a settlement of the national church, and as the reformers were as yet in a minority against the court, the temper of the Houses was not likely to be encouraging for them.[4] On the 5th of May, a week after its assembling, a committee was appointed, at the king's request,

[1] Burnet, I. 254-55; Append. 332, 347.

[2] "Nothing has yet been settled concerning the marriage of the clergy, although some persons have very freely preached before the king upon the subject."—John Butler to Conrad Pellican (Froude, III. 382).

[3] Burnet, I. Append. 329.

[4] Yet the moderate party ventured to submit to parliament "A Device for extirpating Heresies among the People," among the suggestions of which was a bill for abolishing ecclesiastical celibacy, legalizing all existing marriages, and permitting the clergy in general "to have wives and work for their living." — Rolls House MS. (Froude, III. 381).

to take into consideration the differences of religious opinion. On the 16th, the Duke of Norfolk, who was not a member of the committee, reported that no agreement could be arrived at, and he therefore laid before the House of Lords, for full discussion, articles embracing—1st. Transubstantiation; 2d. Communion in both kinds; 3d. Vows of Chastity; 4th. Private Masses; 5th. Sacerdotal Marriages; and 6th. Auricular Confession. Cranmer opposed them stoutly, arguing against them for three days, and especially endeavoring to controvert the third and fifth, which enjoined celibacy, but his efforts and those of his friends were vain, when pitted against the known wishes of the king, who himself took an active part in the debate, and argued in favor of the articles with much vigor. Under such circumstances, the adoption of the Six Articles was a foregone conclusion. On the 30th of May the chancellor reported that the House had agreed upon them, and that it was the king's pleasure "that some penal statute should be enacted to compel all his subjects who were in any way dissenters or contradicters of these articles to obey them." The framing of such a bill was intrusted to two committees, one under the lead of Cranmer, the other under that of the Archbishop of York, and they were instructed to lay their respective plans before the king within forty-eight hours. Of course the report of the Archbishop of York was adopted. Introduced on the 7th of June, Cranmer again resisted it gallantly, but it passed both Houses by the 14th, and received the royal assent on the 28th. It was entitled "An Act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion," and it stands as a monument of the cruel legislation of a barbarous age. The Third Article was "that Priests after the order of Priesthood might not marry by the Law of God;" the Fourth, "that Vows of Chastity ought to be observed by the Law of God," and those who obstinately preached or disputed against them were adjudged felons, to suffer death without benefit of clergy. Any opposition, either in word or writing, subjected the offender to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and a repetition of the offence constituted a felony, to be expiated with the life of the culprit. Priestly marriages were declared void, and a

priest persisting in living with his wife was to be executed as a felon. Concubinage was punishable with deprivation of benefice and property, and imprisonment, for a first offence; a second lapse was visited with a felon's death, while in all cases the wife or concubine shared the fate of her partner in guilt. Quarterly sessions were provided, to be held by the bishops and other commissioners appointed by the king, for the purpose of enforcing these laws, and the accused were entitled to trial by jury.[1] Vows of chastity were only binding on those who had taken them of their own free will when over twenty-one years of age.[2] According to the Act, the wives of priests were to be put away by June 24th, but on that day, as the act was not yet signed, an order was mercifully made extending the time to July 12th.[3]

Cranmer argued, reasonably enough, that it was a great hardship, in the case of the ejected monks, to insist on the observance of the vow of chastity, when those of poverty and obedience were dispensed with, and when the unfortunates had been forcibly deprived of all the advantages, safeguards, and protection of monastic life.[4] The matter, however, was not decided by reason, but by the whimsical perversity of a self-opinionated man, who, unfortunately, had the power to condense his polemical notions in the blood of his subjects.

To comprehend the full iniquity of this savage measure we must remember the rapid progress which the new opinions had been making in England for twenty years; the tacit encouragement given them by the suppression of the religious

---

[1] Burnet, I. 258-9. Mr. Froude endeavors to relieve Henry of the responsibility of this measure, and quotes Melancthon to show that its cruelty is attributable to Gardiner (Hist. Engl. III. 395). He admits, however, that the bill as passed differs but slightly from that presented by the king himself, with whom the committee which framed it must have acted in concert. According to Strype, "had not the king come himself in person into the parliament house, it would not have passed."—Parl. Hist. I. 536-40.

[2] 31 Henry VIII. c. 6 (Parl. Hist. loc. cit.).

[3] Parl. Hist. I. 540.

[4] Dr. London chronicles the troubles of this class. "I perceyve many of the other sortt, monkes and chanons, whiche be yonge lustie men, allways fatt fedde, lyving in ydelnes and at rest, be sore perplexide that now being prestes they may nott retorn and marye." (Suppression of Monasteries, p. 215.)

Nicander Nucius asserts that many did marry openly—"ἄλλους δὲ γυναῖκας ἐννόμως συνεύνους εἰσαγομένους." (Op. cit. p. 71.)

houses, and by the influence of the king's confidential advisers; and the hopes naturally excited by Henry's quarrel with Rome and negotiations with the League of Schmalcalden. In spite, therefore, of the comparatively mild punishments hitherto imposed on priestly marriage, which were no doubt practically almost obsolete, such unions may safely be assumed as numerous. Even Cranmer himself, the primate of Henry's church, was twice married, his second wife, then living, the sister of Osiander, being kept under a decent veil of secrecy in his palace. When, after his fruitless resistance to the Six Articles, the bill was passed, he sent his wife to her friends in Germany, until the death of his master enabled him to bring her back and acknowledge her openly;[1] but vast numbers of unfortunate pastors could not have had the opportunity, and perhaps lacked the self-control, thus to arrange their domestic affairs. Even the gentle Melancthon was moved from his ordinary equanimity, and ventured to address to his royal correspondent a remonstrance expressing his horror of the cruelty which could condemn to the scaffold a man whose sole guilt consisted in not abandoning the wife to whom he had promised fidelity through good and evil, before God and man.[2]

---

[1] Burnet, I. 256–7. It was not until 1543 that he ventured to confess this to the king. (Ibid. p. 328.) At his trial in 1556 his two marriages were one of the points of accusation against him. (Ibid. II. 339.)

Sanders, in commenting upon Cranmer's time-serving disposition, which enabled him to accommodate himself to Henry's capricious opinions, and yet to enter fully into the reformatory ideas predominant under Edward VI., does not fail to satirize his connubial propensities. "Son seul déplaisir estoit de ne pouvoir vivre publiquement avec sa concubine comme avec une femme legitime, ce qu'il sçavoit bien que Henri n'eust pas souffert: de sorte qu'il estoit contraint de la tenir cachée dans son palais, et quand il alloit à la campagne, on la portoit avec luy dans une litière fermée. Après la mort de Henri, il s'affranchoit de ce fâcheux esclavage; la jeunesse d'Edouard et la protection que Seimer accordoit à toutes sortes de Sectes, luy persuaderent de se plonger dans l'incontinence et dans l'heresie: car il vivoit dans un concubinage public avec sa maitresse, et il dédia un catechisme à Edouard rempli d'une doctrine fausse et impie."—Hist. du Schisme d'Angleterre (trad. Maucroix, Paris, 1676).

[2] Valde autem miratus sum votum sacerdotum in Anglico decreto etiam arctius adstringi quam votum monachorum, cum canones ipsi tantum eatenus velint obligatum esse presbyterum si sit in ministerio; planeque cohorrui legens hunc articulum, prohibet matrimonia et contracta dissolvit, et addit pœnam capitalem. . . . Quis credat in ecclesia in qua lenitas præcipue erga pios esse debet tantam existere posse sævitiam, ut capitales pœnæ constituantur in homines pios propter conjugium.—Melancthon. Lib. 1. Epist. 28.

As might be expected, numerous divorces of married priests followed this Draconian legislation, and these divorces were held good by the act of 1549, which, under Edward VI., granted full liberty in the premises to ecclesiastics.[1] Even Henry, however, began to feel that he had gone too far, and the influence of Cromwell was sufficient to prevent the harshest features of the law from being enforced in all their odious severity, especially as the projected marriage with Ann of Cleves and the alliance with the German Lutherans rendered active persecution in the highest degree impolitic. When the comedy of Henry's fourth marriage culminated in the tragedy of Cromwell's ruin (June, 1540), the reactionary elements again gathered strength. There can be little doubt that the atrocity of the law had greatly interfered with its efficient execution and had aroused popular feeling, for now, although the Vicar-General was removed, the Catholics passed with speedy alacrity a bill moderating the act of the Six Articles, in so far as it related to marriage and concubinage. For capital punishment was substituted the milder penalty of confiscation to the king of all the property and revenue of the offenders.[2]

The Six Articles, as thus modified, remained the law of England during the concluding years of Henry's reign, nor is it likely that any one ventured to urge upon him seriously a relaxation of the principles to which he had committed himself thus definitely. The fall of Cromwell and the danger to which Cranmer was exposed for several years were sufficient to insure him against troublesome remonstrants, even if his increasing irritability and capriciousness had not made those around him daily more alive to the danger of thwarting or resisting his idlest humor.

On the 28th of January, 1547, Henry VIII. died, and Edward VI. succeeded to the perilous throne. Not yet ten years of age, his government of course received its direction from those around him, and the rivalry between the protector

[1] 2-3 Edw. VI. c. 21. (Parl. Hist. I. 586.)

[2] 32 Hen. VIII. c. 10.—Burnet, I. 282.—Parl. Hist. I. 575.

Somerset and the chancellor Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, threw the former into the hands of the progressives, as the latter was the acknowledged head of the reactionary party. The ruin of Southampton and the triumph of Somerset, strengthened by his successful campaign in Scotland, soon began to develop their natural consequences on the religion of the country. Under the auspices of Cranmer, a convocation was assembled which was empowered to decide all questions in controversy. When the primate was anxious to again enjoy the solace of his wife's company and to relieve both her and himself from the stigma of unlawful marriage, it is easy to understand that the subject of celibacy would receive early and appropriate attention. Accordingly, on December 17, 1547, a proposition was submitted to the effect that all canons, statutes, laws, decrees, usages, and customs, interfering with or prohibiting marriage, should be abrogated, and was carried by a vote of 53 to 22. No time was lost. Two days afterwards a bill was introduced in the Commons permitting married men to be priests and to hold benefices. It was received with so much favor that it was read twice the same day, and on the 21st it was sent up to the Lords; but in the Upper House it raised debates so prolonged that, as the members were determined to adjourn before Christmas, it was laid aside. This might be the more readily agreed to, since on the 23d an act was approved which abolished numerous severe laws of the former reign, including the statute of the Six Articles, and was immediately followed by another granting the use of the cup to the laity and prohibiting private masses.[1]

The repeal of the Six Articles left the marriage of the clergy subject to the previous laws of Henry, imposing on it various pains and penalties, but with the votes recorded in convocation and Parliament, it is not likely that much vigor was displayed in their enforcement. Those interested could thus afford to await the reassembling of the Houses, which did not take place until November 24, 1548, but they claimed

[1] 1 Edw. I. c. 1, 12. (Parl. Hist. I. 582-4.)—Wilkins, IV. 16.—Burnet, II. 40, 41.—Ibid. III. 189.

the reward of their patience by an early hearing in the session. On the 3d of December a bill was introduced, similar to that of the previous year, rendering married men eligible to the priesthood; it passed second reading on the 5th, and third reading on the 6th. Apparently encouraged by the favorable reception accorded to it, the friends of the measure resolved on demanding further privileges. The bill was therefore laid aside, and on the next day a new one was presented which granted the additional liberty of marriage to those already in orders. It conceded to the established opinions the fact that it were better that the clergy should live chaste and single, yet "as great filthiness of living had followed on the laws that compelled chastity and prohibited marriage," therefore all laws and canons inhibiting sacerdotal matrimony should be abolished. This bill, after full discussion, was read a second and third time on the 10th and 12th, and was sent up to the Lords on the 13th. Again the Upper House was in no haste to pass it. It lay on the table until February 9, 1549, when it was stoutly contested, and, after being recommitted, it finally passed on the 19th, with the votes of nine bishops recorded against it.[1]

Cranmer and his friends were now at full liberty to establish the innovation by committing the clergy individually to marriage, and by enlisting the popular feeling in its support. During the discussion they had not been idle. Much controversial writing had occurred on both sides, in which Poinset, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, took an active part, while Bale, Bishop of Ossory, distinguished himself on the same side by raking together all the foul stories that could be collected concerning the celibate clergy of ancient and modern times. Burnet declares that no law passed during the reign of Edward excited more contradiction and censure, and the matrimonialists soon found that even with the act of parliament in their favor, their course was not wholly a smooth one. Cranmer ordered a visitation in his province, and directed as one of the points for inquiry and animadversion

[1] 2-3 Edw. I. c. 31 (Parl. Hist. I. 586).—Burnet, II. 88-9.

"Whether any do contemn married priests, and, for that they be married, will not receive the communion or other sacraments at their hands,"[1] which distinctly reveals the difficulties encountered in eradicating the convictions of centuries from the popular mind. Sanders says, and with every appearance of probability, that the Archbishop of York united with Cranmer in ordering a visitation of the whole kingdom, during which the visitors investigated particularly the morals of the clergy, and used every argument to impel them to marriage, not only declaring celibacy to be most dangerous to salvation, but intimating that all who adhered to it would be regarded as papists and enemies of the king.[2]

The Reformers speedily found that they were not to escape without opposition. The masses of the people throughout England were in a state of discontent. The vast body of abbey lands acquired by the gentry and now inclosed bore hard upon many; the raising of rents showed that secular landlords were less charitable than the ancient proprietors of the soil; the increase of sheep-husbandry threw many farm laborers out of employ; and the savage enactments, already alluded to, against the unfortunate expelled monks show how large an element of influential disaffection was actively at work in the substratum of society. The priests who disapproved of the rapid Protestantizing process adopted by the court could hardly fail to take advantage of opportunities so tempting, and they accordingly fanned the spark into a flame. The enforcement of the new liturgy, on Whitsunday, 1549, seemed the signal of revolt. Numerous risings took place, which were readily quelled, until one in Devonshire assumed alarming proportions. Ten thousand men in arms made demands for relief in religious as well as temporal matters. Lord Russel, unable to meet them in the field,

---

1 Wilkins, IV. 26. Wilkins places this in 1547, which is evidently impossible. Burnet (II. 102) alludes to it under 1549, which is much more likely to be correct.

2 Ils leur conseilloient donc de se marier de peur de brûler, ou de tomber en des pechez dont la seule pensée fait horreur. Enfin, ils leur declaroient franchement, Qu'ils tenoient pour Papistes et ennemis du Roy tous ceux qui preferoient un celibat dangereux à un mariage pudique et honneste, principalement ayant devant les yeux, le saint exemple de deux archevêques celebres, qui n'avoient point fait difficulté de se marier.—Sanders, Hist. du Schisme, p. 319.

endeavored to gain time by negotiation, and offered to receive their complaints. These were fifteen in number, of which several demanded the restoration of points of the old religion, and one insisted on the revival of the Six Articles. On their refusal, another set was drawn up, in which not only were the Six Articles called for, but also a special provision enforcing the celibacy of the clergy. This was likewise rejected; but during the delay another rising occurred in Norfolk, reckoned at twenty thousand men, and yet another of less formidable dimensions in Yorkshire. Russel finally scattered the men of Devon, while the Earl of Warwick succeeded in suppressing the rebels of Norfolk, when the promise of an amnesty caused the Yorkshiremen to disperse.[1]

The question of open resistance thus was settled. Cranmer and his friends had now leisure to consolidate their advantages and organize a system that should be permanent. In 1551, he and Ridley prepared with great care a series of forty-two articles, embodying the faith of the church of England, which was adopted by the convocation in 1552. Burnet speaks of it as bringing the Anglican doctrine and worship to perfection. It remained unaltered during the rest of Edward's reign, and under Elizabeth it was only modified verbally in the recension which resulted in the famous Thirty-nine Articles—the foundation stone of the Episcopalian edifice. Of these forty-two articles, the thirty-first declared that "Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law to vow the estate of a single life or to abstain from marriage."[2]

The canon law had thus invested the marriage of the clergy with all the sanctity that the union of man and wife could possess. Yet still the deep-seated conviction of the people as to the impropriety of such proceedings remained, troubling the repose of those who had entered into matrimony, and doubtless operating as a restraint upon the numbers of the imitators of Cranmer. The act of 1549 had to a certain extent justified these prejudices by admitting the

---

[1] Burnet, II. 117–9.

[2] Burnet, II. Append. 217. In the Latin version, "Episcopis, presbyteris et diaconis non est mandatum ut cœlibatum voveant; neque, jure divino coguntur matrimonio abstinere" (Wilkins, IV. 76).

preferableness of a single life in the ministers of Christ, and it was resolved to remove every possible stigma by a solemn declaration of parliament. A bill was therefore prepared and speedily passed (Feb. 10th, 1552), which reveals how strong was the popular opposition, and how uncertain the position of the wives and children of the clergy. It declares "That many took occasion from the words in the act formerly made about this matter, to say that it was only permitted, as usury and other unlawful things were, for the avoidance of greater evils, who thereupon spoke slanderously of such marriages, and accounted the children begotten in them to be bastards, to the high dishonor of the King and Parliament, and the learned clergy of the Realm, who had determined that the laws against priests' marriages were most unlawful by the law of God; to which they had not only given their assent in the Convocation, but signed it with their hands. These slanders did also occasion that the Word of God was not heard with due reverence." It was therefore enacted "That such marriages made according to the rules prescribed in the Book of Service should be esteemed good and valid, and that the children begot in them should be inheritable according to law."[1]

A still further confirmation of the question was designed in a body of ecclesiastical law which was for several years in preparation by various commissions appointed for the purpose. In this it was proposed to make the abrogation of celibacy not a point of law but a matter of faith, for, in the second Title, among the various heresies condemned is that which denies "the lawfulness of marriage, particularly in the clergy." This work, however, though completed, had not yet received the royal assent, when the death of Edward VI. caused it to pass out of sight.[2]

---

[1] 5-6 Edw. VI. c. 12 (Parl. Hist. I. 594).—Burnet, II. 192.

It is curious to observe at the present day the "Ritualistic" portion of the English clergy adopt the same line of argument from the marriage service of the Anglican ritual, and apply it not only to the priesthood but to the whole body of believers. See "The Church and the World," edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, 2d edition, 1866, p. 161.

[2] Burnet, II. 197.

If the Protestants indulged in any day-dreams as to the permanency of their institutions, they were not long in finding that a change of rulers was destined to cause other changes disastrous to their hopes. Even the funeral of Edward, on the 8th of August, 1553, afforded them a foretaste of what was in store. Although Cranmer insisted that the public ceremonies in Westminster Abbey should be conducted according to the reformed rites, Queen Mary, still resident in the Tower, had private obsequies performed with the Roman ritual, where Gardiner celebrated mortuary mass in presence of the queen and some four hundred attendants. When the incense was carried around after the Gospel, it chanced that the chaplain who bore it was a married man, and the zealous Dr. Weston snatched it from him, exclaiming, "Shamest thou not to do thine office, having a wife as thou hast? The queen will not be censed by such as thou!"[1]

Trifling as was this incident, it foreboded the wrath to come. Though Mary was not crowned until October 1st, she had issued writs for a parliament to assemble on the 10th, and as an entire change in the religious institutions of the country was intended, we may not uncharitably believe the assertion that every means of influence and intimidation was employed to secure the return of reactionary members. These efforts were crowned with complete success. The Houses had not sat for three weeks, when a bill was sent down from the Lords repealing all the acts of Edward's reign concerning religion, and after a debate of six days it passed the Commons.[2]

The effect of this was of course to revive the statute of the Six Articles, and to place all married priests at the mercy of the queen; and as soon as she felt that she could safely exercise her power, she brought it to bear upon the offenders. The Spanish marriage being agreed upon and the resultant insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt being suppressed, Mary recognized her own strength, and her Romanizing tendencies,

---

[1] Froude, Hist. Engl. Vol. VI. pp. 58–9. This story derives additional piquancy from the fact that this Dr. Weston was subsequently deprived of the Deanery of Windsor for adultery.

[2] 1 Mary c. 2 (Parl. Hist. I. 609–10).—Burnet, II. 255.

which had previously been somewhat restrained, became openly manifested. On the 4th of March, 1554, she issued a letter to her bishops, of which the object was to restore the condition of affairs under Henry VIII., except that the royal prerogatives as head of the church were expressly disavowed. It contained eighteen articles, to be strictly enforced throughout all dioceses. Of these the seventh ordered that the bishops should by summary process remove and deprive all priests who should have been married or lived scandalously, sequestrating their revenues during the proceedings. Article VIII. provided that widowers, or those who promised to live in the strictest chastity, be treated with leniency, and receive livings at some distance from their previous abode, being properly supported meanwhile; while Article IX. directed that those who suffered deprivation should not on that account be allowed to live with their wives, and that due punishment should be inflicted for all contumacy.[1]

No time was lost in carrying out these regulations. By the 9th of the same month, a commission was already in session at York, which cited the clergy to appear before it on the 12th. Still more summary were the proceedings commenced against offenders of the highest class, designed and well fitted to strike terror into the hearts of the humbler parsons. On the 16th a commission was issued to the Bishops of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), London (Bonner), Durham, St. Asaphs, Chichester, and Landaff, to investigate the cases of the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of St. Davids, Chester, and Bristol, who, according to report, had given a most pernicious example by taking wives, in contempt of God, to the damage of their own souls, and to the scandal of all men. Any three of the commissioners were empowered to summon the accused before them, and to ascertain the truth of the report without legal delays or unnecessary circumlocution. If it were found correct, then they were authorized to remove the offenders at once and forever from their dignities, and also to impose penance at discretion. This was scant measure of justice, considering that the marriage of

[1] Burnet, II. Append. 234.

these prelates had been contracted under sanction of law, and, if that law had recently been repealed, that at least the option of conforming to the new order of things could not decently be denied; yet even this mockery of a trial was apparently withheld, for the congé d'élire for their successors is dated March 18th, only two days after the commission was appointed.[1]

During the summer, the bishops went on their visitations. The articles prepared by Bonner for his diocese are extant, among which we find directions to inquire particularly of the people whether their pastors are married, and, if separated, whether any communication or intercourse takes place between them and their wives; also, whether any one, lay or clerical, ventures to defend sacerdotal matrimony.[2] Few of the weaker brethren could escape an inquisition so searching as this, and though some controversy arose, and a few tracts were printed in defence of priestly marriage, such men as Bonner were not likely to shrink from the thorough prosecution of the work which they had undertaken.

When the convocation assembled in this year, it was therefore to be expected that only orthodox opinions would find expression. Accordingly, the lower House presented to the bishops an humble petition praying for the restoration of the old usages, among the points of which are requests that married priests be forcibly separated from their wives, and that those who endeavor to abandon their order be subjected to special animadversion. This clause shows that many unfortunates preferred to give up their positions and lose the means of livelihood, rather than quit the wives to whom they

[1] Burnet, II. 275 and Append. 256.—Rymer (T. XV. pp. 376–77) gives a similar commission dated March 9th, issued to Stephen Gardiner to eject the canons and prebendaries of Westminster in the same summary manner. The proceedings throughout England were doubtless framed on these models.

[2] Art. 2. Whether your parson, vicar, or any other ministring as priest within your parish, have been or is married or taken for married, not yet separated from his concubine or woman taken for wife? Or . . . whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaining, supporting, or finding the same, in any wise, to the offence of the people?

Art. 3. Whether there be any person, of what estate, condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the marriage of priests, encouraging or bolding any persons to the defence thereof.—Burnet, II. Append. 260.

had sworn fidelity, demanding, as we shall see, much subsequent conflicting legislation. The social complications resulting from the change of religion are also indicated in the request that married nuns may be divorced, and that the pretended wives of priests have full liberty to marry again.[1]

Everything being thus prepared, the purification of the church from married heretics was prosecuted with vigor. Archbishop Parker states that there were in England some 16,000 clergymen, of whom 12,000 were deprived on this account, many of them most summarily; some on common report, without trial, others without being summoned to appear before their judges, and others again while lying in jail for not obeying the summons. Some renounced their wives, and were yet deprived, while those who were deprived were also, as we have seen, forced to part with their wives. We can readily believe that the most ordinary forms of justice were set aside, in view of the illegal and indecorous haste of the proceedings against the married bishops described above, but Parker's estimate of the number of sufferers is greatly exaggerated. According to Dr. Tanner, in the diocese of Norfolk—then estimated at one-eighth of the whole kingdom—there were only 335 deprivations on this account; and at York, from April 27th to December 20th, 1554, there were only fifty-one ejected.[2] It is probable, therefore, that the list throughout England would not exceed three thousand; yet when to these are added the hosts who no doubt succeeded in retaining their positions by a compliance with the law in quietly putting away their wives,[3] it will be seen that the privilege of marriage had been eagerly improved by the clergy, and that an amount of misery which it would be difficult to calculate was caused by the enforcement of the canons.

---

[1] Wilkins, IV. 96–7.

[2] Burnet, II. 276, III. 225–6.

[3] A specimen of the form of restitution subscribed by those who were restored on profession of amendment and repentance has been preserved—"Whereas . . . I the said Robert do now lament and bewail my life past, and the offence by me committed; intending firmly by God's grace hereafter to lead a pure, chast, and continent life . . . and do here before my competent judge and ordinary most humbly require absolution of 'and from all such censures and pains of the laws as by my said offence and ungodly behavior I have incurred and deserved: promising firmly . . . never to return to the said Agnes Staunton as to my wife or concubine, &c."—(Wilkins, IV. 104).

All this was done by the royal authority, wielding the ecclesiastical power usurped by Henry VIII. Strictly speaking, it was highly irregular and uncanonical, but as the papal supremacy was yet in abeyance it could be accomplished by no other means. At last, however, the kingdom was ripe for reconciliation with Rome. In calling a parliament, the queen issued a circular letter to the sheriffs commanding them to admonish the people to return members "of the wise, grave, and Catholic sort."[1] Her wishes were fulfilled, and ere the year was out Cardinal Pole was installed with full legatine powers, and Julius III. had issued his Bull of Indulgence, reuniting England to the church from which she had been violently severed.[2] An obedient parliament lost no time in repealing all statutes adverse to the claims of the Holy See, but its subserviency had limits, and one class largely interested in the reforms of Henry had sufficient influence to maintain its heretical rights. The church lands granted or sold to laymen were not revendicated. Though the transactions by which they had been acquired were wholly illegal; though no duration of possession could bar the imprescriptible rights of the church, yet the nobles and country gentlemen enriched by the spoliation were too numerous and powerful, and the reclamation of the kingdom was too important, to incur any peril by unseasonably insisting on reparation for Henry's injustice. The abbatial manors and rich priories, the chantries, hospitals, and colleges were therefore left in the impious hands of those who had been fortunate enough to secure them,[3] and the miserable remnants of the religious orders were left to the conscience of the queen,

---

[1] Parl. Hist. I. 616.

[2] The Bull is dated December 24, 1554 (Wilkins, IV. 111).—Parliament repealed the attainder of Cardinal Pole, November 22d, and on the 24th he arrived in London as legate (Burnet, II. 291–2).

[3] 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary c. 8. (Parl. Hist. I. 624). The title of the bill shows that, though the Parliament was almost exclusively Catholic, it was disposed to make its obedience to Rome the price for obtaining confirmation of the abbey lands. "A Bill for repealing all statutes, articles, and provisoes made against the See Apostolique of Rome, since the 20th of Henry VIII., and for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity."—In 1555, a papal Bull was read in parliament, confirming this arrangement. (Ibid. p. 626).

who made haste to get rid of such fragments of the spoil as had been retained by the crown.[1]

Cardinal Pole was not remiss in giving the sanction of the papal authority to all that had been done. Convoking a synod, he issued in 1555 his Legatine Constitutions, by which all marriages of those included in the prohibited orders were declared null and void. Such apostates were ordered to be separated by ecclesiastical censures and by whatever legal processes might be required; all who dared to justify such marriages or to obstinately remain in their unholy bonds were to be rigorously prosecuted and punished according to the ancient canons, which were revived and declared to be in full force in order to prevent similar scandals for the future.[2] As the queen by special warrant had decreed that all canons adopted by synods should have the full effect of laws binding on the clergy, these constitutions at once restored matters to their pristine condition.

It was easy to pass decrees; it was doubtless gratifying to eject married priests by the thousand and to grant their livings to hungry reactionaries or to the crowd of needy churchmen whom Italy had ever ready to supply the spiritual wants and collect the tithes of the faithful. All this was readily accomplished, but the difficulty lay in overcoming the eternal instincts of human nature. The struggle to effect this commenced at once.

It was, indeed, hardly to be expected that those who had entered into matrimony with the full conviction of its sanctity would willingly abandon all intercourse with their wives, although they might yield a forced assent to the pressure of the laws, the prospect of poverty, and the certainty of infamous punishment. Accordingly we find that the necessity at once arose of watching the "reconciled" priests, who continued to do in secret what they could no longer practise openly. Some, indeed, found the restrictions so onerous that they endeavored to release themselves from the bonds of the church rather than to submit longer to the separation from

---

[1] 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 4. (Parl. Hist. pp. 626–8.)

[2] Card. Poli Constit. Legat. Decret. v. (Wilkins, IV. 800.)

their wives; and this apparently threatened so great a dearth in the ranks of the clergy that Cardinal Pole, as Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1556, forbade the withdrawal of any one from the mysteries and functions of the altar, under pain of the law.[1]

Notwithstanding all this legislation, royal, parliamentary, and ecclesiastical, the question refused to settle itself, and the convocation which assembled on the 1st of January, 1557, was obliged to publish an elaborate series of articles, which demonstrated that previous enactments had either not been properly observed or that they had failed in effecting their purpose. Thus the prohibition of marriage to those in priests' orders was formally renewed. Such of the married clergy, who had undergone penance and had been restored, as still persisted in holding intercourse with their separated wives, were to be deprived irrevocably of their office and only to be admitted to lay communion—thus reversing the policy of Cardinal Pole's injunctions. As all priests who had been married were obnoxious to the people, they were to be removed from the priesthood; or, at least, on account of the scarcity of ministers, to act only as curates, and to be incapable of holding benefices until a thorough course of penance should have washed away their sins. Even then, in no case were they to officiate in the dioceses wherein they had been married, but were to be removed to a distance of at least sixty miles, and if detected in any intercourse with their wives, they were to incur severe punishment, a single interchange of words being sufficient to call down the penalty. To insure the observance of these rules, all synods were directed to make special inquiry into the lives of these unfortunates, who were thus to exist under a perpetual surveillance, at the mercy of inimical spies and informers.[2] This may perhaps be considered a moderate expiation for men who, in those

[1] "That none of those priests that were, under the pretence of lawfull matrimony, married, and now reconciled, do privilie resorte to their pretensed wives, or suffer the same to resorte unto them. And that those priests do in no wise henceforth withdrawe themselves from the mynisterie and office of priesthodde under the paine of the lawes."—Pole's Injunctions in Diocese of Gloucester (Wilkins, IV. 146).

[2] Wilkins, IV. 157.

days of fierce religious convictions, possessed that flexibility of faith which enabled them to change their belief with every dynastic accident.

If the rigid rules now introduced were successful in nothing else, they at all events succeeded in restoring the old troubles with the old canons. Denied the lawful gratification of human instincts, the clergy immediately returned to the habits which had acquired for them so much odium in times past, and the rulers of the church at once found themselves embarked in the sempiternal struggle with immorality in all its shapes and disguises. The convocation of 1557, which issued the stringent regulations just quoted, was also obliged to promulgate articles concerning the residence of women with priests, and the punishment of licentiousness, similar to those which we have seen reproduced so regularly for ten centuries. Cardinal Pole, too, in his visitation of the same year, directed inquiries to be made on these points in a manner which shows that they were existing, and not merely anticipated evils.[1]

Fortunately for the character of the Anglican clergy, the reign of reaction was short. On the 17th of November, 1558, Queen Mary closed her unhappy life, and Cardinal Pole followed her within sixteen hours. The Marian persecution had been long enough and sharp enough to give to heresy all the attractions of martyrdom, thus increasing its fervor and enlarging its circle of earnest disciples; and the sudden termination of that persecution, before it had time to accomplish its work of extirpation, left the reformers more zealous and dangerous than ever. Heresy had likewise been favored by the discontent of the people arising from the disastrous and expensive war with France, which aided the improvident restoration of the church lands in impoverishing the exchequer and in exacting heavy subsidies from the nation, repaid only by cruelty and misfortune. Dread of Spanish influence also had a firm hold of the imagination of the masses, while the church itself was especially unpopular, as the conviction

[1] Wilkins, IV. 169.

was general that the ill-success of Mary's administration was attributable to the control exercised by ecclesiastics over the public affairs. Under such auspices, the royal power passed into the hands of a princess who, though by nature leaning to the Catholic faith and disposed to tread in the footsteps of her father, was yet placed by the circumstances of her birth in implacable hostility to Rome, and who held her throne only on the tenure of waging eternal warfare with reaction. The reformers felt that the doom of Catholicism was sealed. Emerging from their hiding-places and hastening back from exile, the religious refugees proceeded at once to practise the rites of Edward VI. Elizabeth, however, after ordering some changes in the Roman observances, forbade, on the 27th of December, all further innovations until the meeting of Parliament, which was convoked for January 23, 1559.

Parliament assembled on the appointed day and sat until the 8th of May. It at once passed acts resuming the ecclesiastical crown lands and restoring the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and it repealed all of Mary's legislation concerning the power of the papacy. Several other bills were adopted modifying the religion of the kingdom, with a view of discovering some middle term which should unite the people in a common form of belief and worship.[1] Anxious to avoid all extremes, it negatived the measures introduced by the ardent friends of the Reformation, and among the unsuccessful attempts was one which restored all priests who had been deprived on account of marriage. This, indeed, was laid aside by the special command of the queen herself.[2]

The question of clerical marriage was thus left in a most perplexed and unsatisfactory condition. The Six Articles had been repealed by Edward VI., and had been virtually revived by Mary; but Mary's efforts had been to restore the independent jurisdiction of the church, and she had therefore not continued to regard the Six Articles as in force, the canons of synods and the legatine constitutions of Pole being the law of her ecclesiastical establishment. This was now

[1] 1 Eliz. c. 1, 2, 4. (Parl. Hist. I. 646–76.)

[2] Burnet, II. 386–95.

all swept away, a statute to fill the void was refused, and men were left to draw their own deductions and act at their own peril. Elizabeth refused the sanction of law to sacerdotal marriage, and would not restore the deprived priests, yet she did not enforce any prohibitory regulations, and even promoted many married men. Dr. Parker, the religious adviser of Anne Boleyn who had left him in charge of her daughter's spiritual education, was married, and one of Elizabeth's earliest acts was to nominate him for the vacant primacy of Canterbury, which after long resistance he was forced to accept. The uncertainty of the situation and the anxiety of those interested are well illustrated by a letter to Dr. Parker, dated April 30th, just before the rising of Parliament, from Dr. Sands, afterwards Bishop of Worcester: "The bill is in hand to restore men to their livings; how it will speed I know not . . . Nihil est statutum de conjugio sacerdotum, sed tanquam relictum in medio. Lever was married now of late. The queen's majesty will wink at it, but not stablish it by law, which is nothing else but to bastard our children."[1]

At length Elizabeth made up her mind, and in the exercise of her royal supremacy she asked for no act of Parliament to confirm her decree. Archbishop Parker has the credit of being the most efficient agent in overcoming her repugnance to the measure, and the ungracious manner in which she finally accorded the permission shows how strong were the prejudices which he had to encounter. In June, 1559, she issued a series of "Injunctions to the Clergy and Laity"

[1] Burnet, II. Append. 332.—Sanders does not fail to make the most of this refusal to legalize priestly marriage by act of Parliament, and of the hesitation which rendered the final decision a mere toleration and not an approval. —"Ce nouveau clergé composé d'Apostats et de seculiers ne songeoit qu'aux nopces: il tâcha de faire approuver par les loix le mariage des evêques et des chanoines et des autres ministres de leurs eglises; et de declarer legitimes les enfans qui en estoient issus; mais il n'en pût venir à bout, parceque la chose paroissoit indigne du ministere des autels et prejudiciable à l'Estat. Edouard VI. par arrest du Parlement avoit cassé toutes les prohibitions canoniques et civiles touchant le mariage des religieux et des clercs. Marie fit revoquer cet arrest; maintenant les Novateurs font tous leurs efforts pour en obtenir le rétablissement, mais en vain. Cependant par tolerance et non par edict ils ne laissent pas de se marier par tout le royaume, une, deux et jusqu' à trois fois, malgré les canons. . . . Comme donc ils se trouvent chargez d'enfans, il faut que pour les élever et les enrichir, ils pillent et les peuples et les benefices."—Hist. du Schisme, pp. 453–4.

which restored the national religion to nearly the same position as that adopted by Edward VI., and it is curious to observe that when she comes to speak of sacerdotal matrimony, she carefully avoids the responsibility of sanctioning it herself, but assumes that the law of Edward is still in force. All that she does, therefore, is to surround it with such limitations and restrictions as shall prevent its abuse, and although this form had perhaps the advantage of establishing the legality of all pre-existing marriages, yet the regulations promulgated were degrading in the highest degree, and the reason assigned for permitting it could only be regarded as affixing a stigma on every pastor who confessed the weakness of his flesh by seeking a wife.[1]

From the temper of these regulations it is manifest that if Elizabeth yielded to the advice of her counsellors and to the pressure of the times, she did not give up her private convictions or prejudices, and that she desired to make the

[1] Royal Injunctions of 1559, Art. xxix. "Although there be no prohibition by the word of God, nor any example of the primitive church, but that the priests and ministers of the church may lawfully, for the avoiding of fornication, have an honest and sober wife, and that for the same purpose the same was by act of Parliament in the time of our dear brother King Edward the Sixth made lawful, whereupon a great number of the clergy of this realm were married and so continue; yet, because there hath grown offence and some slander to the church, by lack of discreet and sober behavior in many ministers of the church, both in chusing of their wives and undiscreet living with them, the remedy whereof is necessary to be sought; it is thought therefore very necessary that no manner of priest or deacon shall hereafter take to his wife any manner of woman without the advice and allowance first had upon good examination by the bishop of the same diocese and two justices of the peace of the same shire dwelling next to the place where the same woman hath made her most abode before her marriage; nor without the goodwill of the parents of the said woman if she have any living, or two of the next of her kinsfolks, or for lack of the knowledge of such, of her master or mistress where she serveth. And before she shall be contracted in any place, he shall make a good and certain proof thereof to the minister or to the congregation assembled for that purpose, which shall be upon some holyday where divers may be present. And if any shall do otherwise, that then they shall not be permitted to minister either the word or the sacraments of the church, nor shall be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice. And for the marriages of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province and also by such commissioners as the Queen's Majesty thereunto shall appoint. And if any master or dean or any head of any college shall purpose to marry, the same shall not be allowed but by such to whom the visitation of the same doth properly belong, who shall in any wise provide that the same turn not to the hindrance of their house."—(Wilkins, IV. 186.)

See also a letter of Theodore Beza, Zurich Letters, p. 247 (Parker Soc. Publications).

marriage of her clergy as unpopular and disagreeable as possible. Even the haughty spirit of the Tudor, however, could not restrain the progress which had now fairly set in. Those around her who controlled the public affairs were all committed to the Reformation, and were resolved that every point gained should be made secure. When, therefore, in 1563, there was published a recension of the Forty-two Articles issued by Edward VI. in 1552, resulting in the well-known Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, care was taken that the one relating to the liberty of marriage should be made more emphatic than before. Not content with the simple proposition of the original that "Bishops, priests, and deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of a single life, or to abstain from marriage," the emphatic corollary was added, "Therefore it is lawful for them as for all other Christian men to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to Godliness"[1]—such as we find it preserved to the present day.

This was not an empty form. Not only the right to marry at their own discretion, thus expressly declared, did much to relieve them from the degrading conditions laid down by the queen, but the revival and strengthening of the article marked a victory gained over the reaction. When, in 1559, the queen appointed a commission to visit all the churches of England and enforce compliance with the order of things then existing, the articles prepared for its guidance enjoin no investigation into opinions respecting priestly marriage, showing that to be an open question, concerning which every man might hold his private belief.[2] After the adoption of the Thirty-nine Ar-

[1] In the English version, as given by Burnet (Vol. II. Append. 217), there are 42 articles, of which this is the 31st. In the Latin edition (Wilkins, IV. 236), there are but 39 articles, this being the 32d, which is the arrangement according to the standard of the Anglican church.

This specific declaration in a special article marks the necessity which was felt to place the matter beyond controversy, as a rule of practice. The Articles on Justification and Works of Supererogation (Arts. xi. and xix.) would have sufficed, so far as principle was concerned.

[2] Wilkins, IV. 189-91.—This commission was the commencement of the Court of High Commission, which played so lamentable a part in the troubles of the succeeding reigns. The result of its visitation in 1559 shows how little real conviction existed among the clergy who had been exposed to the capricious persecutions of alternating rulers. Out of 9400

ticles, however, this latitude was no longer allowed. In 1567 Archbishop Parker's articles of instruction for the visitation of that year enumerate, among the heretical doctrines to be inquired after, the assertion that the Word of God commands abstinence from marriage on the part of ministers of the church.[1] With both Catholics and Protestants the matter had thus become definitely a point of belief.

Yet Elizabeth never overcame her repugnance to the marriage of the clergy, nor is it, perhaps, to be wondered at when we consider her general aversion to sanctioning in others the matrimony which she was herself always toying with and never contracting. When she made her favorites of both sexes suffer for any legalized indiscretions of the kind, it is scarcely surprising that she always looked with disfavor on those of the clergy who availed themselves of the privilege which circumstances had extorted from her, and which she would fain have withheld. When Archbishop Parker ventured to remonstrate with her on her popish tendencies, she sharply told him that "she repented of having made any married bishops." This was a cutting rejoinder, but even more pointed was the insolence from which his life-long services could not protect his wife. The first time the queen visited the archiepiscopal palace, on her departure she turned to thank Mrs. Parker. "And you—madam I may not call you, mistress I am ashamed to call you, so I know not what to call you—but, howsoever, I thank you." So in Ipswich, on her progress of 1561, she found great fault with the marriage of the clergy, and especially with the number of wives and children in cathedrals and colleges; and she proceeded forthwith to banish them by an order addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, commanding that in future no woman should resort to the lodgings of such institutions on any pretext.[2] To these influences, perhaps, we may attri-

---

beneficiaries in England under Mary, but 14 bishops, 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors of parishes had abandoned their preferment on account of Protestantism (Burnet, Vol. II. Append. 217), and of these it is fair to assume that the higher dignitaries at least had not been allowed to retain their positions.

[1] Wilkins, IV. 253.

[2] Strickland, Life of Queen Elizabeth, chap. IV.

bute the last relic of clerical celibacy enforced among Protestants, that of the Fellows of the English Universities.

The same spirit which rendered the marriage of a pastor dependent on the approbation of the neighboring squires caused the retention of ancient rules, which prove the profound distrust still entertained as to the discretion and morality of the clergy, and the difficulty with which the Anglican church threw off the traditions of Catholicism. Thus, even in 1571, Grindal, Archbishop of York, promulgates a modification of the canon of Nicæa, forbidding the residence with unmarried ministers of women under the age of sixty, except relatives closely connected by blood.[1]

Although sacerdotal marriage was now fully sanctioned by the organic canon law of the church, yet it was still exposed to serious impediments of a worldly character. When thus frowned upon by her who was in reality, if not in name, Supreme Head of the church; when the wife of the primate himself could be exposed to such indelible impertinence; when the marriage of every unfortunate parson was subjected to degrading conditions, and when it was assumed that his bride must be a woman at service, the influences affecting the matrimonial alliances of the clergy must have been of the worst description. The higher classes of society would naturally model their opinions on those of the sovereign, while the lower orders had not as yet shaken off the prejudices in favor of celibacy, implanted in them by the custom of centuries. Making due allowance for polemical bitterness, there is therefore no doubt much truth in the sarcastic account which Sanders gives of the wives of the Elizabethan clergy. Taking advantage of the refusal of Parliament to formally legalize such marriages—a refusal which could not but greatly affect the minds of the people—he assumes that the wives were concubines and the children illegitimate in the eyes of the law; consequently decent women refused to undergo the obloquy attached to a union with a minister of the church, who was therefore forced to take as his spouse any one

[1] "No minister (being unmarried) to keep in his house any woman under the age of sixty years, except she be their mother, sister, aunt, or niece."—Wilkins, IV. 269.

who would consent to accept him. The wives of prelates were ostracized; not received at court, and sharing in no way the dignities of their husbands, they were kept closely at home for the mere gratification of animal passion. The members of universities had been wholly unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain the same license, which was only granted to the heads of colleges, under condition that their wives should reside elsewhere, and should rarely pollute with their presence the learned precincts.[1]

Such a state of feeling could not but react most injuriously on the character of the great body of the clergy. It deprived them of the respect due to their sacred calling, and consequently reduced them to the level of such scant respect as was accorded to them. How long this lasted, and how materially it degraded the ministers of Christ as a body, cannot be questioned by any one who recalls the description of the rural clergy in the brilliant third chapter of Macaulay's History of England. In 1686 an author complains that the rector is an object of contempt and ridicule for all above the rank of the neighboring peasants; that gentle blood would

---

[1] "Or, non seulement les Catholiques mais les Protestans mesme refusoient de telles personnes pour leurs gendres.

Premierement à cause de la honte qui est attachée à la qualité de femme de Prêtre.

En second lieu, parceque par les loix du Royaume ces mariages ne sont point permis, et par consequent les enfans qui en naissent sont illegitimes.

En troisième lieu, c'est que les femmes et les enfans de ces gens-là n'ont aucune part au rang et à la dignité de leurs maris et de leurs peres; car la femme d'un Archevêque, d'un Evêque ou d'un Prelat Anglais ne participe pas plus aux honneurs de son mari que sa concubine. Aussi la Reine ni les Princesses ne reçoivent point les visites des femmes mesme des Archevêques; de sorte que leurs époux sont contraints de les garder chez eux comme des secours d'intemperance. Les honnestes filles dédaignant donc de si desavantageux mariages, ils estoient obligez de prendre des femmes telles qu'ils les rencontroient. Le Magistrat Civil refrena encore cette licence. Les suppots des Universitez, qui sont en grand nombre en Angleterre, corrompus par l'oisiveté et par l'abondance, vouloient se prevaloir du temps, et se marier; mais l'on y trouva encore trop d'inconvenient; de sorte que l'on restraignit cette liberté aux seuls Principaux, à condition toutefois Que leurs femmes logeroient hors des Colleges et n'y entreroient que rarement."—Hist. du Schisme, pp. 455–6.

The only edition of Sanders's work to which I have access is the translation of Maucroix (Paris, 1676), in which the savage crudities of the original are somewhat softened. Of course much allowance must be made for the statements of so keen a partisan, and one who had suffered so much from those whom he satirized, yet he was a man of too much shrewdness to make statements which his contemporaries could recognize as entirely destitute of foundation.

be held polluted by any connection with the church, and that girls of good family were taught with equal earnestness not to marry clergymen, nor tò sacrifice their reputation by amorous indiscretions—two misfortunes which were commonly regarded as equal.[1]

Thus eagerly accepted and grudgingly bestowed, the privilege of marriage established itself in the Church of England by connivance rather than as a right; and the evil influences of the prejudices thus fostered were not extinguished for many generations.

---

[1] A causidico, medicastro, ipsaque artificum farragine, ecclesiæ rector aut vicarius contemnitur et fit ludibrio. Gentis et familiæ nitor sacris ordinibus pollutus censetur: fœminisque natalitio insignibus unicum inculcatur sæpius præceptum, ne modestiæ naufragium faciant, aut (quod idem auribus tam delicatulis sonat) ne clerico se nuptas dari patiantur.—T. Wood, Angliæ Notitia (Macaulay's Hist. Engl. chap. III.).

Lord Macaulay attributes the degraded position of the clergy to their indigence and want of influence. These causes doubtless had their effect, but the peculiar repugnance towards clerical marriage ascribed to all respectable women had a deeper origin than simply the beggarly stipends attached to the majority of English livings.

XXVIII.

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

THE contest which secured the freedom of marriage for the Anglican clergy was prolonged and intricate. The question was simpler in Scotland, where the Reformation was not exposed to vicissitudes so numerous and so abrupt. It need, therefore, but briefly detain our attention.

Lollardism had not been confined to the southern portion of the Island. It had penetrated into Scotland, and had received the countenance of those whose position and influence were well calculated to aid in its dissemination among the people. In 1494, thirty of these heretics, known as "the Lollards of Kyle," were prosecuted before James IV. by Robert Blacater, Archbishop of Glasgow. Their station may be estimated from the fact that they escaped the punishment due to their sins by the favor of the monarch, "for divers of them were his great familiars." The thirty-four articles of accusation brought against them are mostly Wickliffite in tendency, and their views on the question of celibacy are manifested in the twenty-second article which accuses them of asserting "That Priests may have wives according to the constitution of the Law and of the Primitive Christian Church."[1]

The soil was thus ready for the plough of the Reformation; while the temper of the Scottish race gave warrant that when the mighty movement should reach them, it would be marked by that stern and uncompromising spirit which alone could satisfy conscientious and fiery bigots, who would regard all half-measures as pacts with Satan. Nor was there lacking

[1] Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 3 (Ed. 1609).

ample cause to excite in the minds of all men the desire for a sweeping and effectual reform. Corruption had extended through every fibre of the Scottish church as foul and as all-pervading as that which we have traced throughout the rest of Christendom.

Not long after the year 1530, and before the new heresy had obtained a foothold, William Arith, a Dominican, ventured to assail the vices of his fellow churchmen. In a sermon preached at St. Andrews, with the approbation of the heads of the universities, he alluded to the false miracles with which the people were deceived, and the abuses practised at shrines to which credulous devotion was invited. "As of late dayes," he proceeded, "our Lady of Karsgreng hath hopped from one green hillock to another: But, honest men of St. Andrewes, if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or else send them in good honest company; for if ye knew what miracles were wrought there, ye would thank neither God nor our Lady." In another sermon, arguing that the disorders of the clergy should be subjected to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, he introduced an anecdote respecting Prior Patrick Hepburn, afterwards Bishop of Murray. That prelate once, in merry discourse with his gentlemen, asked of them the number of their mistresses, and what proportion of the fair dames were married. The first who answered confessed to five, of whom two were bound in wedlock; the next boasted of seven, with three married women among them; and so on until the turn came to Hepburn himself, who, proud of his *bonnes fortunes*, declared that although he was the youngest man there, his mistresses numbered twelve, of whom seven were men's wives.[1] Yet Arith was a good Catholic, who, on being driven from Scotland for his plain speaking, suffered imprisonment in England under Henry VIII. for maintaining the supremacy of the pope.

How little concealment was thought requisite with regard to these scandals is exemplified in the case of Alexander Ferrers, which occurred about the same time. Taken prisoner by the English and immured for seven years in the Tower of

---

[1] Knox, pp. 15–16.

London, he returned home to find that his wife had been consoled and his substance dissipated in his absence by a neighboring priest, for the which cause he not unnaturally "spake more liberally of priests than they could bear." By this time heresy was spreading, and severe measures of repression were considered necessary. It therefore was not difficult to have the man's disrespectful remarks construed as savoring of Lutheranism, and he was accordingly brought up for trial at St. Andrews. The first article of accusation read to him was that he despised the Mass, whereto he answered, "I heare more Masses in eight dayes than three bishops there sitting say in a yeare." The next article accused him of contemning the sacraments. "The priests," replied he, "were the most contemnors of the sacraments, especially of matrimony." "And that he witnessed by many of the priests there present, and named the man's wife with whom they had meddled, and especially Sir John Dungwaill, who had seven years together abused his own wife and consumed his substance, and said: because I complain of such injuries, I am here summoned and accused as one that is worthy to be burnt: For God's sake, said he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whom ye have abused may be revenged on you." Old Gawain Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, not relishing this public accusation, sought to justify himself, exclaiming, "Carle, thou shalt not know my wife;" but the prisoner turned the tables on him, "My lord, ye are too old, but by the grace of God I shall drink with your daughter or I depart." "And thereat there was smiling of the best and loud laughter of some, for the bishop had a daughter married with Andrew Balfour in that town." The prelates who sat in judgment found that they were exchanging places with the accused, and fearful of further revelations from the reckless Alexander, commanded him to depart; but he refused, unless each one should contribute something to replace the goods which his wife's paramour had consumed, and finally, to stop his evil tongue, they paid him and bade him begone.[1]

All prelates, however, were not so sensitive. When Car-

---

[1] Knox, pp. 16-17.

dinal Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, and virtual governor of the realm, about the year 1546 married his eldest daughter to the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, he caused the nuptials to be celebrated with regal magnificence, and in the marriage articles, signed with his own hand, he did not hesitate to call her "my daughter." It is not difficult, therefore, to credit the story that the night before his assassination was passed with his mistress, Marion Ogilby, who was seen leaving his chamber not long before Norman Leslie and Kirkaldy of Grange forced their way into his castle.[1] His successor in the see of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, was equally notorious for his licentiousness; and men wondered, not at his immorality, but at his taste in preferring to all his other concubines one whose only attraction seemed to be the zest given to sin by the fact that she was the wife of one of his kindred.[2]

This is testimony from hostile witnesses, and we might perhaps impugn their evidence on that ground, were it not that the Catholic Church of Scotland itself admitted the abandoned morals of its members when the rapid progress of Calvinism at length drove it in self-defence to attempt a reform which was its only chance of salvation. In the last Parliament held by James V. before his death in 1542, an act was passed exhorting the prelates and ecclesiastics in general to take measures "for reforming of ther lyvis, and for avoyding of the opin sclander that is gevin to the haill estates throucht the spirituale mens ungodly and dissolut lyves."[3] Nothing was then done in spite of this solemn warning, though the countenance afforded to the Reformers by the Regent Arran, strengthened by his alliance with Henry VIII., was daily causing the heresy to assume more fearful proportions. When, therefore, the Catholic party, rallying after the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, at length triumphed with the aid of France, and sent

[1] Buchanan. Rer. Scot. Hist. Lib. xv. Robertson, Hist. of Scot. B. II.—Knox, 71-2.

[2] "In omnia vitia præceps ierat, e multis concubinis, hanc Sempliam, nec forma decoram, nec fama alioqui integram, nec alia re quam procacitate insignem, a marito, propinquo suo et gentili, abductam, prope in uxoris justæ loco habebat." — Buchanan. Lib. xv.

[3] Wilkins, IV. 207.

the young Queen of Scots to marry Francis II., they seemed to recognize that they could only maintain their advantage by meeting public opinion in endeavoring to reform the church. Accordingly, in November, 1549, a council was convoked at Edinburgh, of which the first canon declares that the licentiousness of the clergy had given rise to the gravest scandals, to repress which the rules enjoined by the council of Bâle must be strictly enforced and universally obeyed. The second canon is no less significant in ordering that prelates and other ecclesiastics shall not live with their illegitimate children, nor provide for them or promote them in the paternal churches, nor marry their daughters to barons by endowing them with the patrimony of Christ, nor cause their sons to be made barons by the same means.[1]

This was of small avail. Ten years afterwards, the progress of heresy becoming ever more alarming, another council was held in March, 1559, to devise means to put a stop to the encroachments of the enemy. To this assembly the Catholic nobles addressed an earnest prayer for a reformation. After alluding to the proceedings of the Parliament of 1542, they add, "And siclyk remembring in diverss of the lait provinciale counsales haldin within this realm, that poynt has been treittet of, and sindrie statutis synodale maid therupon, of the quhilks nevertheless thar hes folowit nan or litill fruitt as yitt, bot rathare the said estate is deteriorate . . . it is maist expedient therefore that thai presentlie condescend to seik reformation of thir lyvis . . . and naymlie that oppin and manifest sins and notor offencis be forborn and abstenit fra in tyme to cum." In this request they had been anticipated by the Reformers, who, the previous year, in a supplication addressed to the queen-regent, included among their demands "That the wicked, slanderous and detestable life of Prelats and of the State Ecclesiasticall may be reformed, that the people by them have not occasion (as of many dayes they have had) to contemne their Ministrie and the Preaching whereof they should be Messengers."

The council, thus urged by friend and foe, recognized the

[1] Concil. Edinburgens. ann. 1549, can. 1, 2. (Wilkins, IV. 46.)

extreme necessity of the case, and did its best to cure the immedicable disease. Its first canon reaffirmed the observance of the Basilian regulations, and appointed a commission empowered to enforce them; and, that nothing should interfere with its efficiency, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow made a special renunciation of their exemption from the jurisdiction of the council. The second canon, in forbidding the residence of illegitimate children with their clerical fathers, endeavored to procure obedience to the rule ordered by the council of 1549, by permitting it for four days in each quarter, and by a penalty for infractions of £200 in the case of an archbishop, £100 in that of a bishop, and leaving the mulct to be imposed on inferior ecclesiastics at the discretion of the officials. The third canon prohibited the promotion of children in their father's benefices, and supplicated the queen-regent to obtain of the pope that no dispensations should be granted to evade the rule. The fourth canon inhibited ecclesiastics from marrying their daughters to barons and lairds, and endowing them with church lands, or making their sons barons or lairds with more than £100 annual income, under pain of fine to the amount of the dowry or lands abstracted from the church; and all grants of church lands or tithes to concubines or children were pronounced null and void.[1]

When such legislation was necessary, the disorders which it was intended to repress are acknowledged in terms admitting neither of palliation nor excuse. The extent of the evil especially alluded to in the latter canons is further exemplified by the fact that during the thirty years immediately following the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, more

[1] Wilkins, IV. 207-10.—Knox, p. 129. These canons, it appears, were not adopted without opposition. According to Knox, "But herefrom appealed the Bishop of Murray and other prelates, saying That they would abide the canon law. And so they might well enough do, so long as they remained Interpretors, Dispensators, Makers and Disannullers of the Law."—(Op. cit. 119.) It was doubtless on some such considerations that the Archbishop of St. Andrews relied when he consented to waive his exemption in this matter. His personal reputation may be estimated from the remark of Queen Mary when, in December, 1566, he performed the rite of baptism on James VI. She forbade him to use the popular ceremony of employing his saliva, giving a reason which was in the highest degree derogatory to his moral character. (Sir J. Y. Simpson, ubi sup.).

letters of legitimation were taken out than were issued in the subsequent two centuries. These were given to the sons of the clergy who were allowed to retain their benefices, and who then made over the property to their natural children.[1]

Such being the state of morals among the ministers of the old religion, it is easy to appreciate the immense advantage enjoyed by the Reformers. They made good use of it. Knox loses no opportunity of stigmatizing the "pestilent Papists and Massemongers" as "adulterers and whoremasters," who were thus perpetually held up to the people for execration, while the individual wrongs from which so many suffered were noised about and made the subject of constantly-increasing popular indignation.[2] Yet the abrogation of celibacy occupies less space in the history of the Scottish Reformation than in that of any other people who threw off the allegiance to Rome.

The remote position of Scotland and its comparative barbarism rendered it in some degree inaccessible to the early doctrines of Luther and Zwingli. Before it began to show a trace of the new ideas, clerical marriage had long passed out of the region of disputation with the Reformers, and was firmly established as one of the inseparable results of the doctrine of justification professed by all the reformed churches.[3]

---

[1] Robertson, Hist. Scot. Bk. II.

[2] Thus the Parliament of 1560, which effected a settlement of the Reformed Religion, was urged to its duty by a Supplication presented in the name of "The Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, and other true Subjects of this Realm, professing the Lord Jesus within the same," which, among its arguments against Catholicism, does not hesitate to assert—"Secondarily, seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by that Romane Harlot and her sworne vassals, and also because that the true Discipline of the Ancient Church is utterly now among that Sect extinguished: For who within the Realme are more corrupt in life and manners than are they that are called the Clergie, living in whoredom and adultery, deflouring Virgins, corrupting Matrons, and doing all abomination without fear of punishment. We humbly, therefore, desire your Honors to finde remedy against the one and the other."—Knox, p. 255.

[3] This doctrine bore its full share in the history of the Scottish reformation. Two years after the execution of the protomartyr, Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, his sister Catherine was arraigned on account of her belief in justification through Christ. Learned divines urged upon her with prolix earnestness of disputation the necessity of works, until her patience gave way, and she rudely exclaimed, "Work here and work there, what kind of working is all this? No work can save me but the work of Christ my Saviour." By the connivance of the king she was enabled to escape to England.—Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 63.

Not only was it thus accepted as a matter of course by all converts to the new faith, but that faith, when once introduced, spread in Scotland with a rapidity elsewhere unknown. The permission to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, granted by Parliament in 1543, doubtless had much to do with this; the leaning of the Regent Arran to the same side gave it additional impetus, and the savage fierceness with which the Reformers were prepared to vindicate their belief is shown by the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, which was countenanced and justified by Knox himself. Powerful nobles soon saw in it the means of emancipating themselves from the vacillating control of the regent; nor was the central authority strengthened when, in 1554, the reins of power were wrested from the feeble Arran and confided to the queen-dowager, Mary of Guise, who found herself obliged to encourage each party by turns, and to balance one against the other, to prevent either Catholic or Calvinist from obtaining control over the state. Then, too, as in Germany and England, the temporal possessions of the church were a powerful temptation to its destruction. From the great Duke of Chatelleraut to the laird of some insignificant peel, all were needy and all eager for a share in the spoil. When, in 1560, an assembly of the nobles at Edinburgh listened to a disputation on the Mass, and the Catholic doctors were unable to defend it as a propitiatory sacrifice, the first exclamation of the lords revealed the secret tendencies of their thoughts—"We have been miserably deceived heretofore; for if the Mass may not obtain remission of sins to the quick and to the dead, Wherefore were all the Abbies so richly doted and endowed with our Temporall lands?"[1]

Of course less selfish purposes were put forward to enlist the support of the people. On the 1st of January, 1558, when the storm was gathering, but before it had burst, the inmates of the religious houses found affixed to their gates a proclamation in the name of "The Blinde, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other Poor, so visited by the hand of God as cannot work," ordering the monks to leave the

---

[1] Knox, p. 283.

patrimony intended to relieve the suffering, but usurped by indolent shavelings, giving them until Whit-Sunday to make their exit, after which they would be ejected by force, and ending with the significant warning—"Let him, therefore, that hath before stollen, steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpfull to the poore."[1]

Such a cry could hardly fail to be popular, but when the threat was carried into execution, the blind and the crooked, the widow and orphan received so small a share of the spoil that they were worse off than before. As we have already seen in England, the destruction of the Scottish monasteries was the commencement of the necessity of making some public provision for paupers.[2] The nobles seized the lion's share; the rest fell to the crown, subject to the payment of the very moderate stipends assigned to the comparatively few ministers required by the new establishment, and these stipends were so irregularly paid that the unfortunate ministers were frequently in danger of starvation, and were constantly besieging the court with their dolorous complaints. Where the lands and revenues went is indicated with grim humor by Knox, in describing the resistance offered in 1560 to the adoption of his Book of Discipline by those who had professed great zeal for the Lord Jesus. Lord Erskine had been one of the first and most consistent of the "Lords of the Congregation," yet he also refused to sign the book—"And no wonder, for besides that he had a very evill woman to his wife, if the Poore, the Schooles, and the Ministerie of the Church had their owne, his Kitchin would lack two parts and more of that which he unjustly now possesseth."[3]

[1] Knox, p. 119.

[2] Thus the assembly of the church in 1562 drew up a remonstrance to the queen, in which they requested that "in every Parish some of the Tythes may be assigned to the sustentation and maintenance of the poor within the same: And likewise that some publike relief may be provided for the poor within Burroughs."—Ibid. p. 339.

[3] Ibid. p. 278. The Book was signed at Edinburgh, Jan. 27, 1561, but only after the adoption of a proviso—"Provided that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors and other Prelates and Beneficed men, which else have adjoyned themselves to us, brooke the revenues of their Benefices during their lifetimes."—Worldly wisdom certainly was not lost sight of in the ardor of a new and purer religion.

Yet, when compared with the rich abbatial manors of England or the princely foundations of Germany, the spoil of the church was mean indeed. Knox had resided much abroad, and had seen the vast wealth which the piety of ages had showered upon the church in the most opulent lands of Europe, yet his simplicity or fanaticism finds source of wondering comment in the homespun luxury of the unfortunate monks whom he assisted in dispossessing. When the destruction of the monasteries in 1559 commenced by a brawl in Perth, where three prominent convents were broken up, Knox, who was present, expatiates on the extravagance revealed to sight—"And in very deed the Grey-Friers was a place so well provided that unlesse honest men had seen the same, we would have feared to have reported what provision they had, their sheets, blankets, beds and coverlets were such that no Earle in Scotland had better: Their naperie was fine; they were but 8 persons in the Convent, and yet they had 8 puncheons of salt beef (consider the time of the yeere, the eleventh of May), wine, beere, and ale, beside store of victuals belonging thereto."[1] Imagine an abbot of St. Albans or an abbess of Poissy reduced to the coverlets and salt beef which the stern Calvinist deemed an indulgence so great as to be incredible!

Still, in so impoverished a country as the Scotland of that period, even these poor spoils were a motive sufficient to prove a powerful aid to the conquering party in the struggle. And yet, amid all the miserable ambitions of the Erskines and Murrays, the Huntleys and Bothwells, who occupied the prominent places in the court and camp, we should do grievous wrong to the spirit which triumphed at last over the force and fraud of the Guises, if we attributed to temporal motives alone the movement which expelled licentious prelates and drove Queen Mary to the fateful refuge of Fotheringay. The selfish aims of the nobles would have been fruitless but for the zealous earnestness of the people, led by men of iron nature, who doubted themselves as little as they doubted their God, and who, in the death-struggle with Antichrist, were as ready to suffer as they were ruthless to inflict. Nor can the

[1] Knox, 136.

disorders of the Catholic clergy be rightly imputed to the temperament of the race, for the reformers, who carried with them so large a portion of the middle and lower classes, preached a system of rigid morality to which the world had been a stranger since the virtues of the Germanic tribes had been lost in the overthrow of the Empire; and they not merely preached it, but obtained its embodiment in a code of repressive laws, which their vigilant authority strictly enforced.

I have said above that the question of celibacy appears but rarely in the course of the contest, yet notwithstanding the causes which rendered it comparatively unimportant, it occasionally rises to view, showing that it entered into the struggle and was the subject of disputation, together with the other points in controversy. Thus George Wishart, one of the early heretics who ventured openly to preach the Lord Jesus, was seized in spite of powerful protectors, and after a prolonged captivity was brought for trial before Cardinal Beatoun in 1545. In the accusation against him, article 14th asserted, "Thou false Hereticke hast taught plainly against the Vows of Monks, Friers, Nuns and Priests, saying, That whosoever was bound to such like Vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, That it was lawfull for Priests to marry wives and not to live sole." Wishart tacitly confessed the truth of this impeachment by rejoining—"But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the Gospel have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my tongue, to what inconveniences they have exposed themselves."[1] He was accordingly condemned as an incorrigible heretic, and promptly burnt.

Even as late as 1558 the trial of Walter Mill shows that the question was still agitated in the controversies between the polemics of the two parties. One of the articles of accusation against Mill was that he asserted the lawfulness of sacerdotal marriage. To this he boldly assented, declaring that he regarded matrimony as a blessed bond, open for all men

[1] Knox, p. 65.—Knox's characteristic comment on this is—"When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines than one wife."

to enter, and that it were better for priests to marry than to vow chastity and not preserve it, as they were wont to do. Condemned to the stake, the unfortunate old man commanded the sympathies of the people, even in the archiepiscopal town of St. Andrews. No one could be found to act as executioner, until at length one of the servants of the archbishop consented to fill the abhorrent office; but when a rope was sought with which to bind the wretched sufferer to the stake, no one would furnish it, and the tragedy was necessarily postponed. Equally unsuccessful was the next day's search, until the archbishop, fearing to lose his victim, gave the cords of his own pavilion, and the sentence was carried into effect. Even after the sacrifice, the popular feeling was manifested by raising a pile of stones as a monument on the place of torture, and as often as these were cast aside by the priests they were replaced by the people, until the followers of the archbishop carried them off by night, and used them for building.[1]

These incidents show us that the question received its share of attention in the controversy by which each side endeavored to secure the support of the nation, but it makes no appearance in public negotiations and declarations. Thus, in 1558, when the growing strength of the Lords of the Congregation led the Catholics to offer concessions, which were rejected by the conscious power of the reformers, there was no allusion to celibacy on either side. In fact, between the respective leaders, the questions were almost purely personal and political; while among the conscientiously religious supporters of either party, opinions were too rigidly defined for argument. Convictions were too divergent and too firm for compromise or concession to be possible, and Catholic and Calvinist grimly recognized, as by a tacit understanding, the alternative of extermination. When the English alliance at

[1] Knox, p. 130.—Burnet, vol. II. The implacable character of Scottish persecution is aptly illustrated by a proclamation issued by Cardinal Beatoun in 1540 for the purpose of spiting Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy at Edinburgh. It was during Lent, and the proclamation declared "that whosoever should buy an egg or eat an egg within those dioceses should forfeit no less than his body to be burnt as a heretic, and all his goods confiscate to the king."—Froude, Hist. Engl. IV. 54.

It was a life and death struggle, in which quarter could neither be asked nor given.

last drove the Catholics to the wall, and in July, 1560, there assembled the parliament to which by the Articles of Leith was referred the duty of effecting a settlement of the kingdom, the vanquished party made no struggle against their fate. Such Catholic prelates and lords as took their seats refrained from all debate, and allowed the victors to arrange the temporal and spiritual affairs of the kingdom at their pleasure.

In this settlement, our subject affords a curious comparison between the English and Scotch churches. In the former, at a period even later than this, it was considered necessary to embody a renunciation of celibacy in the organic law, which has been maintained to the present day. In the latter, ecclesiastical marriage had become already so firmly established in the minds of the Reformers that it was accepted as a matter of course, which needed no special confirmation. Although laws were passed prohibiting the Mass and abolishing the supremacy of the pope, none were thought necessary to legalize the marriages of the clergy. Even in Knox's Confession of Faith, adopted by the parliament on the 17th of July, there is no direct allusion to the matter. The only passage which can be construed as having any bearing upon it occurs in Chapter XIV., when considering "What works are reputed good before God."—"And evill works we affirme not onely those that are expressly done against God's commandment, but those also that in matters of religion and worshipping of God have no assurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the prophet Isaiah and by our Master Christ Jesus we are taught in these words—*In vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines which are precepts of Men.*"[1]

Nothing more, in fact, was needed when the triumph of the new ideas was so complete that Knox could exultingly exclaim, "For what Adulterer, what Fornicator, what known Masse-monger or pestilent Papist durst have been seen in publike within any Reformed Town within this Realme before that the Queen arrived? . . . For while that Papists were so

[1] Knox, p. 263.

confounded that none within the Realme durst avow the hearing or saying of Masse then the thieves of Tiddisdale durst avow their stouth or stealing in the presence of any upright judge."[1] When persecution thus had changed sides, no minister could feel that his nuptials required special authorization.

It were foreign to our object to enter into the dark details of Mary's short and disastrous reign. The intrigues of the camarilla, the boyish weakness of Darnley, the subtlety of Rizzio, and the coarse ambition of Huntley and Bothwell were alike harmless against the earnest reverence of the people for the new faith; and the expiring struggles of Catholicism were too feeble to give any practical importance to the vain attempts at reaction.

---

[1] Knox, p. 301.

XXIX.

THE POST-TRIDENTINE CHURCH.

THE great council, on which so long had hung the hopes of the Christian world, had at last been held. The reformation of the church, postponed by the skilful policy of the popes, had been reached in the closing sessions, and had been hurriedly provided for. As we have seen, the regulations which concerned the morals of the clergy were sufficient for their purpose, if only they could be enforced, yet as they were but the hundredth repetition of an endeavor to conquer human nature, which had always previously failed, even those who enacted them could have felt little faith in their efficacy. It remains for us to see what they accomplished.

Although Catherine de Medicis and her courtiers refused to allow the council to be formally published in France, yet she permitted its decrees to be freely circulated, and her bishops were at liberty to adopt them as the code of discipline in their dioceses. The difficulties raised by the Emperor Maximilian on the score of priestly celibacy were met with a vigor on the part of Pius IV. which savored of the thirteenth rather than the sixteenth century. Philip II., after a short hesitation, ordered the reception of the council in all his dominions, which extended from Naples to the North Sea; and Poland, despite some opposition from an ambitious primate, submitted to it before the year 1564 was ended.[1]

As an authoritative exposition of the law of the church of Christ, conceived and elaborated under the influence of the

---

[1] By a Bull dated July 18, 1564, Pius IV. fixed May 1, 1564, as the time when the Tridentine canons became the law of the church. His letter to the Archbishop of Bremen with an official copy and directions as to its promulgation, is dated Oct. 3d of the same year.—(Hartzheim, VII. 25.)

Holy Ghost, and commanded for implicit observance by the Vicegerent of God; as the expression of the needs and wants of the Catholic faith, wrought by the concentrated energy and wisdom of the leading doctors of Christendom, and transmitted for practical application through the wondrous machinery of the Catholic hierarchy, it should have had an immediate influence on the evils which it was intended to eradicate. Those evils had confessedly done much to create and foster the schism under which the church was reeling; their magnitude was admitted by all, and no one ventured to defend or to palliate them. Their removal was acknowledged to be a necessity of the gravest character, and every adherent of Catholicism was bound to lend his aid to the good work. What, then, was accomplished by the council which had for so long a period labored ostensibly with the object of restoring Latin Christianity to its primitive purity?

Pius IV. rested satisfied with promulgating and confirming the decrees of the council, and waited to see them produce their destined effect. In 1566, however, he was succeeded by Pius V., whose experience as grand inquisitor had doubtless rendered him familiar with the prevailing neglect of ecclesiastical discipline, while his unbending temper made him rigorous in his determination to restore it.[1] One of the earliest

[1] Already, in 1564, the Synod of Haarlem announces that the penalties of deprivation and excommunication are insufficient, and it superadds a fine of 100 florins for each conviction, as more likely to effect a reformation.—Synod. Harlem. ann. 1564, de Cohab. Cleric. § ii. (Hartzheim, VII. 5.)

The condition of monastic discipline in Holland may be gathered from the reproof which the Synod of Utrecht, in 1564, administered to certain nunneries, the youthful virgins of which were in the habit of introducing musicians into the privacy of their cells and passing the nights in singing and dancing. (Hartzheim, VII. p. 22.)

Quite as suggestive is the prohibition, in the Council of Utrecht, Oct. 1565, forbidding the younger clergy and nobility, "sine justa et urgenti causa," from visiting nuns in their cells and dining-rooms, or drinking with them by day or night.—Concil. Ultraject. ann. 1565 (Hartzheim, VII. 137).

It is true that, at this time, the Council of Trent had not been officially received in the Low Countries. In August, 1564, Philip II. had ordered its publication, but Margaret of Parma had hesitated to obey in consequence of the intense opposition excited by its interference with local liberties and franchises. It was not until Dec. 18, 1565, that it was finally promulgated, under imperative commands from Philip, and to it William of Orange attributed the inevitable revolution which followed.—(Stradæ de Bell. Belgic. Lib. IV.) Difficulties were still thrown in the way by factious

acts of his pontificate was the publication of a Bull commanding the ordinaries of all churches to put in force the Tridentine canons respecting concubinary priests, thus showing that already they were treated with contempt,[1] while a special mandate on the subject, addressed to the Archbishop of Salzburg, describes the unchecked corruption of the German priesthood as threatening the speedy destruction of the Catholic religion there.[2] Two years later, he found it necessary to issue another Bull, directed against darker crimes, the deplorable prevalence of which can hardly be attributed to any additional and unaccustomed vigor in removing the female companions of the clergy.[3]

In 1571 Pius undertook another subject of reform. Notwithstanding the decree of the council that any action of clerical fathers for the benefit of their offspring should be considered as fraudulent, the transmission of ecclesiastical property to such illegitimate heirs continued almost unchecked, and Pius recognized the necessity of further legislation to diminish the abuse. His Bull on the subject is drawn up with a care and minuteness which show the magnitude of the evil and the extreme difficulty of preventing it.[4] Nor

deans and chapters. In 1578 we find the Duke of Alva still ordering its observance in the province of Utrecht, and it was not till 1570 that the Synod of Mechlin finally received it.

[1] Bull. Cum Primum § 12. (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 180.)

[2] "Plerosque . . . abjecto Dei timore et sine ulla hominum verecundia, concubinas palam habere, easque perinde, ac si legitimæ eorum uxores essent, in ecclesiis et aliis locis publicis conspici, vulgo iisdem, quibus illi vocantur, officiorum et dignitatum nominibus appellatas; eoque hæreses tantopere crevisse, ac multiplicatas fuisse; quod ecclesiastici tam turpiter et nequiter vivendo, omnem plane existimationem amiserint, et in summam non apud hæreticos modo, sed etiam Catholicos contemptionem venerint . . . Nisi enim tam nefandum concubinatus vitium extirpetur, nullam spem reliquam esse videmus reprimi posse hæreses. Sed timemus (quod Deus avertat) ne brevi tempore istæ, quæ supersunt, Catholicorum reliquiæ amittantur, et omnis prorsus Catholicæ religionis cultus apud vos extinguatur."—Breve Pii V. ad Archiep. Salzburg. (Hartzheim, VII. 231.)

[3] Bull. Horrendam (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 267).

[4] Bull. Quæ Ordini.—How difficult was the task thus undertaken is admitted in the Bull itself—"Quia vero difficile nimis esset, præsentes quocumque illis opus erit proferre." (Ibid. II. 323–4.) This did not put an end to the abuse, and Rome itself apparently winked at contraventions of the rule, which could be rendered profitable by the prerogative of issuing dispensations. In 1610 the Synod of Augsburg found it necessary to declare that it would enforce the Tridentine canons prohibiting the illegitimate sons of priests from holding preferment in their fathers' benefices, notwithstanding what dispensations

was there only the need of preserving the possessions of the church; the scandal of sacerdotal families required repression, and all other means having apparently failed, in 1572 another decretal declared that such children were incapable of receiving even the private and patrimonial property of their fathers.[1] These successive edicts are a full confession that the long-promised reformation was a failure, and that while the council might regulate doctrine, it was utterly powerless to enforce discipline.

Yet even these legislative labors of the pope are less instructive than the war which he commenced against the courtesans of Rome. If the new enactments could have been expected to command respect, the example should have been set in the Holy City itself, but Pius IV. had allowed the most public and scandalous immorality to flourish unchecked under his immediate supervision. Pius V. felt the disgrace keenly, and resolved on its suppression. He at first proposed to put an end to the nefarious trade, and to banish all the public women who would not give a pledge of reformation by an immediate marriage. Forced to relinquish this measure as impracticably harsh, he contented himself by restricting their residence to certain houses, and forbade their plying their vocation in the streets by day or night. Although he thus admitted the necessity of the evil, and endeavored to restrain only its public manifestation, even this moderate attempt at reform was deemed insufferable. The clergy were ashamed to offer opposition openly, but found no difficulty in urging the Senate to strenuous resistance. The remonstrance made by that body shows not only the frightful extent of the prevalent immorality, but also the settled conviction that immorality was inseparable from celibacy. It was represented that if the proposed rules were enforced, the prosperity of the city would be destroyed and the rents of houses be reduced to nothing; moreover, it was urged that, amid so vast a number of men condemned to celibacy, if any such restrictions were put in force, it would be impossible to preserve the virtue of the

they might produce to the contrary.—Synod. August. ann. 1610, P. III. c. iii. § 1. (Hartzheim, IX. 59.)

[1] Bull. Ad Romanum. (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 325.)

wives and daughters of the citizens. The contest was stubbornly continued until at length Pius was driven to declare that, if any further difficulties were interposed, he would abandon the city.[1]

In spite of these well-meant but nugatory efforts of Pius, the immorality of the papal court itself and of its highest dignitaries was admitted by a Bull which Sixtus V. promulgated in 1586. In decreeing that no one who had children, even if they were legitimate, should be eligible to the cardinalate, he took care to let the world understand the cause of the restriction by declaring that in no other way could evidence be had of the observance of their vows.[2]

If Pius V. met with opposition in the task of purifying the Augean stable of Rome, St. Charles Borromeo, encouraged and stimulated by his example, found himself involved in a more dangerous quarrel when he attempted, in the equally demoralized city of Milan, to enforce respect for the decrees of Trent. In 1569 he undertook to reform the canons of S. Maria della Scala, whose licentious mode of life was a scandal to the faithful. So persistently did they deny their subjection to his archiepiscopal jurisdiction, that, after a long discussion, his only resource for vindicating his authority was excommunication. The contumacious canons were still indisposed to yield, and, assembling in their church, they maltreated his messenger. Thinking that his presence might bring them to reason, he ventured himself to expostulate with them, and found them drawn up in their cemetery, with arms in their hands, and supported by soldiers whom they had hired. On reaching the gate, he dismounted from his mule and advanced towards them with his cross, which he had snatched from his cross-bearer. Unabashed by this symbol at once of religion and authority, the mutinous canons rushed upon him with shouts of "Spagna," "Spagna," brandishing their weapons and discharging their fire-arms at the

[1] De Thou, Lib. xxxix. "Nec matronarum pudicitiam inter tot cœlibes integram et inconcussam aliter servari posse nisi pristina libertas restituatur."

[2] Bull. Postquam Verus (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 567).—"Certum nequeat suæ testimonium continentiæ exhibere."

cross in his hands—fortunately without injuring him. Having thus driven him off, they continued for some time in open rebellion, until they were at length obliged to submit, when Pius V. and Philip II. united their power in support of St. Charles.[1]

Still greater was the peril to which the saint was exposed in his quarrel with the Umiliati. They were a branch of the Benedictine order, founded in 1180 by the Milanese who escaped the destruction of their city by Frederic Barbarossa. Sharing in the general license of the age, the excesses of the Umiliati became so infamous that they surpassed in turpitude the worst exploits of the unbridled youth of the city. Supported by the decretals of Pius, in 1568 St. Charles undertook to reduce the order to the observance of monastic rule. The Umiliati resisted with so much energy and success that, after two years of contest, they were still defiant. Regarding St. Charles as the cause of all their troubles, Jeronymo Lignana, Provost of S. Cristoforo di Vercelli, who assumed their leadership in 1570, engaged a monk of the order named Girolamo Donati to murder him. The blackness of the deed was not relieved by the circumstances under which it was attempted. While the holy archbishop was absorbed at midnight in his devotions, Donati stole into the oratory and discharged full upon him an arquebuss loaded with slugs. Some of the missiles struck St. Charles, but rebounded to the floor, leaving him unhurt, and the miraculous nature of his escape was proved by the depth to which others penetrated the walls. At this moment the policy of Philip the Catholic supported the disaffected and rebellious monks, and for some time yet they escaped the retribution due to their many crimes, but at length those concerned in the attempted murder were caught and executed, and the order of the Umiliati was broken up.[2]

These examples sufficiently show how little the great body

[1] Fleury, Liv. CLXXI. chap. 104 et seq.

[2] Muratori, Annal. ann. 1569.—Henrion, Hist. des Ordres Religieux I. 196.—Fleury, Liv. CLXXI. chap. 26.—De Thou, Lib. L.—The calm Muratori stigmatizes the Umiliati as "troppo scorretto e corrotto ordine," and Henrion, who cannot certainly be regarded as a prejudiced authority, declares that "les excès des Humiliés surpassoient ceux des laïques les plus débauchés."

of ecclesiastics was disposed to submit to a curtailment of the license which had become traditional, and how little respect was paid either to the commands of the great Œcumenic Council, or to the general and local authorities. It is easy to imagine that few prelates were so disposed to court martyrdom as the saintly Charles, and that churches with less conscientious pastors easily found means to purchase or compel exemption from the laws which bound them to morality. If more proof be wanted of the inefficiency of the Tridentine measures of reform throughout Italy, and the hesitation of the officials to enforce them, it is to be found in the series of provincial councils held during the remainder of the century, from Lombardy to Naples.

The papacy had succeeded in crushing the reformers who had responded in so many Italian cities to the uprising in Germany; it had then convoked and managed at its will the great Congress of Catholic Christendom which was to put an end at once and forever to all the evils which had led to the schism; it had every opportunity and every motive for vindicating itself from the aspersions of its enemies, and yet we see it at once recur to the old machinery of local councils enacting canons whose frequency and wordy severity are the inverse measure of their efficiency. Had the promises of reform so liberally made been possible in their fulfilment, there had been no need of further legislation. A convocation of the ecclesiastics of each province to receive and publish the decrees of Trent would have been all-sufficient. When, therefore, we see the endless iteration with which the guilty clergy were threatened with the Tridentine canons, and with other new or revivified penalties—as at the councils of Milan in 1565 and 1582[1] and at those of Manfredonia in 1567, of Ravenna in 1568, of Urbino in 1569, of Florence in 1573, of Naples in 1576, of Consenza in 1579, of Salerno in 1596, of S. Severino in 1597, and of Melfi in 1597[2]—we can only

[1] Concil. Mediolanens. ann. 1565, P. II. Const. xiv. (Harduin. X. 661)—Concil. Mediolanens. ann. 1582 Const. xiv. (Ibid. p. 1117).

[2] Concil. Sipontin. ann. 1567, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric.—Concil. Ravennat. ann. 1568, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric. c. v.—Concil. Urbinat. ann. 1569, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric. c. vi.—Concil. Florent. ann. 1573, Rubr.

conclude that the evil was irremediable, in spite of the well-meant efforts to suppress it, or to throw off the responsibility of its existence.

Throughout the whole extent of Central Europe the Tridentine canons met with a like slackness of obedience. Even the question of sacerdotal marriage, which had been raised by the council to the dignity of a point of faith, was stubbornly contested, and was not yielded until after a protracted struggle.

In 1569 we find the synod of the extensive and important province of Salzburg virtually dividing its clergy into two classes—those who haunt the taverns under pretext of getting their meals, but really for the purpose of indulging in drunken riots with their parishioners, and those who keep houses, with concubines under the guise of female servants, whom they secretly marry, and who are openly known by their husbands' names.[1]

In 1565, Anthony, Archbishop of Prague, promulgated the council of Trent in his provincial synod. He was a man of more than ordinary vigor; he had been the imperial orator at Trent, understood fully the views of the council, and was not likely to underrate either their importance or their authority. Armed with the Tridentine canons, he set actively to work and instituted a very thorough system of inquisitorial visitations, which ought to have succeeded if success were possible. Yet, after the lapse of thirteen years, in a special

---

XXXVII. c. 3, 4.—Concil. Neapol. ann. 1576, cap. XXII.—Concil. Consentin. ann. 1579, Sess. IV.—Concil. Salernit. ann. 1596, cap. XVIII.—Concil. S. Severin. ann. 1597, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric.—Concil. Amalfitan. ann. 1597, De Vit. et Honest. Cleric. c. v.—(Labbei et Coleti, Supplement. T. V. pp. 827–1331.)

[1] To meet this condition of affairs, the synod devised an elaborate system, by which the richer clergy were directed to keep as domestics respectable middle-aged married women with their husbands, while the poorer ecclesiastics were to club together for the same purpose.—Synod. Salisburg. ann. 1569, Const. XXVII. c. xviii. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. (Hartzheim, VII. 306–8). The results of this may be guessed when, in 1616, we see the Archbishop of Salzburg, in his instructions for a general visitation, ordering that all priests should remove their concubines to the distance of six miles, and that they should not allow their illegitimate children to live openly with them, except under special license from him.—Statut. Visitat. Salisburg. ann. 1616, Tit. I. c. vi. (Ibid. IX. 266).

mandate issued by him in 1578, he deplores the obstinate blindness of many of his clergy, who still believed, with the heretics, that marriage was not incompatible with priesthood.[1]

The same wilful ignorance apparently existed in the diocese of Wurzburg, for Bishop Julius, in 1584, found it necessary, in his episcopal statutes, to discountenance clerical matrimony and to prove its nullity by laboriously quoting innumerable canons and decretals; and he even condescended to remind his priesthood that in taking orders they had willingly and knowingly entered into an engagement of continence, by the consequences of which they must be prepared to abide.[2]

A provincial synod of Gnesen, of which the date is uncertain, but which was probably held in 1577, deplored the insane audacity displayed by ecclesiastics in marrying, and threatened them with the Tridentine anathema.[3] This warning appears to have been completely disregarded, for the Bishop of Breslau, a suffragan of the metropolis of Gnesen, in opening his diocesan synod in 1580, still complained that many of his clergy were guilty of this perversity, and he was at some pains to disavow any complicity with it, or any connivance at the licentiousness which was prevalent among the unmarried.[4] In 1591, the synod of Olmutz asserted that

---

[1] It would seem that those who did not marry were guilty of the more venial error of concubinage — "Plerosque etiam prælatos et sacerdotes qui de monasteriorum parochiarumque proventibus et beneficiis ecclesiasticis vivunt, magno suo dedecore, famæ et existimationis periculo, maximoque aliorum scandalo, denique salutis suæ dispendio, turpes et infames mulieres vel concubinas alere et ex illis illegitimos soboles procreare: multos insuper invenimus eo erroris et dementiæ prolapsos, ut cum hæreticis putent sibi licere, una cum sacerdotio, etiam copulatas fœminas habere."—Decret. Reformat. Pragens (Hartzheim, VII. 53).

[2] Statut. Rural. Julii Wirceburg. P. III. c. IV. (Gropp Script. Rer. Wirceburg. I. 471–4). It is somewhat remarkable that Bishop Julius attributes the prohibition of marriage to the Council of Nicæa. After describing the custom of the Greek church, he proceeds, "Permissio vero et consuetudo illa duravit usque ad Nicænum concilium, in quo generali decreto abrogata est, statutumque ne aliquis habens uxorem consecretur sacerdos" — a falsification which is equally singular, whether it proceeded from ignorance or fraud, and an admission that celibacy was not of apostolic origin which was rare in a Catholic prelate of that period.

[3] Quoniam nonnulli ex sacerdotibus qui in cæteris se Catholicos esse profitentur, eo audaciæ atque dementiæ progrediuntur, ut sibi uxores ducere licere existiment, et de facto nuptias celebrent, etc.—Synod. Gnesnens. c. xxxiii. (Hartzheim, VII. 891).

[4] Synod. Wratislav. ann. 1580 (Hartzheim, VII. 890). "Magnam quidem clericorum quorundam præsertim parochorum, in hanc diœcesin

many clerks in holy orders contracted pretended marriages, and were not ashamed of the families growing up publicly around them, while others indulged in scandalous concubinage with women, whom they styled housekeepers or cooks.[1] Even as late as 1628, at the synod of Osnabruck, the orator who opened the proceedings inveighed in the vilest terms against the female companions of the clergy, who not only occupied the position of wives, but were even dignified with the title.[2]

We have seen above that the highest authorities in the church did not hesitate openly to attribute the origin and success of the Reformation to the scandalous corruption of the ecclesiastical body. The council of Trent had not resulted in removing the scandal, and clear-sighted prelates were not wanting who proclaimed that the same causes continued to operate and to produce the same effect. Anthony, Archbishop of Prague, in his synod of 1565, took occasion to declare that the misfortunes of the church were attributable to the dissoluteness of the clergy, and that the extirpation of heresy could best be effected by reforming the depraved morals and filthy lives of ecclesiastics.[3] These

---

irrepsisse perversitatem, quod occasione rei familiaris et œconomicæ curæ necessitate, publico vel privato matrimonii vinculo mulieribus fidem hactenus dedissent, liberosque summo cum dedecore et scandalo procreassent: fidem autem Domino Deo et ecclesiæ datam irritam fecissent."

[1] Synod. Olomucens. ann. 1591, c. xiii. (Hartzheim, VIII. 352).—"Hinc nonnulli ad matrimonia prætensa, post ordines sacros susceptos convolare, atque eas quibus illicite copulati sunt legitimarum uxorum loco habere, nec minus cum illis quam cum liberis incontinentiæ nefandæ testibus, publice circumvehi non verentur."—In endeavoring to put an end to this state of affairs, the synod manifested its estimation of the morals of the priesthood by renewing the hideous suggestions which we have seen in the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Pastors were allowed to have with them the near relations authorized by the Nicene canon, but, in view of the assaults of the tempter, were prudently advised not to let them reside in their houses.

[2] Synod. Osnabrug. ann. 1628 (Hartzheim, IX. 431).—"Foveant domi suæ focarias, alant spurcas lupas ac lenas pudicitiæ prostitutrices suæ, expugnatrices alienæ, quas uxorum et conjugum non tantum locum habeant, sed nomine etiam dignentur."—As usual, a distinction is drawn between those who thus formed permanent, though illicit connections, and others who indulged in promiscuous license—"alii vaga dissoluti lascivia, tanquam equi emissarii, ad incontinentissimum quodque scortum aut adulteram adhinniunt trahuntque ingentes liberorum spuriorum greges. Hæc in propatulo sunt; quæ vero in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, turpe est et dicere."

[3] Statut. Diœces. Pragens. ann. 1565 (Hartzheim, VII. 26).

complaints continued long. In 1609, at the synod of Constance, the Rev. Dr. Hamerer, in an official oration to the assembled prelates, deplored the continued spread of heresy, which he boldly told them was caused by the perpetually increasing immorality that pervaded all classes of the priesthood. The Reformation had begun, had derived its strength and was still prospering through their weakness, which rendered them odious to the people, and made the Catholic religion a by-word and a shame.[1] In 1610, the Bishop of Antwerp, in a synodal address, attributed the evils which had so grievously afflicted the church of Flanders for nearly half a century, to the same cause, and, in recounting the various successive efforts at internal reform made since the council of Trent, he pronounced each one to have been a failure in consequence of the incurable obstinacy of the clergy.[2] Damhouder, a celebrated jurisconsult of Flanders, whose unquestioned piety and orthodoxy gained for him the confidence of Charles V. and Philip II., does not hesitate to speak of the clergy of his time as men who rarely lived up to their professions, and who as a general rule were scoundrels distinguished for their indulgence in all manner of evil.[3] In a similar mood the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, in opening his synod of 1612, declared that the scandalous lives of the ecclesiastics were a source of corruption to the laity, and a direct encouragement of heresy.[4] So, in 1625, the synod of Osnabruck gave as its reason for endeavoring to enforce the Tridentine canons that the true religion was despised on

[1] Quid insuper aliæ causæ esse suspicamini, quod præfatæ hæreses usque in hanc diem non modo non cessaverint, sed multis variisque amplificatæ accessionibus accreverint semper et indies grandescant adhuc, quam quod clerus tam superior quam inferior, tantis ecclesiæ ærumnis et calamitatibus non modo nihil afficiatur, sed longe insolescat, gulæ, crapulæ, et libidini obscœnæ indulgeat.—Synod. Constant. ann. 1609 (Hartzheim, VIII. 838). Another orator, the Jesuit Dr. Mayer, though more cautious in his deductions, was equally outspoken in his denunciations of the wickedness of the clergy (Ibid. p. 831).

[2] Synod. Antverp. ann. 1610 (Hartzheim, VIII. 979).

[3] Quum ipsos clericos satis raro vivere conspiciamus juxta ipsorum professionem, sed ut scelerati nebulones multa indigna mala perpetrantes.—Damhouder. Rerum Crimin. Praxis cap. xxxvii. No. 25 (Antverp. 1601).

[4] Synod. Boscodunens. II. ann. 1612 (Hartzheim, IX. 200).

account of the depraved morals of its ministers, whose crimes were a sufficient explanation of the stubbornness of the heretics.[1]

The Thirty Years' War proved a more effectual bar to the spread of heresy than these fruitless efforts to cure the incurable malady of the church. After the Peace of Westphalia, there was no further need to appeal to the dread of proselyting Lutheranism as a stimulus to virtue, but still the same process of reasoning appears in exhortations to regain the forfeited respect of the community. Thus, in 1652, the Bishop of Munster expressed his horror at the obstinacy with which, in spite of fines, edicts, and canons, his clergy persisted in retaining their concubines, and he declared that the discordance between the professions and the practice of the priesthood rendered them a stench in the nostrils of the people and destroyed the authority of religion itself;[2] and in 1662 the synod of Cologne deplored that the notorious want of respect felt for the ministers of Christ was the direct result of their own immorality.[3]

It is evident from all this that the standard of ecclesiastical morals had not been raised by the efforts of the Tridentine

---

[1] Cum in sacerdotum et clericorum crimine sat causæ imperitæ plebi videatur cur hæreses non deserantur . . . facileque consequatur ut quorum vita contemptui est, eorum quoque doctrina proculcetur (Synod. Osnabrug. ann. 1625 cap. v. (Hartzheim, IX. 350). The synod was obliged to take strong ground against the inveterate abuse by which beneficiaries enriched their illegitimate children out of the patrimony of the church. No concealment of these relationships was apparently thought necessary (Ibid. cap. ix.).

These well-meant efforts of the synod were of little avail. Three years later, the orator of a succeeding synod bewailed the continued excesses of the clergy most forcibly, and his indignation is particularly excited at abuses which he describes in language almost identical with that of the Anglo-Saxon canonists of the tenth century—"nec sine dolore et gemitu versantur ob oculos aliquorum concubinæ et damnato procreati coitu liberi splendidius ornati quam sancti, meretrices cultiores quam Divorum imagines, et, quod dicere horror est, direpta e sacrariis supellectili sacra, instrumentoque ecclesiastico, focariæ stolatæ amiciuntur, et e pannis Christi, insolentium finguntur vestium novitates."—Synod. Osnabrug. ann. 1628 (Ibid. p. 428).

[2] Synod. Monasteriens. ann. 1652 (Hartzheim, IX. 786–7). — "Quam parum vita cleri et pastorum cum doctrina et professione concordet, unde fit ut authoritas sanctæ fidei pericletetur et eorum nomen fœteat qui Christi bonus odor esse deberent in omni loco."

[3] Synod. Colon. ann. 1662 P. III. Tit. I. cap. 1 § iii (Hartzheim, IX. 1006).—"Et sane quod sacrorum ministris debitus non tribuatur honos non nisi vitæ nimis dissolutæ et depravatis clericorum moribus est imputandum."

fathers, and yet a study of the records of church discipline shows that with the increasing decency and refinement of society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the open and cynical manifestations of license among the clergy become gradually rarer. It may well be doubted, nevertheless, whether their lives were in reality much purer. A few spasmodic efforts were made to enforce the Nicene canon, prohibiting the residence of women, but they were utterly fruitless, and were so recognized by all parties; and the energies of the arch-priests and bishops were directed to regulating the character of the handmaidens, who were admitted to be a necessary evil. The devices employed for this purpose were varied, and repeated with a frequency which shows their insufficiency; and it would be scarce worth our while to do more than indicate some sources of reference for the curious student who may wish to follow up the reiteration which we have traced already through so many successive centuries.[1] Among them, however, one new feature shows itself, which indicates the growing respect paid to the

---

[1] Collect. Synod. Mechlin. Tom. I. pp. 39, 57.—Synod. Mechlin. ann. 1570, Tit. xiv. (Ibid. I. 118).—Synod. Lovaniens. ann. 1574 (Ibid. I. 191).—Synod. Provin. Mechlin. ann. 1607, Tit. xviii. c. viii. (Ibid. I. 395).—Synod. Diœces. Mechlin. ann. 1607, Tit. xvii. c. vi. (Ibid. II. 237).—Congregat. Archipresbyt. ann. 1613 (Ibid. II. 271).—Tertia Congregat. Episc. ann. 1624 (Ibid. I. 466).—Ibid. I. 514.

Synod. Augustan. ann. 1567, P. iii. c. ii. (Hartzheim, VII. 182).—Synod. Constant. ann. 1567, P. ii. Tit. i. c. 9. (Ibid. VII. 541).—Synod. Ruremond. ann. 1570 (Ibid. VII. 653).—Synod. Boscodunens. ann. 1571, Tit. xiv. c. ii. (Ibid. VII. 723).—Synod. Warmiens. ann. 1577, c. i. (Ibid. VII. 871).—Synod. Mettens. ann. 1604, c. xlviii. liii. lxii. (Ibid. X. 768–70).—Synod. Brixiens. ann. 1603, De discip. cler. c. xviii. (Ibid. VIII. 576).—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1604, Tit. viii. c. vi. (Ibid. VIII. 623).—Synod. Constant. ann. 1609, P. ii. Tit. xvii. c. 7 (Ibid. VIII. 906).—Synod. Mettens. ann. 1610, Tit. xi. c. xi. (Ibid. VIII. 962).—Synod. Antverp. ann. 1610, Tit. xvii. c. vi. (Ibid. VIII. 1003).—Statut. Visitat. Salisburgens. ann. 1616, Tit. i. c. vi. (Ibid. IX. 266).—Synod. Iprens. ann. 1629, c. xx. (Ibid. IX. 496).—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1639, Tit. xix. c. ix. x. (Ibid. IX. 592–3).—Synod. Audomar. ann. 1640, Tit. xiv. c. vii. (Ibid. X. 802).—Synod. Colon. ann. 1651, P. ii. c. ii. § 1 (Ibid. IX. 742).—Synod. Hildesheim. ann. 1652 (Ibid. IX. 805–6).—Synod. Colon. ann. 1662, P. iii. Tit. ii. c. 1, 2, 3 (Ibid. IX. 1008–11).—Statut. Synod. Trevirens. ann. 1678, c. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. (Ibid. X. 60).—Statut. Synod. Argentinens. ann. 1687, De clericis addit. i. (Ibid. X. 180).—Synod. Brugens. ann. 1693, Tit. v. § 2 (Ibid. X. 202).—Cod. Canon. Mettens. ann. 1699, Tit. x. c. xviii. (Ibid. X. 245).—Synod. Bisuntin. ann. 1707, Tit. ii. c. xxv. (Ibid. X. 291).—Synod. Culmens. et Pomesan. ann. 1745, c. ix. (Ibid. X. 517).

appearance of decency—complaints that concubines are kept under the guise of sisters and nieces.

A darker and more dangerous sin, however, begins during this period to attract more attention than of old. The power of the confessional, one of the most effective engines invented by the ingenuity of man for enslaving the human mind, was peculiarly liable to abuse, while the relations existing between the confessor and his female penitents rendered guilt under such circumstances especially atrocious. It is not easy to imagine temptation more dangerous, and, to a priesthood which, as we have seen, could not be restrained from the grossest and most criminal indulgences, such temptation must frequently have proved irresistible. In 1561, Pius IV. issued a special Bull directed against the seduction of women by their confessors, a crime which he describes as being especially prevalent in Spain,[1] and, in 1622, Gregory XIV. republished this Bull, which he strengthened by further provisions, and made universally applicable throughout all Catholic countries.[2] The local ecclesiastical legislation of the period is surcharged with innumerable minute directions as to the form and structure of confessionals; restricting female penitents, unless dangerously ill, from being heard except in church and by daylight, and prescribing the relative positions to be maintained by confessor and penitent, all

[1] Bull. Cum sicut nuper (Mag. Bull. Roman. II. 44).

[2] Bull. Universi Dominici Gregis (Ibid. III. 432).

These evils commenced to attract attention almost as soon as enforced celibacy coexisted with auricular confession. As early as 398, the First Council of Toledo (can. vi.) orders "ne qua puella Dei aut familiaritatem habeat cum confessore." Occasional references in the preceding pages show the perpetuation of the scandal; and to these may be added the testimony of Savonarola, who, at the close of the fifteenth century, graphically describes the abuses of the confessional, which he declares to be almost universal—"Elle vient, cette brebis, cette femme, cette enfant qui est tombée dans le péché. Christ l'a perdue: le bon prêtre la trouve, il doit la rendre à Christ. Mais le mauvais prêtre la flatte, il l'excuse, il lui dit: Je sais bien qu'on ne peut toujours vivre chastement et se garder du péché. Peu à peu il l'attire à lui; il l'éloigne de Christ plus que jamais. —O frère! ne touche pas cette corde. —Je ne nomme personne, mais il faut dire la vérité. Le mauvais prêtre la flatte, il l'entraine, de manière que cette pauvre brebis perde la tête. Loin de la rendre à Christ, il la garde pour lui. Toutes les cités d'Italie sont pleines de ces horreurs."—Berrens, Jérome Savonarole, p. 71.

of which tends to show how much men's minds were excited by the subject, and how, as usual, the church sought palliatives for the evil to which she dared not apply a radical cure.

This abuse of the confessional naturally led to an even more detestable abuse of the power of absolution, whereby the spiritual director absolved his partner in guilt.[1] So vile a prostitution of the sacrament of penitence could not but arouse the sharpest indignation, as it was not only an incentive to the foulest immorality, but also tended directly to bring the whole system into contempt. In 1661, therefore, the provincial synod of Cambrai, and in 1663, a congregation of arch-priests of the province of Mechlin, revived the ancient rule that no confessor should have power to grant absolution in such cases to his paramour, except *in articulo mortis*.[2] This seems to have aroused considerable opposition and no little discussion, for, at a convocation of bishops, held at Brussels in January, 1665, it was the first question submitted for debate by the Archbishop, Andreas Creusen.[3] The question, however, still remained unsettled, for, although the power to grant such absolution was specially excepted in all commissions issued to confessors, the subject again came up for discussion at the synod of Namur, in 1698, and the practice was peremptorily forbidden for the future.[4]

In the province of Besançon, a statute of 1689 declares that although the abuse had long been prohibited, yet it was still continually practised. A formal enunciation was therefore considered necessary, taking away the power of absolution in all such cases—and this regulation had to be repeated

[1] Occasional references to this practice may be found in earlier times. See, for instance, Concil. Monasteriens. ann. 1279, c. xv. (Hartzheim, III. 649).—Suppression of Monasteries, No. xvii. (Camden Soc. Pub.).—Statut. Synod. Tornacens. ann. 1520, c. vii. (Hartzheim, VI. 156).

[2] Synod. Camerac. ann. 1661, c. xi. (Hartzheim, IX. 888).—Collect. Synod. Mechlin. II. 319.

[3] Ut reservetur per totam provinciam iste casus: "Si confessarius inciderit, quod Deus avertat, in peccatum carnis cum aliqua, eam non possit absolvere."—Collect. Synod. Mechlin. I. 559.

[4] Supervenit quædam quæstio super reservatione potestatis absolvendi complicem in peccato carnali externo; quapropter jussimus imposterum exprimi id non licere, prout habetur in commissione ad excipiendas confessiones, et in omnibus expeditionibus ad curam animarum.—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1698, c. xxviii. (Hartzheim, X. 219).

in 1707.[1] In 1742, at Namur, it was again found requisite to renew the prohibition,[2] and not long after, Benedict XIV. issued his Bull, "Sacramentum Pœnitentiæ," by which he formally and absolutely condemned the practice. Even this was insufficient to put an end to it, for, in 1768, we find the Bishop of Ypres obliged to recall to the attention of his clergy this Bull and that of Gregory XIV., and to threaten excommunication against those who persisted in transgressing either of them.[3]

In France the influence of the Tridentine canons had been equally unsatisfactory. At a royal council held in 1560, which resolved upon the assembly of the States at Orleans, Charles de Marillac, Bishop of Vienne, declared that ecclesiastical discipline was almost obsolete, and that no previous time had seen scandals so frequent or the life of the clergy so reprehensible.[4] The colloquy of Poissy, in 1561, of course had no result, and the effect of the council of Trent on the Gallican church was imperceptible. In 1564 the Cardinal of Lorraine, not long after his return from the council, held a provincial synod at Rheims, where he contented himself with declaring that the ancient canons enjoining chastity should be enforced.[5] The next year, 1565, a synod held at Cambrai reduced the penalties to a minimum, and afforded every opportunity for purchasing immunity, by enacting that those who consorted with loose women, and who remained obdurate to warnings and reprehension, should be punished at the

---

[1] Synod. Bisuntin. ann. 1707, Tit. XIV. c. xiv. (Hartzheim, X. 323).

[2] Nullus poterit in materia venerea excipere confessionem secum in peccato mortali externo complicis, secus in aliis materiis.—Synod. Namurcens. ann. 1742, c. iv. (Hartzheim, X. 487).

[3] Instruct. Pastoral. J. H. de Wavrans Episc. Iprens. ann. 1768, c. xcvii. (Hartzheim, X. 638.)

[4] Car, oultre la variété des doctrines, qui veit oncques la discipline ancienne de l'église plus dissipée, plus abbatue, plus négligée, les abus plus multipliés, les scandales plus fréquens, la vie des ministres plus reprenable, et les tumultes des peuples plus grands?—Pierre de la Place, Estat. de Relig. etc. Liv. III.

From the proceedings of the Huguenot Synod of Poitiers in 1560 (Chap. VI. Art. X.) it is evident that priests not infrequently secretly married their concubines, and when the woman was a Calvinist, her equivocal position became a matter of grave consideration with her church. (Quick, Synod. Gall. Reform. I. 18.)

[5] Concil. Remens. ann. 1664, Stat. XVII.

pleasure of the officials.[1] In two years more the same council was fain to ask the aid of the secular arm to remove the concubines of its clergy[2]—a course again suggested as late as 1631.[3] The terms in which Claude, Bishop of Evreux, at his synod of 1576, announced his intention of taking steps to eject those who for the future should persist in their immorality show not only that such measures were even yet an innovation, but also indicate little probability of their being successful.[4] The council of Rheims, in 1583, while proclaiming that the Tridentine canons shall be enforced on all concubinary priests, manifests a reasonable doubt as to the amount of respect which they will receive in threatening that those who are contumacious shall be subdued by the secular arm.[5] The council of Tours, in the same year, deplores that the whole ecclesiastical body is regarded with aversion by the good and pious on account of the scandals perpetrated by a portion of them. To cure this evil, the residence of suspected women, even when connected by blood, is forbidden, as well as of the children acknowledged to be sprung from such unions, and various penalties are denounced against offenders.[6] The council of Avignon, in 1594, declares that the numerous decrees relative to the morals and manners of the clergy are either forgotten or neglected, and then proceeds to forbid the residence of suspected women.[7] That of Bordeaux, in 1624, earnestly warns the clergy of the province not to allow their

---

[1] Concil. Camerac. ann. 1565, Rubr. VIII. c. 3. "Si quis hac parte peccaverit, monitus castigatusque, nisi animum et vitam mutaverit, graviter ordinarii arbitrio puniatur."—At this council, which was held in June, 1565, the council of Trent was formally adopted. As forming part of *Flandre Française*, Cambrai may properly be considered as French, though Francis I., by the treaty of Madrid in 1526, had been compelled to surrender his sovereignty, and till a hundred years later it continued under Spanish dominion.

[2] Concil. Camerac. ann. 1567, c. iii. (Hartzheim, VII. 216.)

[3] Synod. Camerac. ann. 1631, Tit. XVIII. c. xiv. (Ibid. IX. 562.)

[4] Denuntiamus omnibus diœcesis nostri ecclesiasticis viris, nisi a die hujus synodi, si aliquas habent mulieres suspectas, a se expulerint et ab incontinentia destiterint . . . nos adversus deprehensos progressuros usque ad privationem beneficiorum.—Claudii Episc. Ebroicens. Statut. cap. III. § 1. (Migne's Patrol. Tom. 147, pp. 244–5.)

[5] Concil. Remens. ann. 1583, cap. xviii. § 5. (Harduin. X. 1293.)

[6] Concil. Turon. ann. 1583, cap. xv. (Ibid. p. 1481.)

[7] Concil. Avenionens. ann. 1594, can. xxxii. (Ibid. p. 1854.)

sisters and nieces to live in their houses, and especially not to sleep in the same room with them;[1] and various other synods held during the period repeated the well-known regulations on the subject, which are only of interest as showing how little they were respected.[2]

No one, in fact, who is familiar with the popular literature of France during that period can avoid the conviction that the ecclesiastical body was hopelessly infected with the corruption which, emanating from the foulest court in Christendom, spread its contagion throughout the land. If Rabelais and Bonaventure des Periers reflect the depravity which was universal under Francis I., Brantôme, Beroalde de Verville and Noël du Fail continue the record of infamy under Catherine de Medicis and her children.[3] The genealogy of sin is carried on by Tallemant des Réaux, Bussy-Rabutin and the crowd of memoir writers who flourished in the Augustan age of French literature. Into these common sewers of iniquity it is not worth our while to penetrate; but, when the high places in the hierarchy were filled with men to whom the very name of virtue was a jest, we need not hesitate to conclude that the humbler members of the church were equally regardless of their obligations to God and man.

Like the Calvinists of Scotland, the Huguenots of France accepted sacerdotal marriage as an admitted portion of the

---

[1] Concil. Burdigalens. ann. 1624, cap. xiii. § 2. (Harduin. XI. 96.)

[2] Synod. Tornacens. ann. 1574, Tit. xii. c. 5, 6, 7. (Hartzheim, VII. 780.)—Synod. Audomarens. ann. 1583, Tit. xvi. c. 2. (Ibid. VII. 947.) Concil. Burdegalens. ann. 1583, can. xxi. (Harduin. X. 1360.)—Concil. Bituricens. ann. 1584, Tit. xlii. can. 1-4. (Ibid. X. 1503-4.)—Concil. Aquens. ann. 1585, cap. de Vit. et Honestate Cleric. (Ibid. X. 1547.)—Concil. Narbonnens. ann. 1609, cap. xli. (Ibid. XI. 96.)

[3] Du Fail, whose high official position in the Parlement of Rennes precludes the supposition of any tendency to Calvinism, devotes one of his discourses (Contes et Discours d'Eutrapel No. xx.) to the evils entailed by celibacy on the church and on society, quoting the exclamation of Cardinal Contarini to Velly the French ambassador, "O quæ mala attulit in ecclesia cœlibatus ille!" It is true that such stories as "Frater Fecisti" are not historical documents, yet they have their value as indicating the drift of public feeling and the convictions forced upon the minds of the people by the irregularities of the clerical profession. The same lesson is taught by Boccaccio, Chaucer, Poggio, the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, and all the other records of the interior life of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries.

declaration of revolt against Rome. Calvin himself manifested his contempt for all the ancient prejudices by marrying, in 1539, Idelette de Bure, an Anabaptist widow.[1] The Huguenot Confession of Faith was drawn up by him, and was adopted by the first national synod, held at Paris in 1559. Of course the Genevan views of justification swept away all the accumulated observances of sacerdotalism, and ascetic celibacy shared the fate of the rest.[2] The discipline of the Calvinist church with regard to the morality of its ministers was necessarily severe. The peculiar purity expected of a pastor's household was shown by the rule which enjoined any church officer whose wife was convicted of adultery to dismiss her absolutely, under pain of deposition, while laymen, under such circumstances, were exhorted to be reconciled to their guilty partners.[3] Any lapse from virtue on the part of a minister was visited with peremptory deposition;[4] nor was this a mere idle threat such as were too many of the innumerable decrees of the Catholic councils quoted above, for the proceedings of various synods show that it was carried sternly into execution. A list of such vagrant and deposed ministers was even kept and published to the churches, with personal descriptions of the individuals, that they might not be able to impose on the unwary. Indeed, the national

---

[1] Idelette apparently had a stern and self-centred soul, worthy of her mate. See Calvin's curious account of her death-bed, in a letter to Farel. (Calvini Epistolæ, p. 111. Genevæ, 1617.) His grief was doubtless sincere, but his friends were able to compliment him on his not allowing domestic affliction to interfere with his customary routine of labor. (Ibid. p. 116.)

[2] I have not access to the original, but quote the following from Quick's "Synodicon in Gallia Reformata," London, 1692—"Art. XXIV. . . . We do also reject those means which men presumed they had, whereby they might be redeemed before God; for they derogate from the satisfaction of the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ. Finally, We hold Purgatory to be none other than a cheat, which came out of the same shop: from which also proceeded monastical vows, pilgrimages, prohibitions of marriage and the use of meats, a ceremonious observation of days, auricular confession, indulgences, and all other such like matters, by which Grace and Salvation may be supposed to be deserved. Which things we reject, not only for the false opinion of merit which was affixed to them, but also because they are the inventions of men, and are a yoke laid by their sole authority upon conscience." (Quick, I. xi.)—See also the Confession written by Calvin in 1562, to be laid before the Emperor Ferdinand (Calvini Epist. pp. 564–66).

[3] Discip. Chap. XIII. can. xxviii. (Quick, I. liii.)

[4] Ibid. Chap. I. can. xlvii.

synod of Lyons, in 1563, went so far as to punish those ministers who brought contempt upon the church by unfitting marriages;[1] and though this was omitted from the final code of discipline, it shows the exceeding strictness with which the internal economy of the ecclesiastical establishment of the Huguenots was regulated.

The relations of the Catholic church with its apostates were somewhat confused, and they varied with the political exigencies of the situation. Ecclesiastics who left the Catholic communion did not hesitate to enter into matrimony;[2] and when the desolation of civil war rendered a forced tolerance of the new religion necessary, their position was recognized and acknowledged by law. Thus in the Edicts of Pacification issued by Henry III. in 1576 and 1577 there is a provision which admits as valid the marriages theretofore contracted by all priests or religious persons of either sex. The issue of such unions was declared competent to inherit the personalty of the parents and such realty as either parent might have acquired, but was incapable of other inheritance, direct or collateral.[3] This concession was renewed and somewhat amplified by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which was intended as a final settlement of the religious troubles.[4] The provision was, however, held to be only retrospective in its action, and was not admitted as legalizing subsequent marriages. Thus in

---

[1] Chap. IV. Art. xii., Chap. XVI. Art. xiv. (Quick, I. 32, 38).

[2] The council of Rouen, in 1581, deplores the number of monks and nuns who left their convents, apostatized, and married. It directs that they shall be tempted back, treated kindly, and pardon for them be sought from the Holy See.—Concil. Rotomag. ann. 1581, Cap. de Monasteriis § 32. (Harduin. X. 1253.)

Prelates of high position were not wanting to the list of married men. Carracioli, Bishop of Troyes, and Spifame, Bishop of Nevers, were of the number. Jean de Monluc, Bishop of Valence (brother of the celebrated Marshal Blaise de Monluc whose cruelties to the Huguenots were so notorious), married without openly apostatizing, and died in the Catholic faith. Cardinal Odet de Châtillon, Bishop of Beauvais, and brother of the Admiral, became a declared Calvinist, married Mdlle. de Hauteville, and called himself Comte de Beauvais. He seems to have retained his benefices, and was still called by the Catholics M. le Cardinal, "Car il nous estoit fort à cœur," says Brantôme (Discours 48) "de luy changer le nom qui luy avoit esté si bien seant."

[3] Édit de 1576, Art. 9.—Édit de Poitiers, Art. Secrets, No. 8. (Isambert, Anciennes Lois Françaises, T. XV. pp. 283, 331.)

[4] Édit de Nantes, Art. Secrets, No. 39 (Isambert, T. XVI. p. 206).

1628 a knight of Malta, in 1630 a nun, and in 1640 a priest of Nevers, who had embraced Calvinism, ventured on matrimony, but were separated from their spouses and the marriages were pronounced null.[1]

---

[1] Grégoire, Hist. du Mariage des Prêtres en France, pp. 58–9.

XXX.

THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY.

If the council of Trent had thus failed utterly in its efforts to create that which had never existed—purity of morals under the rule of celibacy—it had at length succeeded in its more important task of putting an end to the aspirations of the clergy for marriage. With the anathema for heresy confronting them, few could be found so bold as openly to dispute the propriety of a law which had been incorporated into the articles of faith; and the ingenious sophistries and far-fetched logic of Bellarmine were reverently received and accepted as incontrovertible. Urbain Grandier might endeavor to quiet the conscience of his morganatic spouse by writing a treatise to prove the lawfulness of priestly wedlock, but he took care to keep the manuscript carefully locked in his desk.[1] A man of bold and independent spirit, fortified

[1] When Grandier was arrested and tried for sorcery, his papers were seized, and among them was found an essay against sacerdotal celibacy. Under torture, he confessed that he had written it for the purpose of satisfying the conscience of a woman with whom he had maintained marital relations for seven years.—(Hist. des Diables de Loudun, pp. 85, 191.) The manuscript was burnt, with its unlucky author, but a copy was preserved, which has recently been printed (Petite Bibliothèque des Curieux, Paris, 1866). In it, Grandier shows himself singularly bold for a man of his time and station. The law of nature, or moral law, he holds to be the direct exposition of the Divine will. By it revealed law must necessarily be interpreted, and to its standard ecclesiastical law must be made to conform. He evidently was made to be burned as a heretic, if he had escaped as a sorcerer. The promise of chastity exacted at ordination he regards as extorted, and therefore as not binding on those unable to keep it; while he does not hesitate to assume that the rule itself was adopted and enforced on purely temporal grounds — "de crainte qu'en remuant une pierre on n'esbranlat la puissance papale; car hors cette considération d'Estat, l'Eglise romaine pense assez que le célibat n'est pas d'institution divine ni nécessaire au salut, puisqu'elle en dispense les particuliers, ce qu'elle ne pourroit faire si le célibat avoit esté ordonné d'en haut" (pp. 34–5).

by unfathomable learning, like Louis Ellies Du Pin, might secretly favor marriage, and perhaps might contract matrimony.[1] Du Pin's great antagonist, Bossuet, might incur a similar imputation, and be ready to partially yield the point if thereby he might secure the reconciliation of the hostile churches.[2] All this, however, could have no influence on the doctrines and practice of Catholicism at large, and the principle remained unaltered and unalterable.

Yet it was impossible that the critical spirit of inquiry which marked the eighteenth century, its boldness of unbelief, and its utter want of faith in God and man, could leave unassailed this monument of primeval asceticism, while it was so busy in undermining everything to which the reverence of its predecessors had clung. Accordingly, the latter half of the century witnessed an active controversy on the subject. In 1758, a canon of Estampes, named Desforges, who had been forced to take orders by his family, published a work in two volumes in which he attempted to prove that marriage was necessary for all ranks of ecclesiastics. The book attracted attention, and by order of the Parlement it was burnt, September 30, 1758, by the hangman, and the unlucky author was thrown into the Bastille. These proceedings were well calculated to give publicity to the work; it was reprinted at Douay in 1772, and a German translation

---

[1] Notwithstanding his Sorbonic degree, Dupin is said to have been secretly married, and to have left a widow, who even ventured to claim the inheritance of his estate. He was engaged in a correspondence with William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view to arrange a basis of reconciliation of the Anglican Church with Rome, and, according to Lafitau, Bishop of Sisteron, in that correspondence he assented to the propriety of sacerdotal marriage.

[2] I cannot pretend to decide the controversy as to the alleged marriage between Bossuet and Mdlle. Desvieux de Mauléon, nor to determine whether it is true that she and her daughters claimed his fortune after his death. Much has been written on both sides, and I have not the materials at hand to justify a positive opinion. I believe, however, that there is no doubt of his engaging with Liebnitz and Molanus in a negotiation as to the terms on which the Lutherans could re-enter the Roman communion, and that he promised, in the name of the pope, that Lutheran ministers admitted to the priesthood or episcopate should retain their wives. It is asserted that the proposed arrangement was nearly agreed to on both sides, when the pretensions of the House of Hanover to the English crown caused Liebnitz to withdraw from the undertaking.

was published in 1782 at Göttingen and Munster. The Abbé Villiers undertook to answer Desforges in a weak little volume, the "Apologie du Célibat Chretien," published in 1762, which consists principally of long extracts from the Fathers in praise of virginity. Even Italy felt the movement, and in 1770 there appeared a work urging the abolition of celibacy, under the title of "Della necessità e utilità del matrimonio degli ecclesiastici," from which prudential reasons withheld the name of the author and the place of publication. Some more competent champion was necessary to answer these repeated attacks, and the learned Abate Zaccaria brought his fertile pen and his inexhaustible erudition to the rescue in his "Storia Polemica del Celibato Sacro," which saw the light in 1774, and which not long afterwards was translated into German. In 1781 appeared a new aspirant for matrimonial liberty in the Abbé Gaudin, who issued at Geneva (Lyons) his work entitled "Les inconveniens du célibat des prêtres," a treatise of considerable learning and no little bitterness against the whole structure of sacerdotalism and Roman supremacy.

Soon after this, the hopes of the anti-celibatarians grew high. The Emperor Joseph II., amid his many fruitless schemes for philosophical reform, inclined seriously to the notion of permitting marriage to the priesthood of his dominions. In an edict of 1783 he asserted, incidentally, that the matter was subject to his control, and the advocates of clerical marriage confidently expected that in a very short period they would see the ancient restrictions swept away by the imperial power. A mass of controversial essays and dissertations made their appearance throughout Germany, and the well-known Protestant theologian Henke took the opportunity of bringing out, in 1783, a new edition of the learned work of Calixtus, "De Conjugio Clericorum," as the most efficient aid to the good cause. It is a striking illustration of the temper of the times to observe that this work, so bitterly opposed to the orthodox doctrines and practice, is dedicated by Henke to Archdeacon Anthony Ganoczy, canon of the cathedral church of Gross-Wardein, and apostolic prothonotary. The hope of success brought out other writers,

and the movement made sufficient progress to cause some hesitation in Rome as to the propriety of yielding to the pressure.[1]

Zaccaria again entered the lists, and produced, in 1785, his "Nuova Giustificazione del Celibato Sacro," in answer to the Abbé Gaudin and to an anonymous German writer whose work had produced considerable sensation. To this he was principally moved by a report that he had himself been converted by the facts and arguments advanced by the German, an imputation which he indignantly refuted in three hundred quarto pages.

The half-formed resolutions of Joseph II. led to no result, and the subject slumbered for a few years until the outbreak of the French Revolution. At an early period in that great movement, the adversaries of sacerdotal asceticism bestirred themselves in bringing to public attention the evils and cruelty of the system. Already, in 1789, a mass of pamphlets appeared urging the abrogation of celibacy. In 1790 the work of the Abbé Gaudin was reprinted, and was promptly answered by the prolific Maultrot. Even in Germany the same spirit again awoke, and an Hungarian priest named Katz published at Vienna, in 1791, a "Tractatus de conjugio et cœlibatu clericorum," in which he argued strongly for a change. In England, Catholic priests occasionally infringed the law by marriage, and one of their number, distinguished for talents and learning, Dr. Geddes, endeavored to justify them in his "Modest Apology for the Catholics of Great Britain."[2]

The times were not propitious for such reforms elsewhere, but the seething caldron of the French Revolution soon destroyed the immunities and distinctive laws of the church.

---

[1] Zaccaria, in the introduction to his "Nuova Giustificazione" (p. ix.), denies that the papal court entertained any idea of making the concession; but, in considering the question as to the power or duty of the pope to alter the law of celibacy (Diss. IV. cap. 6), his remarks show clearly that the subject was discussed in a tone to afford the partisans of marriage reasonable grounds for hope. Among the threatening proceedings of the emperor was the suppression of no less than 184 monasteries. (Lecky, Hist. of Rationalism, chap. vi.)

[2] Grégoire, Hist. du Mariage des Prêtres en France, pp. 41–2.

The attack commenced on that which had been the strength, but which was now the weakness, of the ecclesiastical establishment. As early as the 10th of August, 1789, preliminary steps were taken in the National Assembly to appropriate the property of the church to meet the fearful deficit which had been the efficient cause of calling together the high council of the nation. This property was estimated as covering one-fifth of the surface of France, yielding with the tithes an annual revenue of three hundred millions of francs. So vast an amount of wealth, perverted for the most part from its legitimate purposes, offered an irresistible temptation to desperate financiers, and yet it was a prelate who made the first direct attack upon it. On the 10th of October, 1789, Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, introduced a motion to the effect that it should be devoted to the national wants, subject to the proper and necessary expenses for public worship; and on the 2d of November the measure was adopted by a vote of 568 to 346. This settled the principle, though the details of a transaction so enormous were only perfected by successive acts during the two following years. One of the earliest results was the secularization of those ecclesiastics whose labors did not entitle them to support, a preliminary necessary to the intended appropriation of their princely revenues. This was accomplished by an act of February 13th, 1790, by which the monastic orders were suppressed, and a moderate annuity accorded to the unfortunates thus turned adrift upon the world.

The great body of the parochial clergy, patriotic in their aspirations, and suffering from the abuses of power, had hailed the advent of the Revolution with joy; and their assistance had been invaluable in rendering the Tiers État supreme in the National Assembly. These measures, however, assailing their dearest interests and privileges, aroused them to a sense of the true tendency of the movement to which they had contributed so powerfully. A breach was inevitable between them and the partisans of progress. Every forward step embittered the quarrel. It was impossible for the one party to stay its course, or for the other to assent to acts which daily became more menacing and revolutionary. Forced

therefore into the position of reactionaries, the clergy ere long became objects of suspicion and soon after of persecution. The progressives devised a test-oath, obligatory on all ecclesiastics, which should divide those who were loyal to the Revolution from the contumacious, and lists were kept of both classes.[1] Harmless as the oath was in appearance, when it was tendered in December, 1790, five-sixths of the clergy throughout the kingdom refused it. Those who yielded to the pressure were termed *assermentés*, the recusants *insermentés* or *réfractaires*, and the latter of course at once became the determined opponents of the new régime, the more dangerous because they were the only influential partisans of reaction belonging to the people. To their efforts were attributed the insurrections which in La Vendée and elsewhere threatened the most fearful dangers. They were accordingly exposed to severe legislation. A decree of November 29, 1791, deprived them of their stipends and suspended their functions; another of May 27, 1792, authorized the local authorities to exile them on the simple denunciation of twenty citizens. Under the Terror their persons were exposed to flagrant cruelties, and a *prêtre réfractaire* was generally regarded, *ipso facto*, as an enemy to the Republic.

Under these circumstances, sacerdotal marriage came to be looked upon as a powerful lever to disarm or overthrow the hostility of the church, and also as a test of loyalty or disloyalty. Yet the steps by which this conclusion was reached were very gradual. In the early stages of the Revolution, while it was still fondly deemed that the existing institutions of France could be purified and preserved, the National Assembly was assailed with petitions asking that the privilege of marriage should be extended to the clergy. These met with no response, even after the suppression of the monastic orders. As late as September, 1790, when Professor Cournand, of the

---

[1] "D'être fidèle à la nation, à la loi, au roi, et de veiller exactement sur le troupeau confié à leurs soins." It was not only the objections of the king and of the pope that rendered this oath unpalatable, but also the fact that it gave adhesion to the law for the secularization of ecclesiastical property and of the monastic orders. It was ordered in the Constitution civile du Clergé, Tit. II. Art. 21, 38, adopted July 12 and promulgated Aug. 24, 1790.

Collége de France, made a motion in favor of sacerdotal marriage in the assembly of the district of St. Etienne du Mont in Paris, the question, after considerable debate, was laid aside as beyond the competence of that body. It was not until the adoption of the Constitution of 1791 that celibacy was deprived of its legal guarantees, and then it was by indirection only. In the preamble to that instrument a section declares that the law does not recognize religious vows or any engagements contrary to the rights of nature or to the constitution,[1] and this was elucidated by a decree of September 20, 1791, which, in enumerating the obstacles to marriage, does not allude to monastic vows or holy orders.

Professor Cournand was probably the first man of position and character to take advantage of the privilege thus tacitly permitted, and his example was followed by many ecclesiastics, who had won an honorable place in the church, in literature, and in science. Among them may be mentioned the Abbé Gaudin of the Oratoire, the author of a work already alluded to on the evils of celibacy, who in 1792 represented La Vendée in the Legislative Assembly, and who in 1805 did not hesitate to publish a little volume entitled "Avis à mon fils, âgé de sept ans"—although, in the preface to his work in 1781, he had described himself as long past the age of the passions. Even bishops yielded to the temptation. Loménie, coadjutor of his uncle the Archbishop of Sens, Torné Bishop of Bourges, Massieu of Beauvais, and Lindet of Evreux were publicly married. Many nuptials of this kind were celebrated with an air of defiance. Pastors announced their approaching weddings to their flocks in florid rhetoric, as though assured of finding sympathy for the assertion of the triumph of nature over the tyranny of man. Others presented themselves with their brides at the bar of the National Convention, as though to demonstrate that they were good citizens, who had thrown off all reverence for the obsolete traditions of the past.

A nation maddened and torn by the extremes of hope, of

[1] La loi ne reconnait ni vœux religieux, ni aucun autre engagement qui serait contraire aux droits naturels ou à la constitution.

rage, and of terror, which met the triumphal march of three hundred and fifty thousand hostile bayonets with the heads of its king and queen, which blazoned forth to Europe its irrevocable breach with the past by instituting festivals in honor of a new Supreme Being and parading a courtesan through the streets of Paris as the Goddess of Reason, was not likely to employ much tenderness in coercing its internal enemies; and chief among these it finally numbered the ministers of religion. To them it soon applied the marriage test. To marry was to acknowledge the supremacy of the civil authority, and to sunder allegiance to foreign domination; celibacy was at the least a tacit adherence to the enemy, and a mute protest against the new régime. Matrimony, therefore, rose into importance as at once a test and a pledge, and every effort was made to encourage it. Among the records of the revolutionary tribunal is the trial of Mahue, Curé of S. Sulpice, Aug. 13, 1793, accused of having written a pamphlet against priestly marriage, and he was only acquitted on the ground that his crime had been committed prior to the adoption of the law of July 19, 1793.[1] A decree of November 19, 1793, relieved from exile or imprisonment all priests who could show that their banns had been published, and when, soon afterwards, at the height of the popular frenzy, the Convention sent its deputies throughout France with instructions to crush out every vestige of the dreaded reaction, those emissaries made celibacy the object of their especial attacks. Thus, in the Department of the Meuse, deputy De la Croix announced that all priests who were not married should be placed under surveillance; while in Savoy the harsh measures taken against the clergy were modified in favor of those who married by permitting them to remain under surveillance. One zealous deputy ordered a pastor to be imprisoned until he could find a wife, and another released a canon from jail on his pledging himself to marry. Many of those thus forced into matrimony were decrepit with years, and chose brides whose age secured them from all suspicions of yielding to the temptations of the flesh. Such was the venerable

[1] Desmaze, Pénalités Anciennes, p. 222. Paris, 1866.

Martin of Marseilles, who, after seeing his bishop and two priests, his intimate friends, led to the scaffold, took, at the age of 76, a wife nearly 60 years old. As an unfortunate ecclesiastic, who had thus succeeded in weathering the storm, fairly expressed it, in defending himself against the reproaches of a returned emigré bishop, he took a wife to serve as a lightning rod. These unwilling bridegrooms not infrequently deposited with a notary or a trusty friend a protest against the violence to which they had yielded, and a declaration that their relations with their wives should be merely those of brother and sister.

Yet in this curious persecution the officials only obeyed the voice of the excited people. The press, the stage, all the organs of public opinion, were unanimous in warring with celibacy, ridiculing it as a fanatical remnant of superstition, and denouncing it as a crime against the state. The popular societies were especially vehement in promulgating these ideas. The *Congrès fraternel* of Ausch, in September, 1793, ordered the local clubs to enlighten the benighted minds of the populace on the subject, and to exclude from membership all priests who should not marry within six months. A petition to the National Assembly from the republicans of Auxerre demanded that all ecclesiastics who persisted in remaining single should be banished; while a more truculent address from Condom urged imperiously that celibacy should be declared a capital crime, and that the death-penalty should be enforced with relentless severity. In times so terrible, when suspicion was conviction and conviction death, and when such were the views of those who swayed public affairs, it is not to be wondered at if many pious churchmen, unambitious of the crown of martyrdom, thought matrimony preferable to the guillotine or the noyade.

Indeed, the only source of surprise is that so few were found to betray their convictions. The ecclesiastics of France, previous to the Revolution, were reckoned as numbering about 80,000 souls, yet it is estimated that only about 2000 marriages of men in orders took place, after the reign of terror had rendered it a measure of safety. In addition to this, about 500 nuns were also married; and though this proportion

is larger, it is still singularly small when we consider that these poor creatures, utterly unfitted by habit or education to take care of themselves, were suddenly ejected from their peaceful retreats, and cast upon a world which was raging in convulsions so terrible.

This is doubtless attributable to the steadfast resistance which the better part of the clergy made to the innovation, in spite of the danger of withstanding the popular frenzy, and in disregard of the laws which denounced such opposition. Even the *assermentés*, who had pledged themselves to the Revolution by taking the oath of allegiance, were mostly unfavorable to the abrogation of celibacy, and the position thus maintained by the clergy gave tone to such of the people as retained enough of devout feeling to still frequent the churches and partake of the mysteries of religion. The existence of an active and determined opposition is revealed by an act of August 16th, 1792, guaranteeing the salaries of all married priests, thus showing that in some places, at least, their stipends had been withheld. Many pastors, indeed, were driven from their parishes by their congregations, in consequence of marriage, to put an end to which a decree of September 17th, 1793, ordered the communes to continue payment of salaries in all such cases of ejection.

There were not wanting courageous ecclesiastics who opposed the innovation by every means in their power. Although Gobel, Bishop of Paris, a creature of the Revolution, favored the marriages of his clergy, a portion of his curates openly and vigorously denounced them, and Gratien, Archbishop of Rouen, addressed to him a severe reproach for his criminal weakness. The same Gratien excommunicated one of his priests for marrying, and published, July 24th, 1792, an instruction directed especially against such unions. For this he was thrown into prison, where he was long confined. Fauchet, of Bayeux, for the same offence, was reported to the Convention, but was fortunate enough to elude the consequences. Philibert, of Sedan, issued, January 20th, 1793, a pastoral in which he more cautiously argued against the practice, and, after a long persecution, he was lucky to escape with a decree of costs against him. Pastorals to the same

effect were also promulgated by Clément of Versailles, Héraudin of Châteauroux, Sanadon of Oléron, Suzor of Tours, and others.

The Convention was not disposed to tolerate proceedings such as these. To put a stop to them, it adopted, July 19th, 1793, a law punishing with deprivation and exile all bishops who interfered in any way with the marriage of their clergy. For awhile this appears to have put a stop to open opposition, but when the reign of terror was past, and the Catholics saw a prospect of reorganizing the distracted church, one of their earliest efforts was directed to the restoration of celibacy. On the 15th of March, 1795, some *assermentés* bishops, members of the Convention, issued from Paris an encyclical letter to the faithful, in which they denounced sacerdotal marriage in the strongest terms. Those who entered into such unions were declared unworthy of confidence; the fearful constraint under which they had sought refuge in matrimony was pronounced to be no justification, and even renunciation of their wives was not admitted as entitling them to absolution for the one unpardonable sin.[1] In a second letter, issued December 15th of the same year, this denunciation was repeated in even stronger terms.

In these manifestoes the bishops did not speak by authority. They could not threaten or command, for they were acting beyond or in opposition to the law. With the progress of reaction they became bolder. In 1797 the church ventured to hold a national council, in which it forbade the nuptial benediction to those who were in orders or were bound by monastic vows, thus reducing their marriages to the mere civil contract, and depriving them of all the sanction of religion. The local synods which, encouraged by the fall of the Directory, were held in 1800, adopted these principles as a matter of course, and took measures to enforce them. That of Bourges even prohibited the churching of women who were wives of ecclesiastics.

[1] Conformément à l'esprit de l'église [illegible] canoniques, nous regar[illegible] de leur état et [illegible]les, en matière [illegible]astiques qui se sont mariés sous prétexte d'éviter les persécutions, ou par quelque motif que ce soit, quand même ils renonceraient au mariage.—Lett. Encyc. 15 Mars, 1795, art. IX. (Grégoire, p. 109).

This condemnation of the married clergy carried despair and desolation into the households of those who had offended, and upon whom the door of reconciliation was so sternly closed. Grégoire of Blois, a leading actor in all these scenes, records the innumerable appeals received from the unfortunates, who, torn by remorse and thus repudiated by the church, begged in vain for the mercy which was incompatible with the respect due to the ancient and inviolable canons.

All this, however, was merely local action. The Gallican church had not yet been reunited to Rome. In reconstructing a system of social order, Napoleon speedily recognized the necessity of religion in the state, and, despite the opposition of those who still believed in the Republic, the Concordat of 1801 restored France to its place in the hierarchy of Latin Christianity. There is nothing in the Concordat interfering with the right of the priest, as a citizen, to contract marriage; but as, in all affairs purely ecclesiastical, the internal regulation and discipline of the church were necessarily left to itself, the rights of the priest, as a priest, became of course subject to the received rules of the church, which could thus refuse the nuptial benediction, and suspend the functions of any one contravening its canons. In consequence of the power thus restored, when the question soon after arose as to the legality of sacerdotal marriages contracted during the troubles, the Cardinal-legate Caprara issued rescripts to those whose unions were anterior to the Concordat, depriving them of their priestly character, reducing them to the rank of laymen, and empowering the proper officials to absolve them and remarry them to the wives whom they had so irregularly wedded. This created a strong feeling of indignation among the prelates who had carried the tabernacle through the wilderness, and who, while opposing such marriages most strenuously, regarded this intervention of papal authority as a direct assault upon the liberties of the Gallican church. Their time was past, however, and their denunciations of this duplication of the sacrament were of no avail. Yet the legality of such marriages, and the unimpaired right of priests to contract them, were asserted and proved by Portalis, in his mas-

terly speech of April 15th, 1802, before the Corps Législatif, advocating the adoption of the Concordat as a law, although he admitted that the duties of the priesthood and the feeling of the people rendered sacerdotal celibacy desirable.[1]

Notwithstanding the authority thus restored to the church, and the certainty of ecclesiastical penalties following such infraction of the Tridentine articles of faith, the practice which had been introduced could not be immediately eradicated. Priests were constantly contracting marriage, and the question gave considerable trouble to the government, which hesitated for some time as to the policy to be pursued. Portalis, in 1802, as we have seen, declared the full legality of such marriages, and the unimpaired right of ecclesiastics to contract them; and the provisions of the code respecting marriage, adopted in 1803, make no allusions to vows or religious engagements as causing incapacity.[2] Yet in 1805, when Daviaux, Archbishop of Bordeaux, opposed the application of a priest named Boisset to the civil authorities for a marriage contract, Portalis, then minister of religious affairs, on being

[1] This speech of Portalis *père* is an admirable commentary on the Concordat, developing its causes and consequences with a rigidity of logic and an enlightened spirit of faith which are equally creditable to the head and heart of the distinguished orator. From the portion devoted to the subject of marriage, I quote the following, as embodying a clear exposition of the present state of French law on the subject.

"Quelques personnes se plaindront peut-être de ce que l'on n'a pas conservé le mariage des prêtres. . . . En effet, d'une part nous n'admettons plus que les ministres dont l'existence est nécessaire à l'exercice du culte, ce qui diminue considérablement le nombre des personnes qui se vouaient anciennement au célibat. D'autre part, pour les ministres mêmes que nous conservons, et à qui le célibat est ordonné par les règlements ecclésiastiques, la défense qui leur est faite du mariage par ces règlements n'est point consacrée comme *empêchement dirimant* dans l'ordre civil: ainsi leur mariage, s'ils en contractaient un, ne serait point nul aux yeux des lois politiques et civiles, et les enfans qui en naîtraient seraient légitimes; mais dans le for intérieur et dans l'ordre religieux, ils s'exposeraient aux peines spirituelles prononcées par les lois canoniques: ils continueraient à jouir de leurs droits de famille et de cité, mais ils seraient tenus de s'abstenir de l'exercice du sacerdoce. Conséquemment, sans affaiblir le nerf de la discipline de l'Eglise, on conserve aux individus toute la liberté et tous les avantages garantis par les lois de l'état; mais il eût été injuste d'aller plus loin, et d'exiger pour les ecclésiastiques de France, comme tels, une exception qui les eût déconsidérés auprès de tous les peuples Catholiques, et auprès des Français mêmes, auxquels ils administreraient les secours de la religion." (Dupin, Manuel du Droit Public Ecclés. Français, 4ème éd. pp. 196–8.)

[2] Code Civil, Liv. I. Tit. V.

appealed to, replied that the government would not allow its officers to register such contracts. The local administrations sometimes assented to such applications and sometimes referred them to the central authority, until at length, in 1807, a definite conclusion was promulgated. This was to the effect that although the civil law was silent as regards such marriages, yet they were condemned by public opinion. The government considered them fraught with danger to the peace of families, as the powerful influence of the pastor could be perverted to evil purposes, and, if seduction could be followed by marriage, that influence would be liable to great abuse. The emperor therefore declared that he could not tolerate marriage on the part of those who had exercised priestly functions since the date of the Concordat. As for those who had abandoned the ministry previous to that period and had not since resumed it, he left them to their own consciences. Thus, in practice, although marriage was regarded as purely a civil institution, a limitation was introduced which was not authorized by the code, which rested solely upon the authority of the emperor, and which, far from indicating respect to the church, was a flagrant insult.

Under the Restoration, a case occurred which decided these points. A priest named Martin, an old *réfractaire* of 1792, committed the imprudence of marrying in 1815. Not long after he died without issue. His relatives contested the succession with the widow, and in 1817 the inferior court decided in her favor. The next year the court of appeals reversed the judgment on the ground that sacerdotal marriage had only been sanctioned indirectly by the legislation of the Revolution, and that the Charter of 1814 (Art. 6) had restored Catholicism as the religion of the state. In 1821, however, the final decision of the court of cassation settled the question in favor of the widow, thus legalizing such unions, for the incontrovertible reason that the code did not recognize vows or holy orders as causes incapacitating for marriage.[1]

[1] For many of the above details I am indebted to the curious but ill-digested little work—"Histoire du Mariage des Prêtres en France," published by Grégoire in 1826. Grégoire, though a priest of the *ancien régime*, was a sincere and consistent republican. A member of the States Gene-

By the law of France, therefore, there is no obstacle to the marriage of ecclesiastics, yet the privilege is not one which many would care to enjoy, in opposition to the opinions of society and the canons of the church. Though the wife be legally a wife, and the children legitimate, yet the union would not receive the nuptial benediction, the husband would be ejected from the ministry and would doubtless incur excommunication—penalties from which there would be little chance of escaping by an *appel comme d'abus*. Unless, therefore, prepared to abandon the Catholic faith and to embrace Protestantism, it is not easy to conceive of a priest willing to incur the results of so fatal a step, or of a decent woman consenting to share so hopeless a destiny.

I believe, indeed, that a case decided in September, 1862, is the only one which has occurred since that of Martin in 1815, and the contest over it shows how completely the rights then affirmed had fallen into desuetude. In 1861, M. de Brou-Laurière, a priest already debarred from his sacred functions, engaged himself in marriage with Mdlle. Elizabeth Fressanges, of Deuville near Périgueux. On calling upon the mayor of the village to perform the ceremony and register the con-

ral, of the Convention, and of the Council of Five Hundred, elected Bishop of Blois by the voice of a people who knew and respected him, he preserved his ardent faith through all the excesses of the Revolution, and his democratic ideas in spite of the injuries inflicted on his class in the name of the people. The sincerity and boldness of his character may be estimated by a single example. When, on the 7th of November, 1793, Gobel, Bishop of Paris, appeared before the Convention with twelve of his vicars and publicly renounced his sacred functions on the ground that hereafter there should be no other worship than that of liberty and equality, almost all the ecclesiastics in the Convention followed his example. To hold back at such a moment was dangerous in the extreme, yet Grégoire had the hardihood to utter a defiant protest. "I am a Catholic by conviction and by feeling, a priest by choice, a bishop by the voice of the people, but not from the people nor from you do I derive my mission, and I will not be forced to an abjuration." To him perhaps more than to any one else is attributable the skilful management which carried the church through the storms and persecutions of the Revolution, but the same inflexibility which maintained his Catholicism through the ordeal of 1793 and 1794 caused him to stand by his republicanism long after it had gone out of fashion. He was not to be bought or bullied; the Legitimist was less tolerant than the Terrorist, and under the Restoration he was reduced almost to absolute indigence. Together with the other constitutional bishops, he had been compelled to resign his bishopric by order of the pope after the Concordat of 1801, and he was too dangerous a man to be rewarded for his invaluable services to religion. He died in 1831.

tract, that functionary refused to act. He was supported by the public authorities, and the expectant bridegroom was obliged to appeal to the tribunals to obtain his rights. The question was warmly contested and thoroughly argued, and it was not until a year had elapsed that the court of Périgueux rendered a decision ordering the mayor to perform his functions and to marry the patient couple. Even yet, it is said that an appeal has been entered, and that the verdict of a superior court will be required to determine the question finally. What renders more remarkable the doubt thus assumed to exist is that the article of the Charter of 1814 declaring Catholicism to be the religion of the state was omitted in that of 1830, and a simple declaration substituted that it was the faith of a majority of Frenchmen.[1]

I do not pretend to judge or to accuse existing institutions. When treating of the church in bygone ages, incontestable documents present facts which form sure bases for opinions and conclusions, and such I have endeavored to present, fairly and impartially. At the present time, however, the fury of partisanship and the acerbity of religious disputation give their coloring to all published statements, while the opportunity has not yet arrived for access to the authoritative data by which posterity is to judge of the society of to-day.

If, on the one hand, the noble example of the self-devoted women who, from Burmah to the Sandwich Islands, have shared their husbands' dangers and privations, has shown that marriage is not incompatible with the most thorough self-abnegation and the most zealous labors for the propagation of the faith—still, on the other hand, the evils of celibacy, under the wholesome restraint of modern institutions, manifest themselves to a degree that is infinitesimal in comparison with the past. In a country like our own, where the laborers are few and indifferently paid, while their tasks are heavy and unceasing, the priesthood has few temptations for those whose

[1] Since the above was written I have met with an allusion to the case of an Abbé Chataigneu, occurring in 1864, in which the court of Angoulême decided that under the French law a priest was not competent to contract a civil marriage, but I have not been able to obtain the particulars of it. (Talmadge's Letters from Florence, p. 166.)

faith and resolution do not fit them to endure all its privations and fulfil all its duties. If, too, a member should occasionally be admitted who is destitute of the higher qualities that should be his safeguard, and whose passions even the ceaseless labors of his vocation cannot hold in check, there is nothing to prevent his apostasy, while, if he remains in the church, there are the wholesome restraints imposed by a jealously hostile public opinion, and there is liability not only to the municipal law, but to the rigor of the canons mercilessly enforced by prelates who feel that their church is on probation.

Even in France, where Catholicism is dominant, the same causes exist, some of them, indeed, in a still greater degree. There the priest receives his stipend not from the funds of the church or from the oblations of the faithful, but from the state, and that stipend is too moderate to nourish luxury or to attract the votaries of idleness and ease. Not only does the state thus limit the numbers of its sacred servants to the minimum requisite to perform the functions of religion, but it holds the whole body in a state of dependence insuring good behavior. Thus subjected to public opinion, and enjoying no exemption, as of old, from the secular criminal tribunals, defiant corruptions cannot well be glossed over by officials who might be disposed to conceal the vices which would degrade and dishonor the cloth. Occasionally, therefore, when some gross scandal sees the light, it is visited with a severity which shows that society expects the ministers of religion to teach by example as well as by precept;[1] nor can we safely assume that such occasional developments indicate a condition of hidden immorality worse than that of society at large. In addition to these means of efficient purification, it must be borne in mind that an overwhelming proportion of the French priesthood hold their preferment solely at the pleasure of their superiors, who are thus able at once

[1] Thus, in 1861, the journals gave full publicity to the trial, by the criminal court of Douai, of the Abbé Mallet, a canon of Cambrai, who had seduced three young Jewish girls and procured their immurement in convents under pretence of laboring for their conversion. One of his victims lost her reason in consequence of her aggravated sufferings, and the reverend criminal received the reward of his misdeeds in a sentence to six years' imprisonment at hard labor.

to check the slightest irregularity. Thus, in 1844, there were in France but 3301 *curés* whose position was secure, while 27,451 were curates who were liable at any moment to be deprived of their parishes.[1] Where the assured income is only 1000 or 1500 francs, where the duties are so laborious and the supervision so watchful, there is little likelihood that the ministry will be sought by unfit persons or for improper objects.

In Rome itself, where the ancient system flourishes in full vigor, I can readily believe that the ancient abuses remain unpurified. On such a subject, proof that is above suspicion is not easy to obtain. Where justice is in the hands of men more anxious for the reputation of their class than for the virtue of its members; where scandal is more dreaded than crime; and where, out of a population of 3,124,668 in 1853, no less than 38,320 were vowed to celibacy, one can readily believe the assertion of the erratic and epigrammatic Edmond About, that chastity in a churchman is a quality sufficiently uncommon to attract especial attention to its possessor.[2]

Even in Italy, however, the days of these excesses are probably numbered, except in so far as they are connected with the insoluble problem of the pontifical territories. The formation of the kingdom of Italy is rapidly effecting a revolution in the religious condition of the rest of the peninsula. Not only is there perfect legal toleration for Protestant propagandism, but Catholicism itself is recognized as distinct from papacy, and the antagonism between the latter and the temporal authorities is working a change the ultimate results of which no one can foretell. The secularization of church property, the breaking up of monastic establishments, and the removal of all civil disabilities on clerical marriage have already placed Italy in advance even of France as to legislation. If no reaction occurs, these measures must eventually effect reforms of the most radical character.

---

[1] Dupin, op. cit. pp. 238-9.

[2] In his tribute to the virtues of Pius IX., About remarks—"Ses mœurs sont pures, et l'ont toujours été, même du temps qu'il était jeune prêtre; merite assez commun chez nous, mais rare et miraculeux au delà des monts."—Question Romaine, p. 131.

Already there has arisen, even in the bosom of the church itself, a party clamorous for change. As early as 1862, Father Passaglia headed a movement in which nine thousand ecclesiastics petitioned the pope for such alterations in the economy and discipline of the church as would place it in harmony with the progress of the age, and among the demands made of Rome was one that "the priest shall be restored to his country by restoring to him the chaste and tranquil affections of the family." Passaglia, however, was premature.[1] The state had not yet declared itself superior to the church; the ecclesiastical structure was yet strong, and possessed the power of enforcing the subordination of the most refractory of its members by depriving them of the means of livelihood. In what direction this power was necessarily exercised may be guessed by the temper of the encyclical of December 8th, 1864, which denounced "the criminal enterprises of those wicked men who, spreading their disturbing opinions like the waves of a raging sea, and promising liberty when they are slaves to corruption, endeavor, by their pernicious writings, to overturn the foundations of the Christian Catholic religion and of civil society;" while, among the errors condemned in section VIII. of the appendix, was one respecting the celibacy of the clergy. The thunders of the Vatican, however, have lost their terrors, and, since the unification of Italy has raised a temporal power able to withstand the pretensions of the church, the reformatory spirit within the

[1] "The vast majority of the priests who subscribed to Passaglia's protest against the temporal power were men of the above low caste and description. 'Such men' (and remark that it was one who had himself collected some three thousand signatures to the document in question who made use of the expression)—'such men attach very little importance to signing anything,' and will easily abjure the second day what they have pledged themselves to on the first. They signed, doubtless, with some vague hope, perhaps, of shaking off their bondage, or under the idea that they were doing something which should secure them a living, independent of the caprice and tyranny of their superiors. But when they had done this and stood out a few days, and found that their mass was refused them at the sacristy, and that they were threatened with a permanent interdiction from their only means of getting a living, unless they repented of their act of insubordination (such as it was) and succumbed—then they withdrew their names, and thought no more about the matter."—Letters from Florence on the Religious Reform Movements in Italy, by William Talmadge, pp. 118–19. London, 1866.

ecclesiastical establishment grows daily bolder and more outspoken.

Since 1862 there has existed an association under the name of the *Società Emancipatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso del Sacerdozio Italiano*, which has been able to support a newspaper as its organ, the *Emancipatore Cattolico* of Naples, and its efforts are aided by a similar journal in Florence, the *Esaminatore*. The reform aimed at by this body in the discipline and structure of the church is thoroughly radical. In June, 1865, it promulgated a "platform" which proposes to deprive the pope and the Roman curia of their irresponsible autocracy, to restore to the prelates their diocesan jurisdiction, to render all ecclesiastical dignities elective, to banish Latin from the church services and to circulate the Scriptures in Italian, to render auricular confession voluntary in place of obligatory, to establish complete toleration, and to abolish compulsory celibacy. This latter point is felt to be of much importance; and now that there is no secular law to prevent sacerdotal marriage, and that ecclesiastical subordination is so much weakened, there are no insuperable obstacles to prevent the ministers of the church from exercising their discretion on the subject. Dr. Prota, the president of the "Società Emancipatrice," in a letter of October 30th, 1865, replying to numerous inquiries addressed to him with regard to it, does not hesitate to advise his friends to marry and to persist in the exercise of their functions, "and the more who do so at once and simultaneously the safer for all; for the bishops will venture the less to persecute you in the face of public opinion."[1] It would be premature to venture a prediction as to the probable result of these movements, but their serious character may be estimated from the fact that they have the countenance and even the pecuniary support of a statesman so powerful as the Baron Ricasoli.

One of the fruits of these efforts is already seen in the law of June 28th, 1866, by which all the religious corporations

[1] Talmadge, op. cit. pp. 160–168.—Already the journals of the day are recording the success of these efforts. Thus, in 1866, the registrar of Genoa refused to sanction the civil marriage of a priest, and his refusal was supported by court of [illegible] and a [illegible] sia[illegible]

in the kingdom of Italy are suppressed, their members and dependents pensioned or subsidized, and their property confiscated to form a fund for popular education. The student of the past may be pardoned a feeling of regret at the destruction of the venerable institutions which for a thousand years fostered the religious growth of Christendom; but the civilization which they made possible has outgrown them, and the progress of humanity demands the removal of that which has outlived its usefulness, and has become only a stumbling-block in the path of human improvement.[1] Against all this the church has thus far protested in vain, though its attitude of opposition is boldly and persistently maintained. Thus the pope, in his allocution of October 30th, 1866, declares to be null and void the suppression of the monastic orders, the secularization of ecclesiastical property, and the civil marriage act, which leads, as he assumes, to a system of scandalous concubinage;[2] and he further denounces the censures of the

---

[1] Monte Casino, the venerable mother of Western monachism, is spared, and will be maintained intact as a national monument. More significant, perhaps, is the same favor shown to Savonarola's convent of San Marco, though this may possibly have been done in consideration of its frescoes.

The process of secularization has been a rapid one. Already, in January, 1867, the journals report that the occupants of the monasteries have nearly all dispersed, some of them returning to their families, some of them accepting refuge offered to them by the charitable, but the greater number clubbing together and hiring houses, in which they live in common as of old. It is impossible not to feel sympathy for unfortunates whose crime consists in having been born two centuries too late, and who are made to expiate the sins of a system which they have reverently received from their forefathers.

[2] The persistent medievalism of the church of Rome is not manifested only in papal allocutions and encyclicals. I have before me a penny tract, published in London in 1864, one of an authorized series addressed to children, "permissu superiorum," by the Rev. J. Furniss, C. S. S. R., which illustrates the influences exercised on the people, and the mode by which educated and experienced men seek to acquire and extend their power. It is a description of Hell, skilfully adapted, by a most vivid description of material torment, to fill the untrained mind of childhood with indelible terror. The visions of St. Frances and St. Theresa, and the speculations of St. Bonaventura, are gravely related as absolute facts. Hell is four thousand miles below the surface of the earth, is illimitable in extent, and is filled with dark fire and sulphur. The Devil is a huge horned monster breathing fire, fastened to a beam with chains of red-hot iron, and waited upon by millions of little devils, whom he despatches to the four quarters of the globe, to tempt children to sin. If a little spark of Hell-fire, less than a pin-head, were thrown into the ocean, "in one moment it would dry up all the waters of the ocean, and set the whole world in a blaze." So "if one single body was taken out of Hell and laid on the earth, in that same moment every living creature on the earth would sicken and die. Such is the smell of death from one body in Hell." An

church against their authors. Whether the intrigues of the Paolotti or the complications of foreign politics will render these denunciations more than a *brutum fulmen* remains to be seen. In any event, they are interesting as showing the immutable determination of those who control the papal policy to maintain inviolate the traditions of the church.

Possibly in this resolute immobility the Roman curia may be overestimating its strength. A very significant movement is recorded in the journals of November, 1866, by which some Catholic priests of Hungary, desiring the permission to marry, and recognizing the futility of an appeal to the visible head of the church, have united in petitioning the national Diet to accord to them the license which they desire. Even though their numbers may not be great, the method which they have adopted is portentous for the future. A change in the landmarks of thought may also be observed in the fact that the popular preacher of Paris, Père Hyacinthe, himself a barefooted Carmelite, has so little reverence for the asceticism of the past that his course of sermons in Nôtre Dame, during Advent, 1866, is devoted mainly to urging upon his hearers the necessity of marriage.

While the doctrines of medieval Christianity are thus losing ground in some of their strongholds, it is curious to observe them reappearing in quarters from which they had long been expelled. Thus, in England, where the rapid extension and the activity of Dissent have drawn the attention of earnest men to the deficiencies of the Establishment, there has arisen a movement known as "Ritualism," which seeks a remedy, not in progress, but in retrogression. Refusing to recognize in the aristocratic constitution of their church the source of the evils which they so vigorously denounce, the leaders of this reform persuade themselves that a return to

---

eternity of burning, choking, drowning, flogging, and fighting in this abode of horrors is promised to all children who neglect mass, confession, and catechism, and do not obey their priests. (The Sight of Hell, by the Rev. J. Furniss, C. S. S. R. Dublin and London, 1864.)

How many young intellects are stunted to the requisite condition of passive obedience by cruel trash like this can only be known to the Searcher of hearts.

medievalism will restore activity and vigor to institutions of which the chief imperfection already is to be found in the absence of what may be termed the popular element.

These ritualistic views have recently been authoritatively proclaimed in a volume which is a singular anachronism when viewed as the production of Englishmen of the nineteenth century.[1] In it may be found most of the principles which led to the sacerdotalism of the middle ages, and which, followed up by the lively faith and reverence for tradition displayed by the writers, can hardly fail of the same results. Minds which can bitterly denounce the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith are fully prepared to contemplate the superior holiness of virginity with all the mystic ardor which inspired St. Martin and St. John Chrysostom.[2] It is therefore not surprising to find that monastic vows and clerical celibacy are regarded as the panacea which is to infuse new life into what they regard as the worn-out and effete Establishment of the Anglican church. The experiment, indeed, has already been tried at Norwich, under the auspices of Mr. Lyne, or "Brother Ignatius," but its signal failure does not seem to have dampened the ardor of the disciples.

It is impossible not to feel respect for the motives of these gentlemen and sympathy for them in the consequences which can hardly fail to result to men who, in a matter so vital to themselves, so fatally mistake the tendencies of the age. Yet the world cannot afford to be put back four centuries, and those who attempt to oppose its progress must of necessity be crushed. At the same time, it must be admitted that they have had some encouragement from the application of the principle of association and division of labor to Christian work, resulting in the formation of sisterhoods devoted to charity. Of these there are, I believe, at this time about forty in England, and several have been organized in this country.

---

[1] The Church and the World: Essays on Questions of the Day by various writers. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley. Second Edition. London, 1866.

[2] See an Essay (*op. cit.*, p. 360) by the Rev. T. Thellusson Carter, which, in its admiration for the better life of virginity and in its arguments to derive a recommendation of celibacy from the words of the Saviour, would have satisfied Bellarmine himself.

The vow taken on entering some of these communities is irrevocable. In others it is not, but the period of probation is long, and it is expected that no one will become a confirmed sister without at least the intention of devoting her life to the duties assumed. In this, the moral power exercised on the devotee is likely to be as efficient as the canons of which the history has been traced above. In the House of Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth, for instance, there is no authority to enforce the vow of celibacy imposed on admission, but the disposition which leads a postulant to enter and the influences which surround her daily life render expulsion a much more probable result than voluntary withdrawal.

Such institutions, where self-abnegation is sanctified by religion, are very different from those which seek to exalt the selfish aspirations of the recluse into forgetfulness of all the duties imposed on man by his Creator. It is therefore by no means strange that they should prove attractive to earnest and pious minds, and should thus have a tendency to increase in an age so intensely practical as the present.[1]

In fact, monasticism outside of Italy and France has rarely been more flourishing or more vigorous than it is to-day. Pius IX., himself a tertiary, has spared no effort to restore discipline where it had been neglected, to encourage the formation of new societies, and to promote the extension of the old. In 1860 there were thus no less than 83 male orders and congregations, with 7,065 establishments, and about 100,000 members, while of female orders and congregations there were 94, with 9,247 establishments and more than 100,000 members.

The most powerful cause that has conduced to this has been that the church, yielding at length to the spirit of the age, and warned by the successive secularization of its temporalities in one kingdom after another, has learned to direct its efforts in those quarters where the benefits of the monastic system are greatest and its evils least. Recognizing the great truth,

[1] It may be doubted, however, whether the results produced are a fair equivalent for the amount of power expended. In the Insane Asylum at Kaiserwerth, for instance, the number of patients is only of the sisters a to it. (De rope, Vo

reserved for these latter days to proclaim as indisputable, that every man must earn for himself the place he occupies in the world, the endeavor of the church is no longer to agglomerate around a sensual and idle community the wealth which would only pander to its vices, but to render useful by associated action and thorough training the benevolent self-abnegation which in other communions is too apt to be lost or frittered away for want of judicious combination and direction.

Even amid the horrors of the French Revolution, when conventual vows were forbidden and the monastic orders were scattered ruthlessly abroad, the gentle virtues and the tireless ministrations of the Sisters of Charity won for them respect and toleration from the cruel fanatics who respected and tolerated nothing else. When, even under the Concordat of 1801, the re-establishment of the monastic orders was strictly prohibited, and those which endeavored timidly to organize themselves under the names of *Pères de la Foi*, *Sacré-cœur de Jésus*, &c. were in 1804 broken up without ceremony, the charitable associations of females were not interfered with. In 1809 and 1810 fresh measures were taken to prevent the formation or introduction of religious orders consisting either of drones or intriguers, yet at the same time a special decree placed under the fostering care of Madame Letitia the women who devoted themselves to works of charity and mercy.[1] So, during the storms of 1826–7 and 1844–5, when the underhand patronage of authority threatened the restoration of monastic institutions, and the united voice of the bench and the tribune demanded the enforcement of the prohibitory laws, not a hand was raised against the gentle ministrants whose mission was to reverently follow their Redeemer in healing the sick, feeding the hungry, and lessening the burdens of the miserable.

Though at times mistaken in the spirit of the age; though often misled by pride, by ambition, and by avarice, the

[1] At the same time, the state refused to recognize the right of any one to abstract himself irrevocably from so- [illegible] The [illegible] prohibited en- [illegible], and engagement was limited to five years. —Décret du 18 Fév. 1809, Sect. II. art. 8 (Dupin, Droit Ecclés. p. 295). This regulation, I believe, is still in force, and the members of these bodies [illegible] accustomed to renew their engage- [illegible] every five years.

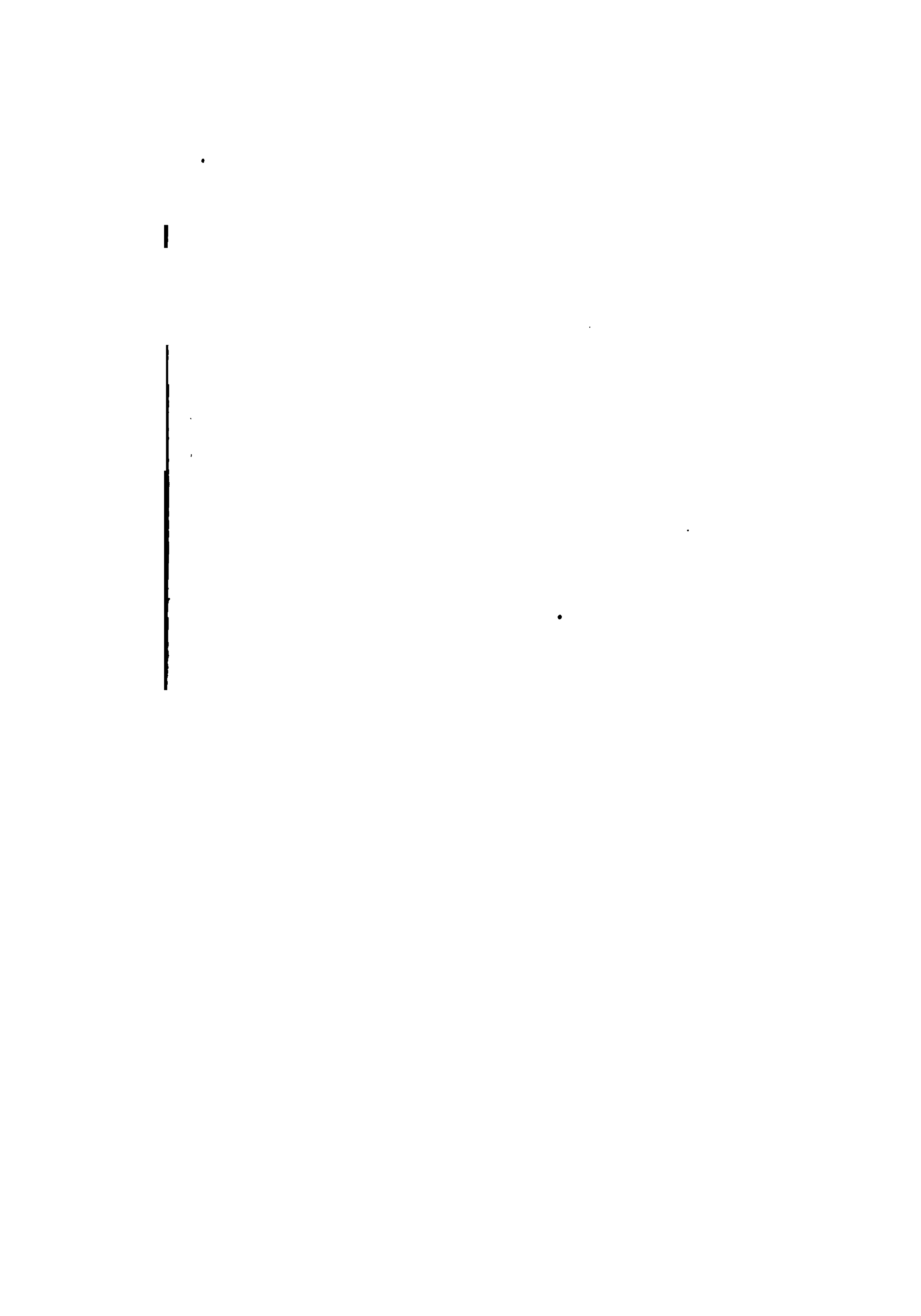
Roman church has missed its aim and neglected its vocation, yet on the whole it has manifested that adaptation to the wants of successive generations which is the source of its power and the condition of its existence. As the early Benedictines and Columbites were the Apostles of Northern Europe, carrying with them the seeds of that religion and civilization which were to develop so slowly yet so gloriously; as in the thirteenth century the worn-out institutions of sacerdotalism were regenerated in the boundless energy and self-devotion of the Franciscans and Dominicans; as, in the tortuous policy and brutal self-indulgence of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits arose to defend the shattered church with all the resources of unscrupulous fanaticism adapted to the character of the time; so now, in the hard-working practical nineteenth century, which has such scant toleration for idleness, the institutions of the church mould themselves to the necessities of the age. It is not new and fantastic forms of worship nor insane freaks of asceticism—not the pillar of Stylites, the stigmata of St. Francis, nor the thong of the Flagellants that now are sought for, but systems through which the charity of the many may be efficiently administered by the labor of the few. When celibacy is assumed, not in the hope of a life of ease and indulgence, not in the pride of pharisaical holiness, not in the lust of exaggerated maceration, not in the selfish hope of purchasing by solitude and mortification the beneficence of an all-merciful Creator, but for the purpose of wholly devoting a life to relieving the misery of fellow-men, the sternest Protestant, if he have in him aught of humanity, cannot deny that institutions which in their prosperity have wrought so much evil, contain fruitful germs of good capable of development through adversity and tribulation.

This is the fair side of the picture, and if the system only resulted in the self-devotion to public charity of those who by nature and education are specially fitted to minister to the wants of their fellow creatures, and if it involved only a voluntary engagement to be laid aside as circumstances might require, it ought to arouse little opposition. When, however, the celibacy of the sacerdotal class becomes a point of faith,

and it separates forever the minister of religion from the world, we have seen the countless ills that may follow in its train. A sacerdotal caste whose interests are in many re spects antagonistic to those of the society in which its members live; whose dominant aim, from the nature of the case, must be the temporal advancement of its church, is apt to prove a dangerous element in the body politic, and the true interests of religion are almost as likely to receive injury as benefit at its hands, especially when it is armed with the tremendous power of confession and absolution, and is subjected to strict subordination to a hierarchy. Such a caste would seem to be the inseparable consequence of compulsory celibacy, and the hierarchy which is founded on it can scarcely fail to become the enemy of human advancement, so long as the priest continues to share in the imperfections of our common humanity.

It would be fruitless at this hour to speculate as to the future. We may be on the eve of great changes, but it is not easy to anticipate a change so radical as that which would permit the abolition of celibacy. The traditions of the past must first be forgotten; the hopes of the future must first be abandoned. The Latin church is the most wonderful structure in history, and ere its leaders can consent to such a reform they must confess that its career, so full of proud recollections, has been an error.

INDEX.



By the same Author—Just Issued.

SUPERSTITION AND FORCE:

ESSAYS ON THE WAGER OF LAW, THE WAGER OF BATTLE, THE ORDEAL, AND TORTURE.

BY HENRY C. LEA.

In one royal 12mo. volume of 406 pages; cloth, $2 50.

This is a book of extraordinary research. . . Mr. Lea has entered into his subject *con amore;* and a more striking record of the cruel superstitions of our unhappy Middle Ages could not possibly have been compiled. . . . Each of the four heads abounds in curiosities of the most marvellous and astounding kind. It is well that such a book has been written, for it reminds us, in the pride of our civilization, of the depths of horror to which man—even after an age of high cultivation and with the light of Christianity to guide him—may, from his own inherent weakness and perversity, descend. . . As a work of curious inquiry on certain outlying points of obsolete law, "Superstition and Force" is one of the most remarkable books we have met with.—*London Athenæum*, Nov. 3, 1866.

These essays are full of interest and instruction, and the author traces in them most clearly the influence these determinative actions have had upon human development. Mr. Lea writes well, and has evidently bestowed great thought upon his subject and drawn his facts from a very extensive and careful reading, so that he has furnished us with a very valuable chapter upon the subject of which he treats. Extracts are needless. We would rather refer our readers to the book itself, feeling sure they will be fully repaid for their examination, and will obtain most curious and interesting information upon a period of human growth which is at present very imperfectly known.—*The London Reader*, Sept. 29, 1866.

The author has used thoroughly and well all that German, French, and English literature have supplied in the way of researches into the nature and development of the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal, and Torture. His illustrations are instructive, his references to original authorities reliable and correct. The author is remarkable for the exactness of his references to the sources of the law—a fact more worthy of notice since outside of Germany men of learning rarely trouble themselves with historical researches.—From the *Leipzig Allgemeine Deutsche Strafrechtszeitung*, Feb. 1867.

Mr. Lea's four essays are very full of interest, and contain an immense amount of recondite information. His subjects are the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal, and Torture, and he combines in their treatment a philosophic method with great fertility of illustration.—*London Globe*, Oct. 13, 1866.

Very few books have been published in America which exhibit more research and learning, or can be read with greater interest and profit. —*Albany Evening Journal*, Sept. 18, 1866.

It is one of a class of books—small in the literature of any country—in which historical and philosophical subjects are worked out systematically, and, in a certain sense, exhaustively. It is a real and valuable acquisition to our knowledge of the philosophy of history.—*New York Evening Post*, Oct. 30, 1866.

One of the gloomiest chapters in the history of mankind is that of the miseries which have resulted from their errors in the search for truth, and the false methods adopted to discover it. And there are few more striking episodes in this chapter than that which Mr. Lea has set before us in his excellent volume. We see in the four customs, the origin and spread of which he describes, remarkable instances of the aberrations of the human intellect and the misuse of human powers.—*North American Review*, Oct. 1866.

We have seldom taken up a volume more replete with curious and interesting information. The learning and research which it evinces are highly creditable to the writer, and the facts which he has so laboriously collected and arranged are a most instructive exhibition of the state of society and of the perverted exercises of the human mind in the past ages of the world. The volume will have a permanent value in the estimation of all whose attention is turned to this wide class of subjects.—*Princeton Review*, Oct. 1866.

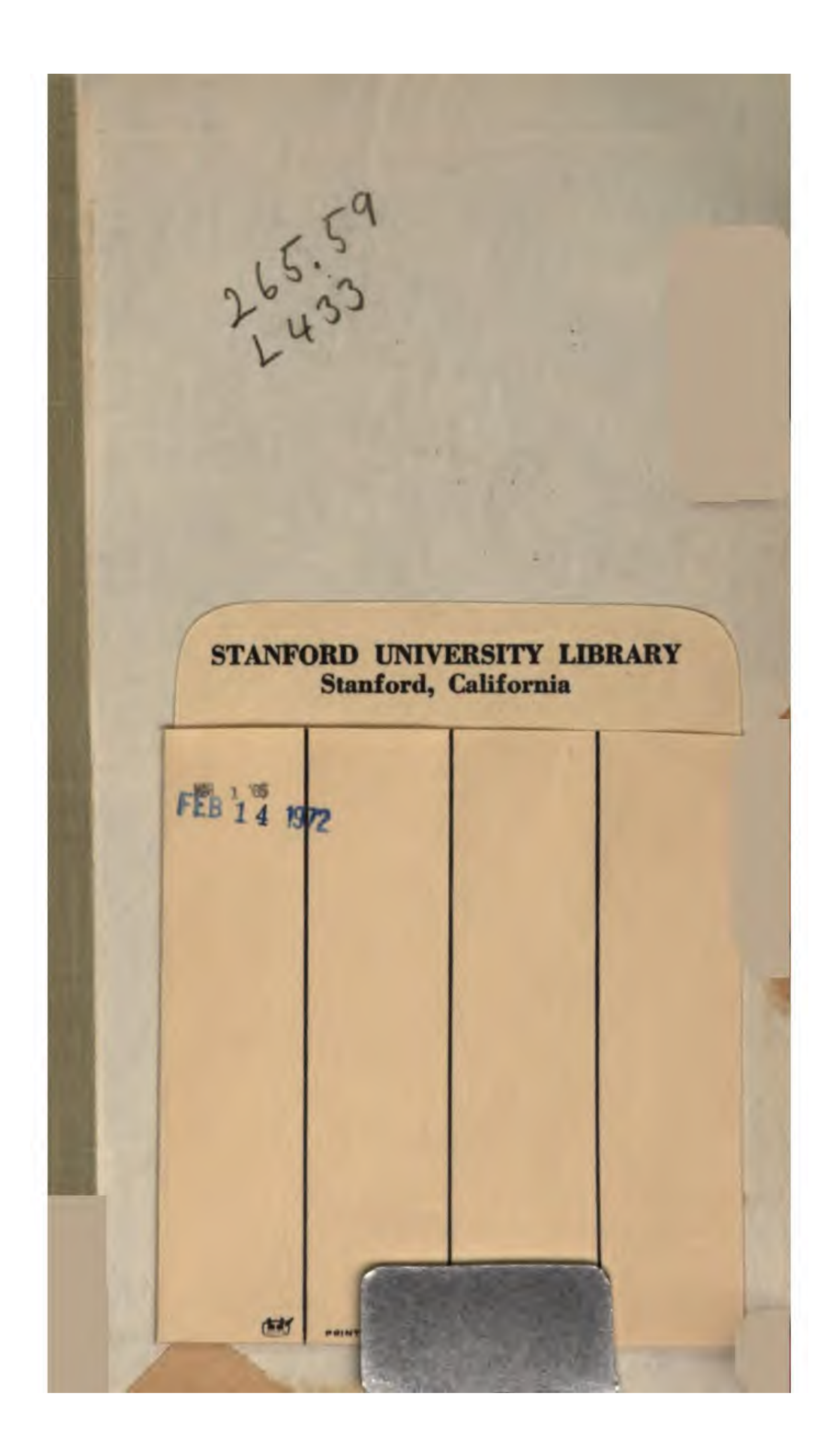
The book is really quite an exhaustive history, written in a succinct and perspicuous manner, of the influence of superstition and tyranny on the forms and processes of civil and criminal jurisprudence. The review it enables one to take of the slow and painful degrees by which the principles of justice and common sense have been substituted for bigotry, credulity, and violence, is full of instruction.—*San Francisco Bulletin*, November 10, 1866.

Let us announce, then, to all readers, that here is a book worth reading. It is a monument to extraordinary study and prodigious acumen. It contains a vast amount of information as useful as it is curious, and must produce an enduring sensation in the world of letters, thought, and culture.—*Chicago Republican*, Sept. 18, 1866.

There are many classes of scholars and professional men to whom the book will be immensely valuable and labor-saving. . . . All must be charmed with the clear and forcible style of the author, the value of his materials, and the manner in which they are placed in form for perusal and study.—*Ohio State Journal*, Nov. 20, 1866.

It would be doing injustice to our readers not to call their attention at once to this book. Its merit as an antiquarian research is very great; its usefulness as a compendium of the learning of many generations almost beyond estimate; its clearness in setting forth the importance and bearing of the subjects discussed in it to our own life and to the history of mankind, striking and attractive.—*Philadelphia Bulletin*, Aug. 14, 1866.

A more interesting and instructive volume, or one of more labor and research, is seldom met with.—*Philadelphia Ledger*, August 28, 1866.


265.59
L433
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Stanford, California
FEB 14 1972

